



"THE SACRED STEPS."

By M. V. Dhurandhar.

By the Courtesy of the Artist.

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JAI SINGH AND SHIVAJI

INTRODUCTION.

HERETO I have given only translations from the Persian, placing the Mughal and Maratha accounts side by side, reserving my comments to the notes, and without breaking in upon the flow of the narrative of the source-histories. But with the struggle between Jai Singh and Shivaji we reach an episode which has a wealth of historical information of the highest value. First there is a very long account of the campaign and negotiations compiled from Mughal official reports (*vaqia*, news-letters), given in the *Alamgirnamah*, a work completed in 1665 A.D. and approved by Aurangzib. Secondly, the despatches that passed between Jai Singh and Aurangzib at Delhi, have been discovered in a Persian manuscript of the National Library at Paris. We have, besides, the *Dilkasha* and the *Wazir-i-Shivaji*. Khafi Khan's history, as usual, merely repeats the *Alamgirnamah*. It would be tiresome to endeavor to go through a full translation of such extensive materials.

In this chapter, therefore, I shall depart from my previous practice and present a history in my own words, but on the basis of a digest of all these sources. The Despatches throw a full and interesting light on the ideas and position of Jai Singh, enable us to see the varying stages of the campaign as in a mirror, and help us to realise his full greatness as a master of war and diplomacy,—his foresight, self-possession, carefulness, and varied ability.

JAI SINGH SENT AGAINST SHIVAJI.

Among the promotions and transfers on his birthday, 30th September, 1664, Aurangzib appointed Mirza Rajah Jai Singh to put down Shivaji. Under him were placed Dilir Khan, Daud Khan, Rajah Rai Singh Sisodia, Ihtisham Khan Shaikhzada, Qubad Khan, Rajah Sujan Singh Bundela, Kirat Singh (a son of Jai Singh), Mulla Yahia Natia (a Bijapuri noble who had come over to the Mughals), Rajah Narsingh Gaur, Puran Mal Bundela, Zabardast Khan, Barilil Bakhtiar, Barqandaz Khan and other officers, commanding in all 14,000 troopers.

After making the necessary preparations and collecting his subordinates, Jai Singh left Upper India, crossed the Narbada at Hindia (9th January, 1665), observing the state of cultivation on the way for reporting to the Emperor. Thence he pushed rapidly on southwards, never wasting a day by halting except when strong necessity compelled him. Burhanpur was reached on the 19th. Here he stayed till the 30th to put in order the baggage and property of the whole army. On the 10th February he arrived at Aurangabad, where Prince Muazzam (afterwards Shah

Alam I.) held court as Viceroy of the Deccan. In three days Jai Singh finished the work of waiting on the Prince, receiving and returning the visits of the local officers and nobles, and settling some points connected with his expedition. So well did he utilise his time and so expeditious was his march that, leaving Aurangabad on the 13th February,* he arrived at Puna on the 3rd March. Here he at once took over charge from Maharajah Jaswant Singh, who immediately afterwards (7th March) started for Delhi, as commanded by the Emperor.

CHARACTER OF JAI SINGH.

Jai Singh's career† had been one of undimmed brilliancy from the day when he, an orphan of twelve, received his first appointment in the Mughal army (1617). Since then he had fought under the Imperial banner in every part of the empire,—from Balkh in Central Asia to Bijapur in the Deccan, from Qandahar in the west to Monghyr in the east. Hardly a year had passed during the long reign of Shah Jahan, when the Rajput prince had not seen active service somewhere and received some promotion for conspicuous merit. His marked ability had found recognition in his being given the command of the van or one of the wings in the Mughal armies led by Princes of the blood in campaigns beyond India. Latterly he had commanded in chief. In diplomacy he had attained to a success surpassing even his victories in the field. Wherever there was a difficult or delicate work to be done, the Emperor had only to turn to Jai Singh. A suave speaker, an adept in the ceremonial courtesy of the Muslims, a master of Turki and Persian, besides Hindi and Urdu, he was an ideal leader of the composite army of Afghans and Mughals, Rajputs and Poorbeahs

* So says his Despatch (115, b.) The *Alamgirnamah* gives the 14th as the date (p. 887.)

† For this sketch of Jai Singh I am indebted to the *Masir-ul-umara*, iii. 568, and the *Dilkasha*.

that followed the crescent banner of the sovereign of Delhi.

Age and experience had cooled the impetuous ardour of his youth,—he had led the forlorn hope at the storming of Mhow,—and he now used stratagem in preference to force and corruption in preference to war. His foresight and political cunning, his smoothness of tongue and cool calculating self-possession, were in striking contrast with the impulsiveness, generosity reckless daring, blunt straightforwardness, and impolitic chivalry which we are apt to associate with the word Rajput.

And now this veteran of a hundred fights donned his armour at the age of sixty to crush a petty chieftain, who in less than a dozen years had grown great enough to challenge the prestige of the empire of Delhi.

CHARACTER OF SHIVAJI.

The Maratha leader was thirty-seven years of age, a countrified youth, who could not read or write. Unfamiliar with courts and camps, he had yet displayed a native genius for war and diplomacy, which made him more than a match for the veteran generals and statesmen of Bijapur and Delhi. A mere *jagirdar's* son, and grandson of a tiller of the soil, his arm and brain made him a *Chhatrapati*: he had risen to power and dignity and created a kingdom of himself almost out of nothing. And this, too, in the face of opposition from powerful enemies—the Bijapuris in the east, the Mughals in the north, and the Abyssinians in the west. At last he had grown so great that his protection was sought by European traders and Indian chiefs, his alliance was bought by Bijapur and Golkonda and wistfully desired by the Mughal viceroy of the Deccan, and his hostility dreaded even by the "King of kings," who sat on the Peacock Throne of Delhi.

And he had so used his power that his name had become a by-word for a wise, virtuous and benevolent ruler, one who revived the traditions of the reign of Ramachandra. Religion,

Hinduism and Islam alike,—found its special protector in him, for in his heart there was a perennial fountain of piety which influenced all his daily acts. He sat on the throne, but looked upon himself as a mere agent or steward of the True King, his Master. For one day he had formally made over his kingdom to the saint Ramdas, and had then been

account. In all that he did, he felt himself As ever in his great Taskmaster's eye.

He had created a powerful kingdom, the beginning of an empire. More than that, he had created a nation out of scattered and jarring elements, at a period when none else dreamt of it. He had raised his tribe out of the dust. His magic touch called forth all that was great in them, and inspired them with a heroism and self-confidence which ensured their success, till, after a century and a half, the sceptre dropped from their grasp. No wonder that they should still cherish his memory as their richest historical legacy. No wonder that his name is still

The pillar of a people's hope,
The centre of a world's desire ;—

for great as he was in his achievements, he was immeasurably greater in the possibilities which his brief career of 52 years suggested.

JAI SINGH'S POLICY AND STRATEGY.

It was with no light heart that Jai Singh set himself to the task of subduing Shivaji, against whom Bijapuris and rival Maratha chiefs, Shaista Khan and Jaswant Singh, had toiled in vain. The Deccan had been the grave of many a reputation: and he had the failures of his predecessors before him. Shiva had already established a name for stratagem and his Mawalis had measured swords with the Mughals on more than equal terms. Then, again, there was the likelihood that the arrival of a large Mughal army in the Deccan would alarm Bijapur and Golkonda and throw them into the arms of Shiva to make a common cause against the invader from the north. Jai Singh, therefore, could not give undivided attention to the Marathas: he had to keep an eye on Bijapur too. The problem before him was no easy one. As he himself writes to the Emperor, "Not for a moment in day or night do I seek rest and ease from being busy about the task on which I have been sent." (134, a.) We see from his letters how he employed all



SAINT RAMDAS

From an old painting kept at Sajjangarh.

commissioned by him to administer it as his vicar or representative. Thus royal power meant for him not the indulgence of personal caprice, the gratification of the lusts of the flesh, nor even the enjoyment of the world's pomp and reverence, but stern duty, austere self-control, a strict calling of himself to

the devices mentioned in Hindu *Nitishastras* for dealing with an enemy, how wide-awake, how full of many-sided activity he was, how he looked far ahead, and how he handled his force to cause distraction to the enemy or deal a concentrated blow at a vital point.

In view of his two enemies, Jai Singh very wisely decided to take up a position between both, *i. e.*, in the eastern part* of Shiva's dominion, whence he could also easily threaten Bijapur,—in the road of pushing the war into the Western Ghats and the low lands beyond (the Tal-Kokan), which were at the same time less favourable for campaigning. So convinced was he of the wisdom of this plan that when Aurangzib wrote urging him to make a descent into the Tal-Kokan, he strongly objected, and succeeded in carrying his point. He knew that if he could strike fatally at the heart of the Maratha kingdom,—Purandhar, Lohgarh, and Rajgarh,—the distant limbs would drop down of themselves.

Secondly, he played upon the hopes and fears of Bijapur, holding forth chances of remission of tribute and removal of the Emperor's displeasure, if the Sultan aided the Mughals and thus clearly proved his want of connexion with Shiva. Thirdly, Jai Singh arranged to distract his enemy's attention and cause diversions in different and unexpected quarters. Even before reaching Aurangabad he had sent two Europeans named Francis Mile and Dick (? Diego) Mile (or Mill) to the western coast with letters for the chiefs of the European merchants of Goa, Surat and Bombay, inviting them to help the Imperialists with their fleet and oppose Shiva, who had collected a fleet of his own (*Despatches*, 114, *a.*). In May he

* "At first I had planned to march to my encampment by way of Tal-Kokan. But after arriving in this country I learnt that the king of Bijapur was in [secret] alliance with Shiva. If I went by that path, the distance of our army from Bijapur territory, would enable these two to form a firm junction, and all caution and safety would be lost. Therefore, I decided to quarter my army near Saswad, which is close to Purandhar and other tracts of Shiva's and within easy reach of Bijapur too."—*Despatches*, 117 *a.*

wrote to the Emperor, "Now that Shiva is quite negligent and free from anxiety about the west coast, if our ships and boats from the direction of Guzerat make a sudden descent on his maritime possessions, much booty can be secured." (129. *b.*) His emissaries, Brahmans of Upper India, whose persons were held sacred and who, therefore, could not travel as heralds and envoys between Hind chiefs,—were sent to the zemindars of the Karnatik, to tempt them to help the Mughal by threatening Bijapur from the east,—to the Chandra Rais, the family from which Shiva had wrested the Jaoli district, and to every Maratha who bore a grudge to Shiva or envied the sudden rise of the Bhonslas. Afzal Khan's son was given a command and the opportunity of avenging his slaughtered father. Moneys and promises of high rank in the Mughal service were lavishly employed against Shivaji's officers* and feudatories to corrupt their loyalty, and with some success. Two nobles, named Rana (= Rama?) and Hanwant, natives of Supa, who had been serving the Rajah of Chanda, were secured and employed by Jai Singh as familiar from birth with the seat of the war and possessed of local influence.

Above all, Jai Singh concentrated his authority in his own hands, as the indispensable means of success in war. The Emperor had at first given him only the military command, but all administrative works,—the promotion, degradation and transfer of officers, the payment of the troops, the regulation of *jagirs*,—were to be done by the officials in and off Aurangabad under orders of the viceroy.

* "I had sent men to invite Chandra Rai and his brother, the zemindars of Jaoli . . . with promises and passage money. Our messengers of mine went to Ambaji and Kharkuli and two of his brothers of his, who were posted by Shiva at Purandhar to cast guns and who had 3,000 cavalry . . . I have written to the late Afzal Khan's son to come into Mughal pay and exact vengeance from Shiva. It is likely that some of Shiva's comrades will desert him and join us. What is your Majesty's pleasure about the *mansabs* and *jagirs* to be given to them?" (*Despatches*).

Prince Muazzam. Jai Singh rightly insisted that the "man on the spot" should be given his power, or the work would suffer.

"Your Majesty knows that the commander of an army must be able to appeal to the hopes and fears of his troops.] After the vicereignty of Shaista Khan, inquiry into the instalments of salaries, appointments, and transfers have been placed in the hands of the clerks at Aurangabad. Every soldier who has a business to get done has to leave the scene of war and go to that city for it. The General, who truly knows the services and muster of each officer and is the best judge of the manner in which each should be treated,—has no power to reward or punish! All matters have to be submitted to the Prince, every one (as commanded by you) is to apply to him. In these circumstances I think that, if your Majesty pleases, the power of transfer and change of *jagir* of my subordinates, the payment or withholding of instalments of their salary in accordance with their services and muster, and the appointment and dismissal of officers, may be taken out of the hands of those clerks and given to me, and papers of the *jagirs* and salaries may be sent to me.

Then all soldiers, good and bad, knowing themselves in my power, will apply their hearts in right earnest to their tasks. If your Majesty does not see any way to grant this prayer, I beg that it may be kept secret, for, if its rejection becomes public, I shall lose still more prestige." (*Despatches*, 119, b—120, b.)

These arguments convinced even the suspicious Aurangzib, and Jai Singh got full civil as well as military authority,—no small triumph. The commandants of forts Ahmadnagar and Chikanda were also, at Jai Singh's request, ordered to obey his directions, to keep the provisions and heavy baggage sent by him, and do no other things at his writing.

When he supplied himself with one of the means of war, by drawing in his own name a lakh of rupees from the Imperial treasury for advancing salary and help to the soldiers promptly at their need, without waiting for the slow and tedious movements of the accounts Department. Here, again, the general was only to follow his own discretion.

In the Kokan campaigning is impossible during the rainy season. It was already

March when Jai Singh reached Puna, and if he was to do anything it must be done in the short space of the next three months. From the *Despatches* we learn how he utilised every day, how he struck swiftly and hard. The mariner does not scan the sky for the clouds with more anxiety than did this general for the vapoury herald of the monsoons which must stop his work and drive him into the forced inactivity of cantonments.

THE THEATRE OF WAR

The Western Ghats form a long towering wall running north to south along the western side of the Deccan. They have thrown off a number of short spurs eastwards, every two of which enclose a valley, the bed of some stream rolling east to join its sisters and form the mighty rivers of the south, the Godavari and the Krishna. Towards the east the spurs end, the valleys widen out and merge in the vast plains of the kingdom of Bijapur. This land, almost locked among the hills, is the cradle of the Maratha kingdom. Open and, therefore, vulnerable on the east, it is almost impenetrable among the jungles and hills of the west. And it is in the west that the historic forts of Shivaji are situated, almost every peak being crowned with the Maratha eagle's eyrie.

Going southwards from Junir, (some sixty miles west of Ahmadnagar), and crossing the Mughal frontier, we have first the valley of the Indrayani (containing the hill forts of Lohgarh and Tikona in the west and Chakan in the centre). Next comes the valley of the Bhima, with the city of Puna. Further south, across a long range, lies the valley of the slender brook Karha, with the cities of Saswad and Supa in the plain and the forts of Singharh in the western hills and Purandhar on its southern rocky barrier. Beyond these hills lies the valley of the Nira, with the town of Shirwal on its bank and the forts of Rajgarh and Torna in the west and Rohira in the south-west.

Puna is almost the same distance (15 miles) between Lohgarh in the north-west and Singh-garh in the south. Saswad was admirably situated for attacking Purandhar (6 miles south of it), Singh-garh and Rajgarh (18 and 24 miles in the west), and Puna (18 miles north-west of it),—while the widening plain east of it enabled cavalry to make an easy and rapid dash into Bijapur territory, or bar the path of reinforcements coming from that side. Even now five main roads meet here.

Jai Singh, therefore, with a true general's eye for the ground, made Saswad his base. Puna was strongly garrisoned. An outpost was established opposite Lohgarh to observe and blockade it and guard the road leading north to the Mughal frontier near Junir. A flying column was organised to ravage the Maratha villages embosomed among the hills to the west and south-west of Saswad. On his eastern side he was quite secure from attack, from the nature of the ground, the position of Saswad close to the boundary line between Shiva's dominion and Bijapur, and the existence of a Mughal advanced post at Supa.

OUTPOSTS ESTABLISHED.

After arriving at Puna (3rd March), Jai Singh spent some days in settling the country and establishing outposts, which he regarded as the "first of the pillars supporting the work of this expedition." Qutbuddin Khan was sent with 7,000 cavalry with orders to guard the country from Junir in the north to the foot of the hills (*painghat*) of Talkokan opposite Lohgarh, to set up one permanent outpost facing Lohgarh (to be garrisoned by 3,000 men), another facing fort Nar-durg* (which is also known as Dabhar) with a strong force, and other outposts to bar the paths usually followed by the enemy, and to be constantly touring through his jurisdiction and

* In the Ms. the word may also be read as *Tardurg* or *Taldurg*. Not found in the map. I suppose it was *Talegaon Dabhada*, at the eastern end of the ridge on which Lohgarh and Visapur stand.

inspecting his outposts. Ihtisham Khan with 4,000 cavalry was left to guard Puna and its surrounding district. Between Puna and Lohgarh, a distance of some 28 miles, is a difficult pass, where a guard of 2,000 cavalry was posted. Syed Abdul Aziz was appointed with 3,000 horse to hold the *thanah* of Shirwal and prevent aid from reaching Purandhar from the south. With him went Baji Chandra Rai, Ambaji Govind Rao (zemindars of Jaoli), and Venkoji Dhangargir, who had joined the Mughals.

There was already another *thanah* at Supa, in charge of Syed Munawwar Khan of Barha, and some other Muslim and Hindu officers.

CAMPAIGN OPENED—MARCH ON SASWAD.

Deciding, for the reasons given above, to take up his position at Saswad and besiege Purandhar, Jai Singh marched out of Puna on the 14th March.

But he had immediately afterwards to make a long halt in its environs, as news came to him that Qutbuddin had gone to Junir to escort treasure and Shiva had come to Lohgarh to make a dash into the Imperial territory as soon as Jai Singh's back would be turned to Puna. Jai Singh quickly recalled Qutbuddin to his post opposite Lohgarh to watch Shiva's movements and resumed his march on the 23rd. Loni,* some 10 miles east of Puna, was next reached; here a block house or enclosure for sheltering the troops was built in 3 days, and a *thanah* established under Rana and Hanuwant, with 300 cavalry and 300 foot musketeers, to guard the line of communication with Puna and the two roads which led to the Imperial territory.

Arriving on the 29th March at a place one day's march short of Saswad, he sent on Dilir

* The Ms. reads "*Tubi* (or *Tupi*) 5 kos from Puna towards Saswad on the hill of the fort of Purandhar." This would give some village near the Baydeo Ghat, but there is none of the name in the map. read *Loni*, which is about 12 miles east of Puna, but in a plain.

Khan with the vanguard and the artillery to cross the pass lying in the way, advance four miles up the hill, and then halt.

The next day* the Rajah crossed and pushed on to Dilir Khan's camp, leaving Daud Khan below the pass to see to the safe transit of the army up to noon. The rearguard were to bring the stragglers.

On this very morning (30th March) Dilir Khan went with the van to select a proper place for encampment. In this reconnaissance he approached fort Purandhar. A large body of Maratha musketeers, who occupied an enclosure in the waist of the hill—called *badi* in the local language,—now came down and attacked the Imperialists, who, however, routed them and captured the *badi*. The houses there were burnt and the Mughal Jan very boldly improved their victory by at once pushing on as near Purandhar as they could and entrenching beyond the fire of the fort.

Jai Singh on hearing of it, at once sent up 3,000 of the troops of his command under Rai Singh Rathor, Kirat Singh, Qubad Khan, Mitrasen, Indraman Bundela and other officers at a gallop. He also despatched an urgent order to Daud Khan to come to him, take charge of the camp and enable the Rajah to go to supervise the siege. But Daud Khan, on hearing the news, had hastened to join Dilir Khan, without coming to Jai Singh.

The day was far spent; there was no high officer left to guard the camp, and so Jai Singh had to stay there perforce. He had already sent forward a party of pioneers and water-carriers, shot, powder, gun munitions, and entrenching tools for the use of Dilir Khan.

SIEGE OF RUDRAMAL.

Next morning (31st March), Jai Singh carefully escorted the baggage to a permanent

* Jai Singh reached the camp about the midnight of 29th March, which according to the Muhammadan astronomy is considered a part of the 30th March. Hence "next day."

camp serving as a base, between Saswad and Purandhar, only 4 miles from the latter. Then he reconnoitred the fort from the position of Daud Khan and Kirat Singh. It was not a single fort, but a whole hill fortified; hence to surround and closely blockade it was impossible.

He, therefore, after long meditation decided to take at all costs Rudramal (= Vajraghat) a fort at the north-east angle of Purandhar and commanding the latter.

Dilir Khan with his nephews and Afghan troops, Hari Bhan, and Udai Bhan Gaur, entrenched between Purandhar and Rudramal. In front of him were the chief of the artillery Turktaz Khan and the party sent by Jai Singh Kirat Singh with the 3,000 troopers of the Rajah and a few other *mansabdars* made a stockade opposite the gate of Purandhar. On the right were the trenches of Rajah Nar Singh Gaur, Karn Rathor, Jagat Singh of Narwar, and Syed Maqbul Alam Behin. Purandhar and facing its postern gate (*khidka*) was the position of Daud Khan, Rajah Rai Singh Rathor, Md. Salih Tarkhan, Ram Singh [Hada ?], Shir Singh Rathor, Rai Singh Gaur and others. To the right of the position was that of Rasul Beg Rozbhani and his Rozbhani followers. Opposite Rudramal, Chaturbhuj Chauhan with a party of Dilir Khan's followers entrenched, and behind these Mitrasen, Indraman Bundela and some others.

Jai Singh removed his quarters from the camp to the foot of the hill to be nearer the besieged fort, while the soldiers pitched their tents along the hill side. He visited the trenches every day, encouraged his men, and supervised the progress of the siege. At first all his efforts were directed to dragging guns to the top of the steep and difficult hill. It took three days to raise a gun, named *Abdullah Khan*, and mount it opposite Rudramal. In $3\frac{1}{2}$ days more a second gun, named *Fateh Lashkar*, was taken there. A third, named *Haheli*, was painfully approaching the summit.

The incessant cannonade of the Mughals demolished the bases of the tower in front, and pioneers were sent to its foot to dig a hole underneath.

At midnight, 13th April, Dilir Khan's division stormed the tower, planted their banner on it, and drove the enemy into an enclosure facing the tower, leaving 7 slain and 4 wounded behind.

The Rajah reinforced Dilir Khan with a party of his own Rajputs. The victorious Mughals now pushed on to the front of the inner fort (citadel) of Rudramal and tried to escalate it. The garrison, driven to hard straits by their fire, offered to capitulate. In the evening of the 14th April they gave up the keys, evacuated the fort and were disarmed but allowed to join Shivaji, (in order, as Jai Singh adds, to tempt the garrison of Purandhar by this example of leniency to surrender instead of making a desperate defence!) The heroic leaders of the besieged were very chivalrously given robes of honour by Dilir Khan and Jai Singh alike. The Imperialists lost 80 killed and 109 wounded.

FIRE AND SWORD IN MAHARASHTRA.

The possession of Rudramal was the stepping stone to the capture of Purandhar, "the key that would unlock Purandhar," as Jai Singh wrote in his despatch. Dilir Khan now turned to the latter fort, and Jai Singh organised raids into the Maratha country, in order, as he said, to convince Shiva and the Sultan of Bijapur that the Mughal army was large enough to spare troops from the siege, and also to ravage the villages of the Marathas, as they had ravaged the Mughal dominions, and to prevent their mustering round Shivaji. (133, a.)

On the 25th April, a flying column was sent under Daud Khan, with Raja Rai Singh, Sharza Khan, Amar Singh Chandrawat, Achal Singh Kachhwa (the principal officer of Jai Singh), 400 of Jai Singh's own troopers, and

Imperial soldiers, numbering in all 7,000 men* with orders to enter the region of Rajgarh, Rohira, and Singh-garh, from two sides, and "not to leave any vestige of cultivation and habitation, but make an utter desolation." (133, b.) At the same time Qutbuddin Khan and Ludhi Khan were ordered to harry the district from the north and thus distract and wear out Shivaji.

Daud Khan's party arrived near fort Rohira on the 27th and burnt and totally ruined about fifty villages. A body of Mughal skirmishers entered four populous villages hidden among the hills, which had never before been visited by an enemy; reinforcements arriving the enemy were routed, the villages occupied and razed to the ground, and many peasants, cattle and other property captured. After one day's halt there, on the 30th, the invaders marched to Rajgarh, burning the villages in the way. Without stopping to besiege the fort † (for which they were not prepared), they sacked the villages behind and before it.

The ground was hilly and uneven; so the Mughals retreated 4 miles to a level place, near the pass of Kunjan Khora where they encamped for the night, keeping good watch, and next day (1st May) reached Shivapur. Thence Daud Khan marched towards Singhgarh (Kondana) and harried its environs, returning to Puna, by Jai Singh's order, on the 3rd May.

Meantime Qutbuddin Khan, in the midst of his raid in the passes of Pur-khora and Tasi-khori, near fort Kumari, was urgently recalled by Jai Singh to Puna, where he joined Daud Khan. The cause of this interruption was the Rajput general's learning that Shiva

* According to the *Alamgirnāmāh*. The *Despatches* give 6,000.

† The *Despatches* (135, c) say, "On the 29th, they arrived at the foot of the fort. The front skirmishers pushed on to the gate, but none of the garrison durst come out." The *Alamgirnāmāh*, on the other hand, asserts, "On the 30th they arrived, &c.....The enemy from the hill-top discharged guns, muskets, and rockets. A large body of them issued from the fort and stood in line of battle on the waist of the hill, without venturing to descend further (p. 895)."

had mustered a large force near Lohgarh, which required to be immediately broken up.

The two Mughal columns were, therefore, diverted to that side (the north-west). Leaving Puna they halted at Chinchwad (10 or 12 miles north) on the 4th and reached Lohgarh on the 5th. When the Mughal skirmishers arrived near the fort, 500 Maratha horse and 1,000 infantry sallied forth and attacked them. But the Imperialists held their ground, were soon reinforced, and routed the enemy with heavy loss after a severe fight. Then they burnt the houses on the skirt of the hill, taking many prisoners and cattle. The villages enclosed by the four forts,—Lohgarh, Visalgarh, Tikona, and Tanki,—were devastated, and much of Balaghat (highlands) and Painghat (lowlands) harried. Thereafter they returned, Qutbuddin Khan and his party taking up an outpost near Puna, and Daud Khan and his comrades rejoining the main army on the 19th May, after a fortnight's absence.

MARATHA EFFORTS.

Meantime the Maratha captains had not been idle, but tried hard to harass the Mughals and raise the siege. Early in April, Netaji Palkar, Shiva's son-in-law and cavalry leader, made a dash on Purainda, but a Mughal detachment from Supa hastened in pursuit, and the Maratha host melted away at the news and offered no fight. Late in May, Qutbuddin Khan had to advance up to fort Urôuda,* to break up a gathering of the enemy of which he had got news. The villages on the way were plundered, and the enemy dispersed wherever they assembled round any of their forts. The hill of Lohgarh was scaled, and a body of Marathas on the top slain or routed, Daud Khan returning with 300 captives and nearly 3,000 cattle. Then again, a body of 300 Maratha cavalry, who were

sheltering at Narkot, were dislodged by a detachment sent by Qubad Khan, the new *thanahdar* of Puna (*vice* Ihtisham Khan deceased), the victors returning with captured peasants and cattle.

But the Marathas did not invariably fail. As Jai Singh admits, "sometimes we have failed to prevent the enemy from accomplishing their hostile designs." (B6,b.) Ebnaf Khan is more explicit: "The surprises of the enemy, their gallant successes, attacks on dark nights, blocking of roads and difficult passes, and burning of jungles, made it very hard for the Imperialists to move about. The Mughals lost many men and beast." (ii. 180).

SIEGE OF PURANDHAR.

But for all that Jai Singh clung tenaciously to his plan. Dilir Khan sat down before Purandhar like grim Death, his men "doing in a day what could not be achieved elsewhere in a month."

At first, the garrison made sorties to drive back the besiegers. One night they attacked Kirat Singh, who was quite prepared and gave them a hot reception, which sent them back in disappointment. Another attack on the trenches of Rasul Beg Fozlani, on a dark night, was more successful, as he was caught napping: the guns in the trenches were siezed and spiked, and Rasul Beg's followers taken by surprise, 15 being wounded. But reinforcements, attracted by the din of battle, poured in from the neighbouring trenches, and the enemy were repulsed with loss. Next day there was a sharp skirmish over the removal of the corpses, in which the Mughals lost 8 men.

Jai Singh, at the advice of siege engineers, constructed a high platform of logs and planks, on which guns were mounted and parties of musketeers and gunners placed with munitions to command the enemy's position. On the 29th May, the platform was set up by the Rajputs before the White Tower (an outwork

* The *Alamgirnāmah* gives *Ur-durg*, I suggest *Urôuda*, 11 miles West of Puna. It may also have been *Udai-durg*.

built by Shiva), in the face of prolonged and severe opposition by the garrison. Bhupat Singh (a commander of 500 under Jai Singh), some other Rajputs, and one retainer of Dilir Khan were slain.

But the raised battery* did its work: the White Tower was breached and the Mughals made a lodgement at its base. But beyond it was the old outwork, the Black Tower, and the intervening ground was mined and stored with gunpowder, which the Marathas exploded to check the Mughal advance, but it only caused a loss of 80 of their own men. The day was far spent, and Jai Singh held back his men, entrenching at the foot of the White Tower, which the Marathas evacuated during the following night. Now the Mughals from the White Tower bombarded the Black Tower, filled up the hollow space between with stones and earth in 6 days, and raised an earthwork to command the Black Tower. This latter was breached and the enemy forced to vacate it and a third outwork near it and flee into the main fort.

Purandhar now seemed doomed. And as if to complete its destruction, the Emperor had at Jai Singh's request despatched a train of very large guns, which were now on the way to the fort, and, worse than everything else, its gallant commandant was slain. The following is the Maratha account of his end, but the Mughals are silent on the point:—

Baji Prabhu, who was posted at Purandhar with 12,000 men, came down with 700 soldiers, demolished the Mughal earthworks, and most gallantly penetrated to the camp of Dilir Khan, close to the entrance (*deorhi*) of which they slew 500 Mughals. Just then Dilir Khan advanced, crying, "Bravo! a thousand times bravo! I highly admire your courage and pro-

* There is a very corrupt passage in the *Despatches* (138, b) which runs thus: "Five towers and one battlement of wood, shelters of the enemy, from the fort of Kandikala (Khadkala?), form the strong boundary (?) of the fort of Purandhar. They have been captured by us." Does it mean that these six wooden structures captured at Khadkala were brought and planted against Purandhar?

† The text has *Dadaji Prabhu*.

mise you your life." Baji replied, "I am Shivaji's servant. What have I to do with your promise and assurances?" Advancing he tried to strike Dilir Khan, who, however, shot him with an arrow, while his soldiers felled him with many blows. So he was slain and 300 of his heroic followers by his side; the rest retreated to the fort.*

SHIVA OFFERS SUBMISSION.

This disheartened the garrison and Shiva too. The families of the Maratha officers were sheltered in Purandhar, and its loss would mean their captivity and dishonour. Failure and ruin stared him in the face wherever he looked. With his usual foresight he had for some time past been sending envoys to Jai Singh to beg for terms, but the astute Rajput did not take them seriously. And now, in right earnest Shiva sent a most trusted Brahman, Raghunath Panth Nyayashastri, surnamed Pundit Rao, with a definite offer of submission. The Rajah assured him that if he sincerely wanted to live in obedience and peace with the Emperor, he must come unarmed like an offender surrendering himself, see the Rajah, and receive his promise of pardon and safety. Shiva had no help but to yield. So, on the 11th June, 1665, he left Rajgarh with a small party to interview Jai Singh in the manner agreed upon. (*Alamgirnarah*, 901).

INTERVIEW, 12TH JUNE, 1665.†

Jai Singh had got up a little scene to conquer any lingering reluctance that Shiva might still have had. In anticipation of the Maratha chief's arrival, he sent word to Dilir Khan and Kirat Singh, whose earthworks were the most advanced towards Purandhar, to push them on still further and arrange for storming it. The garrison made a sortie to check the work, but were driven back to the gate of the fort with a loss of 60 killed and many wounded.

While this fight was raging, spies reported to Rajah Jai Singh that Shivaji was coming

* *Tarikh-i-Shivaji*, 21, b.

† The date is doubtful. May be the 11th June.

with Sarfaraz Khan, *thanahdar* of Shivapur. He at once sent Udai Raj (his own secretary) with Khargsen Kachhwah to meet him on the way and warn him, saying, "If you are coming to offer submission and obedience and to surrender your forts to the Emperor, then come and receive pardon and favours, and thereby save your life, honour and property. Otherwise you need not come, as your forts and country will be very soon conquered by us." Shiva answered, "I have personally come to him, and shall do whatever loyalty and obedience demand." An hour after he arrived at the Rajah's camp. Jani Beg, Paymaster of the army, ushered him into the general's tent, who advanced a few steps, embraced Shiva, and seated him near himself. Armed Rajputs were stationed around to guard against any treacherous move on the part of the slayer of Afzal Khan!

Shiva in a low and humble tone professed regret for having given offence to the Emperor, and offered Purandhar and many other forts in the hope of being pardoned, promising at the same time to serve him loyally in his wars. Jai Singh solemnly promised him safety of life and property, and sent Ghazi Beg, Mir Tuzuk, with one of Shiva's attendants to Dilir Khan and Kirat Singh, to ask them to suspend hostilities and allow the garrison to evacuate the fort. Ghazi Beg bore the message, and Shiva's officer went to the gate of Purandhar and gave to the garrison the order to capi-

tulate. They begged respite for the night.

Dilir Khan was greatly offended at this pacific end of the siege, which robbed him of the chance of military glory, and at Shiva's not having interceded with him. So he refused to move from his trenches or consent to an armistice. The politic Jai Singh now turned to soothe him. Shiva, who had come with no baggage, had been most hospitably lodged by Jai Singh in his own quarters for the night; and next morning he was sent with Rajah Rai Singh to wait on Dilir Khan, who, mollified by this attention, presented him with two horses, a sword, a jewelled dagger, and two pieces of precious cloth. Then Dilir Khan conducted Shiva back to Jai Singh, took his hand, and entrusted him to the Rajah. The Rajah now presented Shiva with a robe of honour, a horse, an elephant, and an ornament for the turban (*jigha*). Shiva, who had come unarmed, with great policy girt on the sword for a short time and then put it off, saying, "I shall serve the Emperor as one of his devoted but unarmed servants."

Next day (13th June) according to the agreement, 7,000 men and women, (of whom 4,000 were combatants), left Purandhar, and the Mughals entered into possession of it; all the stores, weapons, artillery, and other property found within were attached by the Government. Mughal officers were sent with Shivaji's men to take charge of five other forts to be surrendered by the Marathas.*

* The above is based on the *Alamgirnamah*, pp. 991-904, and Khafi Khan, ii, 181, 182. The Mughal historians are silent about Dilir Khan's anger, which is mentioned by the *Dilkasha*, p. 54. The following account of the whole affair, given by the last work, seems to me rather less reliable:—"In order to save the family-honour of his retainers, Shiva went with a few men near the Imperial army and sent word to Jai Singh that he had come for an interview, and that the Rajah's son, Kirat Singh, should be sent to conduct him in safety. The Rajah was puzzled by his coming, which was quite unexpected. Kirat Singh met Shiva on the way and conducted him with all honour to the Rajah in the afternoon. A host of people, on hearing of his coming, issued to see the fun and gaze at him with their own eyes. Jai Singh advanced to the door [of the tent], embraced him and asked about his health. Shiva said, "Vast numbers are being slain in the war between us and oppression done to both sides. It does not become me, the humblest of slaves, to defy the Emperor. I find that the prosperity and happiness of the families of my followers consist in submission to the Emperor. I call myself the son of your great

self, and have come to "my father" without any mediator or envoy; and I beg pardon for my offences from the Emperor through your intercession. I promise to serve [the Imperial] cause in arduous tasks like the attack on Qandahar, and offer 24 of my forts as tribute. Lay your hand of paternal love on my head." Mirza Rajah considering this a rare good fortune, they took the order of being father and son. There was joy [in the camp.] The Rajah sent a messenger to Dilir Khan, saying, "Shiva has come and agrees to vacate and give up the fort [of Purandhar]. Retire from the trenches." Dilir Khan was displeased on hearing of this, which had happened without his being consulted, and replied, "I have undergone hard labour in the siege, and sacrificed many men. The wall has been breasted and the assault decided upon. I have [practically] taken the fort by force and shall make peace only after capturing it." Next morning Mirza Rajah sent Shiva with Kirat Singh to interview Dilir Khan, who then withdrew from the siege and came to Mirza Rajah with Shiva." (*Dilkasha*, pp. 53 and 54.)

PEACE.

Sometime before this, while Shiva had been sending Brahman envoys to the Rajah, the latter with his usual foresight had written to the Emperor begging him to send an Imperial *farman* (letter) granting favours and addressed to Shiva. This was to be given to the Maratha chief in the event of his submission. By a strange coincidence the *farman* and robe of honour sent by the Emperor arrived on the day following Shiva's submission. Shiva, by the Rajah's advice, followed the court etiquette, advanced six miles on foot to do honour to and welcome the Imperial letter, and put on the robe (*khilat*).

After a long discussion it was agreed (1) that Shiva should surrender 23 forts* and their dependent lands yielding a revenue of 40 lacs of rupees a year, to the Mughals, (2) that he should be allowed to retain his remaining 12 forts, with attached lands yielding 4 lacs of rupees a year, (3) that he should return home and send his son, Sambhaji (then 8 years old), with a contingent of his soldiers to serve under Jai Singh as his representative, and (4) that when Imperial business required it,

Shiva would personally come and fight under the Imperial banner.

Shivaji then took his leave for Rajgarh, receiving many other presents from the Rajah. Some Mughal officers accompanied him up to Singhgarh to take over that fort. On the 18th June, Sambhaji arrived in the Rajah's camp, and was given by the Emperor at Jai Singh's request, the rank and pay of a commander of five thousand horse in the Mughal service (22nd Sep.).

Thus in less than three months from the date when he opened the campaign, Jai Singh had succeeded in bringing down Shiva on his knees; he had made this haughty chief cede a large part of his dominions and consent to serve as a dependent vassal of the Emperor. It was a splendid victory. Shiva loyally carried out his promises: in the war with Bijapur, he with his contingent rendered distinguished service under the Mughal banner and was mentioned in the despatches. If he was afterwards turned into an irreconcilable foe and the ruiner of the Mughal empire, the policy of Aurangzib was to blame for it. Jai Singh had done *his* part manfully and wisely, as nobody else could have done.

JADUNATH SARKAR.

* They are thus named in the *Alamgirnamah*, p. 905: (1) Purandhar, (2) Rudramal (=Wajragarh), (3) Kondanah (=Singhgarh), (4) Khandkala, (5) Lohgarh, (6) Isagarh (? = Visalgarh), (7) Tanki, (8) Tikona, (9) Rohira (= Rohila), (10) Nar-durg, (11) Mahuli, (12) Bhandardurg, (13) Pakakhol, (14) Rupgarh, (15) Baktagarh, (16) Mauranjan, (17) Marikgarh, (18) Surupgarh, (19) Sagargarh (20) Marggarh,

(21) Ankola, (22) Songarh, and (23) Mangarh. Of these the names of 7, 10, 13, 16, and 20 are doubtful. The port of Choul also was surrendered to the Mughals. The twelve forts retained by Shiva were (1) Rajgarh, (2) Torna, (3) Rairi (= Raigarh), (4) Lingana, (5) Mhargarh, (6) Ballagarh, (7) Goshala, (8) Iswari, (9) Pali, (10) Bhurup, (11) Kumri, and (12) Udaidurg. (*Duff*, i. 209, n.)

The man seeking truth must come as a worshipper. He must deny himself his own prejudices and preferences. He must put aside all pride and worldly passion and ambition. He must not ask for the applause or even for the sympathy of the multitude. His duty is to observe the thing that is, and to allow it to make its own impress upon his mind. Then he

is bound to give an absolutely simple report of what he has found. To allow any ulterior motives to influence him would be to profane the altar at which he serves. Even the utility of the truth he discovers is not to him the primary consideration. The question, "Is it true?" must not be confused with any other.—S. M. Crothers.

SWADESHI IN EDUCATION

IF we are in earnest about higher education in this country, we must take the matter in our own hands, and cease to look to Englishmen for help. We do not say this, with any idea of boycotting English teachers as English goods have been boycotted in Bengal. The reason is quite different. We shall never be able to get Englishmen of the highest distinction to come to India. There is, for example, in this country, no English teacher of mathematics who has, like Mr. Paranjpye, obtained the highest honours. This is not a mere accident. We are willing to believe that the Secretary of State chooses the best men, among those who offer themselves as candidates for appointments, but no English senior wrangler would wish to enter the Indian Educational Service. If he thought of coming to India at all, he would join the Indian Civil Service with its far better pay and prospects. Indeed, the recent changes in the rules of the Indian Civil Service make it less likely than before that we shall obtain Englishmen of ability as teachers. Formerly the limit of age for that service was nineteen. The candidates were boys from school, and only those boys went in, who had no chance of obtaining a scholarship at any college, or distinguishing themselves at either University. Now the limit of age is twenty-five, and the candidates are for the most part, men who have taken their degrees at Oxford or Cambridge. Moreover, the character of the examination has changed, so that success depends less on cram, and more on accurate, scholarly knowledge of a few subjects. No doubt, as far as the Civil Service itself is concerned, these changes are for the good. We shall get a better educated set of men for our rulers.

But, it is not likely we shall get as good English teachers. Men like Mr. Stuart and Sir John Elliot who have taken high degrees at an English University will no longer be prevented by the age limit from entering the Civil Service. For it is obvious that such men would find no difficulty in passing the examination, when most of the successful candidates are second or third class men.

But the deterioration of the Indian Educational Service is not merely a matter of anticipation. It has been noticed already both by Indian speakers on the Viceroy's Council, and in the Anglo-Indian official journal, the *Pioneer*. As Mr. Justice Mukerji remarked during the debates on the Indian Universities Act, we no longer obtain scholars such as Mr. Gough. And this leads us to remark, that the treatment Mr. Gough received from the Local Government, was not such as to encourage scholars to come to India. Mr. Gough's case was only one of many similar discreditable jobs. It takes some time for these things to become known in England, but they become known at last, and hence, apart from the reason given above, the Indian Educational Service is becoming unpopular at the English Universities. We have seen a letter from a well-known Cambridge tutor, advising in the most emphatic terms, one of his pupils, not to become a professor at an Indian college.

Admitting then, that under the present conditions of service the best Englishmen will not come to India as teachers, it might be said that these conditions should be altered. This is what in fact what Mr. Gokhale advocated in his able speeches on the Viceroy's Council. He urged that the pay of English

professors should be increased, and that they should be made subordinate, not to the Local, but to the Imperial Government. Of these two proposals, the second seems to us the more important. It is not so much that the pay of the English professors is too low, as that the pay of the members of the India Civil Service is too high, considering what men of their attainment are paid elsewhere. Moreover, from what we have seen of English scholars, both in England and India, we believe that they do not so much resent the difference of pay as the necessity of ingratiating themselves with the Secretaries to the Local Government. But there is not any chance in the immediate future of either of Mr. Gokhale's proposals being adopted. Both would be opposed by the Civil Service, and whoever may be the Viceroy or the Secretary of State, the Civil Service rules India.

In fact, there is no desire on the part of our rulers to have able men engaged in the work of teachers. In the first place they dislike English education. This dislike is quite openly expressed by subordinate members of the Civil Service, and it is not probable, that when one of them rises to be Lieutenant-Governor, he feels it any the less strongly, because his position compels him to be more cautious in his language. We have heard on good authority, that on one occasion Sir Auckland Colvin, after being shewn in some provincial town a hospital and a school, said, pointing to the one "Everyone who comes out of that building is a friend to the British Government," and then pointing to the other "And everyone who comes out of that, is an enemy to the British Government." If by "being an enemy to the British Government" is meant that educated Indians are not content with a system of government which the English themselves would not tolerate for a single month, Sir Auckland Colvin was quite right. But whether he was right or

wrong, there is no doubt about the hostility to education which his words indicated.

In the second place, it is well known, that in order that they may reserve all well-paid posts for themselves, the Indian Civil Service prefer to have inferior men in all departments except their own. They cannot fill Indian professorships, as according to Mr. Pennell they do the Police, with "relations of whom they are not very proud but whom nevertheless they do not wish to have on their hands," because the appointments are made in England. But they can do and have done much to discourage men of ability from joining the Indian Education Service. We do not attribute to them any special wickedness. They are merely acting as men in their position always have acted. Whenever a service or order is founded, for any purpose whatever, the interest of the service or order become the primary considerations for its members. This does not imply any conscious hypocrisy. The Jesuit in all good faith believes that in working for the interests of his order he is working for the interests of the Church and the greater glory of God and, no doubt, the Indian Civil Servant believes with equal good faith that it is for the benefit of India that every important appointment should be held by his own service.

If then, we rely on the government for help, we are confined within a vicious circle. A government, over which the people of India have no control, will not establish a satisfactory system of education. On the other hand, until education is more widely diffused, we cannot hope to have an effective voice in the government. The only way of escape is that we should do for ourselves what the government will not do for us.

The first step should be, we think, *to establish an Indian college superior to any existing college.* We lay emphasis on the last words, for they contain the essential feature of our proposal. There are many Indian

colleges already. They are doing very useful work, but they are not doing the work we have especially in view, they do not shew, that there are Indians who can do the work of teaching even up to the highest standard as well or better than Europeans. Indeed, the inferiority of some of these colleges was the pretext put forward by Lord Curzon for his Universities' Act. It was a mere pretext, as the effect of the Act has been not to improve education but to place it more completely under the control of the Civil Service. But it is unfortunate that it was possible to put forward such a pretext. To realise our object, two things are necessary. First: the professors must be all Indian. Secondly: they must be men of at least equal and, if possible, of higher qualifications than the professors in government colleges. For the present, they should, we think, be men who have taken their degrees in European universities. We do not doubt for a moment that there are men of great ability who have never left India. But they have not given the same undeniable proof of their ability, as those men who have been to England and succeeded in competition with Englishmen.

For the sake of definiteness, we will mention the names of Mr. Paranjpye and Dr. Ziauddin in Mathematics, Dr. J. C. Bose in Physics, Dr. Ray in Chemistry. These men with assistant professors to teach the lower classes would form a staff, at least as good as that of any government college.

We have not mentioned the name of any professor of English. But there are many Indians whose knowledge would enable them to fill the post. Some might consider that this professorship at least should be held by an Englishman. But we believe the professors of English at French or German Universities are always Frenchmen or Germans. A university does not, or at any rate ought not to, require so much the conversational

fluency of a commercial traveller as a scholarly knowledge of the language. No doubt, for teaching any language the best man is the native speaker when he is a scholar. But for many purposes the native who is not a scholar is inferior to the foreigner who is. Even if we consider conversation only, the mistakes which jar most on the educated man are those made by his uneducated countryman. We have had European teachers of English in this country who had not the slightest claims to scholarship, and others whose pronunciation was most objectionable. It would be far better to have an Indian scholar than one of these men, and we do not think we could get an English scholar at the salary we propose to offer.

We come to the question of salaries. Not the men we wish to obtain are men who have distinguished themselves at English Universities. They could enter the Civil Service and would probably succeed at the bar. Unless a very large sum of money can be raised, it will not be possible to offer them a salary adequate to their abilities. The only chance for our scheme is then that men will be found who are willing to sacrifice themselves to a certain extent. We do not think it fair to ask of any man so much self-sacrifice as Mr. Paranjpye has shewn. But we think men might be found willing to accept pay of Rs. 300, rising to Rs. 500 a month. There should also be assistant professors at Rs. 200 a month. The appointments should be pensionable. This, it seems to us, is most important, for the prospect of a pension is in many cases the chief attraction of Government service.

As a beginning, it would be sufficient to have four or five professors for Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry, Biology and perhaps English; and about double that number of assistant professors. It will be seen we have omitted the Oriental languages. They are, in fact, already taught very efficiently by Indian

professors at many existing colleges, and there is no need to make any new provision for them. Then again we have omitted Philosophy and History, since these subjects have, so far as we know, almost everywhere in India, been taught by amateurs in a dilettante fashion. What we want is, subjects taught in their most technical details by competent specialists. Hereafter some of the omitted subjects may be included, but at starting, if the scheme is to succeed, expenditure should be restricted within the narrowest limits. The subjects chosen should clearly be those which are most required in order that we may compete with western nations.

The proposed college should be affiliated to one of the existing Indian Universities. The creation of a new Indian University which some have advocated seems to us impracticable if only on the ground of expense. In time we should like to see for every one of the five universities a college such as we have described. But we must make a beginning in one place. No place, we think, could be more suitable than Poona, which has an excellent climate, for the greater part of the year. Here is already a very good college, staffed entirely by Indians and with the most distinguished mathematician in India for one of the professors. It is easier to develop an institution already in existence than to create an entirely new one. We make then this definite suggestion. Subscriptions should be raised throughout the whole of India for the Poona college so as to enlarge the staff and give them adequate pay. The Poona college should, in fact, be developed into an Indian National College on the lines we have indicated. Surely, the recent agitation has kindled the patriotic spirit to enable the necessary funds to be raised. If not, then the Swadeshi cry is an utterly futile one, and we must resign ourselves to be dependent on foreigners for our education. It is useless to boycott government colleges, as some urge,

unless we can establish equally good colleges of our own.

There should be no compulsion in religious matters as there is in the Central Hindu College and the Aligarh College. By all means let those do *pūja* who like it, but there is no reason why those who do not like it, should be deprived of education or compelled to be hypocrites. At Aligarh, we hear, those students who omit one of the five daily prayers, besides incurring the wrath of Almighty God, are liable to the less awful but more certain punishment of being fined an anna. It is satisfactory that religious persecution which took such terrible forms in earlier days, has now become mere petty tyranny. It would be better still that even this petty tyranny should disappear, and every one be allowed to do exactly as he liked in religious observance. Besides we do not want the college to be Hindu, or Mahomedan or Christian; we want it to be Indian. We want to lessen the differences which have hampered our national development in the past, not to accentuate them.

We write these lines in the hope they may attract the attention of the leaders of Indian public opinion and induce them to take up the scheme. Above all we should be glad to obtain the support of Mr. Gokhale, whose speeches on the Indian Universities' Act on the Viceroy's Council were the ablest delivered. Mr. Gokhale urged that if the Government would only improve its own colleges, other colleges would be compelled to follow the example. We reverse the proposition and say, "Let us have a really good college of our own, and then the Government will have to improve its colleges or see them deserted." Of its own accord, as we have pointed out, the Government will do nothing. We do not accuse our rulers of being wilfully harsh and unjust. They are quite willing that we should be educated to the point of being able to do inferior clerical work, too poorly paid to attract the

covetousness of any Englishman. So long as we accept a position of inferiority, they will even be kind to us, and from time to time issue benevolent reports about our Moral and Material Progress. But they do not desire

that education should be pushed so far as to endanger the supremacy of the Europeans. If we wish for better colleges than those we now have, we must depend on our own efforts. X

SANSKRIT SCHOLARSHIP IN THE WEST

II

THE credit of founding the first Professorship of Sanskrit in Europe belongs to France. M. Chezy took up the study of Sanskrit and held the professorship from 1814 to 1832, and drew much attention to Sanskrit. He was succeeded in the professorship by M. Eugene Burnouf, whose labours were extraordinary and whose contributions to Oriental Scholarship were important and authoritative. He was born on the 8th April, 1801, and studied in Paris, where he graduated in 1824. From that time he commenced the study of Sanskrit. A couple of years afterwards in conjunction with Lassen, he published his "Essay on the Pali, or sacred language of the Peninsula beyond the Ganges." It was a remarkable production, because up to that time very little had been known of Pali. He showed the relation which Pali bears to Sanskrit and that it was the language in which the sacred works of Buddhism were written. To him also belongs the credit of making Buddhism known to the West. As a result of his labours, a chronological element has been introduced into Indian history, for he discovered the dates of the principal events of the Buddhistic period of Indian history. He also edited the *Bhagavata Purana*. But his chief glory was the reduction of comparative philology to a system. If it now claims a place amongst the exact sciences; it is to a

large extent due to the labours of M. Burnouf. He died at the comparatively early age of 50.

Since the time of Schlegel, of all Western countries, Germany has taken the lead in Sanskrit Scholarship. Germany, unlike France and England, has no political interest in India. So her scholars have been prompted to take up the study of Sanskrit from disinterested motives. Frederick von Schlegel has observed:—

"An attachment to foreigners, and a desire to visit distant countries, seems like an innate and almost instinctive impulse implanted in the German character: * * * *

"Their inquiring spirit consequently expends itself in a restless yet laudable activity, ever seeking with unwearied diligence to bring to light new sources of truth and beauty, to discover the neglected treasures of other nations, and reproduce them, in new vigour and animation, as incorporated elements of their native literature. If Germans persevere in the course they have hitherto adopted, all the literary treasures of other lands will ere long be associated with their own."

The above explains the interest which German savants have taken in Sanskrit.

A contemporary and co-patriot of Frederick von Schlegel, who did much to arouse the interest of German scholars in the study of Sanskrit, was William von Humboldt. Although he is not so well known as his brother, Alexander—the Scientific Columbus of America,—

yet he did much to place the science of comparative philology on the basis which it at present occupies.

Bopp's comprehensive "Comparative Grammar of the Aryan languages" was a very valuable contribution to the study of comparative philology.

To the German diplomatist, Baron Bunsen, comparative philology is also largely indebted. He has placed Hindus under a deep debt of gratitude by the help he rendered Professor Max Muller in editing the Rik Veda from the ancient manuscripts. Regarding Bunsen, Max Muller says:—

"How strong a desire had been awakened in Germany at that time for a real and authentic knowledge of the Veda, I learnt from my dear old friend Bunsen, when I first made his acquaintance in London in 1846. He was then Prussian Minister in London. He told me that when he was quite a young man, he made up his mind to go himself to India, to see whether there really was such a book as the Veda, and what it was like. But Bunsen was then a poor student in Gottingen, * * *. What did he do to realize his dream? He became tutor to a young and very rich American gentleman, well-known in later life as one of the American millionaires, Mr. Astor. Instead of accepting payment for his lessons, he stipulated with the young American, who had to return to the United States, that they should meet in Italy and from there proceed together to India on a voyage of literary discovery. Bunsen went to Italy, and waited for his friend, but in vain. Mr. Astor was detained at home. * *. Brilliant as Bunsen's career became afterwards, he always regretted the failure of his youthful scheme. 'I have been stranded,' he used to say, 'on the sands of diplomacy'; I should have been happier had I remained a scholar."

"When I called on him as Prussian Minister to have my passport *visé* in order to return to Germany, and when I explained to him how I had worked to bring out an edition of the text and commentary of the Rik-Veda, from manuscripts scattered about in the different libraries in Europe, and was now obliged to return to Germany, unable to complete my copies, and collations of manuscripts, he took my hand, and said:—'I look upon you as myself, young' again. Stay in London, and as to ways and means, let me see to that.'"

The best known of all the German, nay, European, Sanskrit scholars is the one from one of whose works the above extract is made. Professor Max Muller by his edition of the Rik-Veda and several other works did more to familiarise the western world with the literature of the Hindus than any other scholar of Europe had done before his time. How he loved India, her literature, and philosophy is evident from his well-known lectures on "India—what can it teach us?" He says:—

"If I were asked under what sky the human mind has most fully developed some of its choicest gifts, has most deeply pondered on the greatest problems of life, and has found solutions of some of them which well deserve the attention of those who have studied Plato and Kant, I should point to India. And if I were to ask myself from what literature we, here in Europe, we who have been nurtured almost exclusively on the thoughts of Greeks and Romans, and one Semitic race, the Jewish, may draw that corrective which is most wanted in order to make our inner life more perfect, more comprehensive, more universal, in fact more truly human, a life not for this life only,—but a transfigured and eternal life—again I should point to India."

The scene of Max Muller's labours was not, however, his fatherland but England, and he did not write most of his works in his mother tongue.

The most distinguished of all those Sanskritists, who lived and worked in Germany was Albrecht Weber. Born in 1825; he died in 1901; thus he was not only contemporary with but nearly of the same age as Max Muller. He edited the Yajur-Veda and the catalogue* of Sanskrit manuscripts in the Berlin Royal Library. This was the first catalogue of

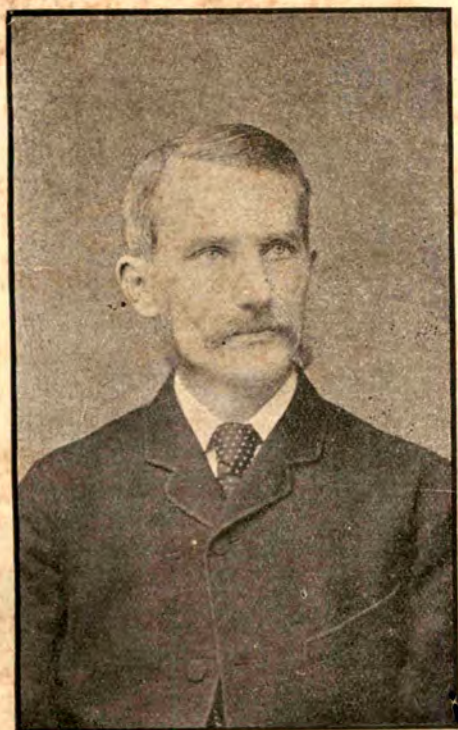
* "The Berlin Library had the good fortune to possess the fine collection of Sanskrit Manuscripts formed by Sir R. Chambers, the acquisition of which some ten years ago; (i. e., in 1842), through the liberality of His Majesty, Frederick William IV., and by the agency of His Excellency Baron Bunsen, opened up to Sanskrit philology a fresh path, upon which it has already made vigorous progress. In the course of last year (i. e., in 1851) commissioned by the Royal Library, I undertook the work of cataloguing this collection, &c. &c." (Weber).



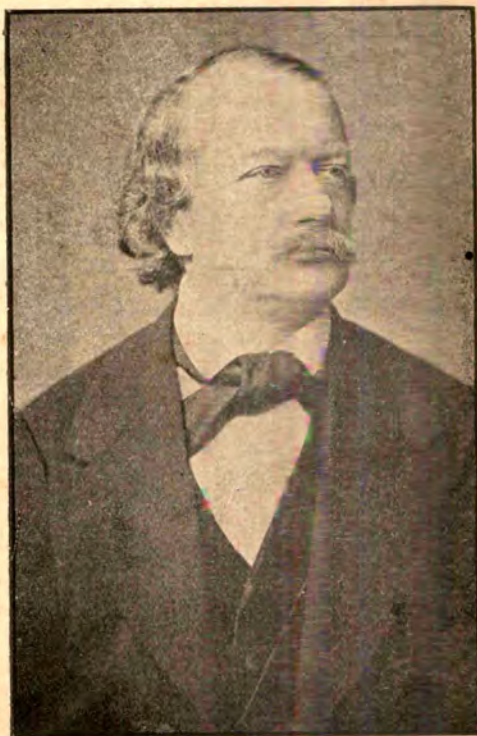
JACOBI.



ROST.



KEILHORN.



WEBER.



THIBAUT.



EGGELING.

INDIAN PRESS, ALAHABAD.

Sanskrit manuscripts and this formed the proto-type of the other catalogues of the later Sanskrit scholars. The seventeen volumes of his *Indischen Studien*, which he published between 1850 and 1885 contain a store house of information regarding India and Sanskrit literature. He was the pioneer of the Western scholars in the study of Jainism and also of Prâkrit. As a Professor of Sanskrit, he was proud of counting as his pupils more than half the distinguished Sanskrit scholars of Europe and America. He is best known by his *History of Indian Literature*, which has been translated into English.

Although he has done a great deal for the spread of Sanskrit scholarship in the West, yet there is one fault in his works which cannot be easily passed over. He tried to show that the ancient Hindus lacked originality and were under the influence of the Greeks in the production of some of their most renowned works of poetry, science and art. According to him the Ramayana was copied from Homer. His fallacious reasonings were very thoroughly exposed by the late Mr. Justice Kashi Nath Trimbak Telang of Bombay.

German scholars, again, have done much for the exposition of Sanskrit Grammar. Boetling's edition of Panini afforded facility for the study of that immortal Sanskrit Grammarian's work to several generations of Western Sanskritists. Boetling in combination with Roth was also the author of the *St. Petersburg Sanskrit Lexicon*, which up to this day remains the best work on the subject.

Goldstucker also, by the publication of his *Panini*, did much to clear the date of birth and times of that Grammarian. Sanskrit Grammar is very difficult to learn and understand. The Hindus reduced it to a science. Those who have visited the seats of Sanskrit learning in this country know what a long period of one's valuable life is spent in the mastery of Sanskrit Grammar. Without a thorough knowledge of Grammar, it is im-

possible to study the Vedas, the Upanishades, the law books, in fact any of the works of Sanskrit authors. Those who have tried to clear the intricacies of Sanskrit Grammar deserve the best thanks of all students of Sanskrit. It is, therefore, that we cannot speak too highly of the labours of Kielhorn who during the time he was professor of Sanskrit in the Poona Deccan College did much for Sanskrit scholarship by his critical editions of Paribhashendu-Sekhara, Patanjali's *Mahabhashya* and several other works on Sanskrit Grammar.

Kielhorn was the last German Professor of Sanskrit in the Bombay Presidency. His predecessors Haug and Buhler—also Germans—did much for the spread of Sanskrit scholarship. Haug is best known among Sanskrit scholars for his edition of *Aitareya Brahmana*.

Buhler's tragic death by drowning in 1892 deprived the world of a very sound Sanskrit



BUHLER.

scholar, and an antiquarian and epigraphist of world-wide fame. He belonged to the Educational Department of Bombay. It was due to his suggestion that the Bombay Sanskrit Series came into existence. The works published in this series are well known for their excellence and largely used by Sanskrit

scholars all over the world. Buhler was also an authority on Hindu Law, which is testified by his edition of *Manu* and several other works, published in the *Sacred Books of the East* series. He was also a distinguished archæologist and contributed many important papers to the *Indian Antiquary* and the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*. At the time of his death, he was engaged on the preparation of an *Encyclopædia of Sanskrit learning*.

It was in the late seventies of the last century that Max Muller launched his wellknown series of *Sacred Books of the East*. The prejudice against and jealousy of foreigners, which are inseparable from the English character, prevented English Sanskrit scholars from taking any part in it. In fact, some of them, notably Sir Monier Williams, did not conceal their opposition to Max Muller's project. He was obliged, therefore, to depend for help on the scholars of his fatherland. Among the most distinguished of these scholars are Eggeling, Jacobi and Thibaut.

Eggeling occupied the chair of Sanskrit in the Edinburgh University. His translation of the *Satapatha Brahmana* has been published in the above series in several parts.

Jacobi, a professor of Sanskrit in Germany, is the author of several important works well-known to Sanskrit scholars. He has enriched the *Sacred Books of the East* series by his admirable translation of the *Jaina Sutras*. He has translated the ancient scriptures of the *Jaina* sect with valuable notes and comments.

Dr. Thibaut worked for several years as assistant to Max Muller. He came out to India in 1875 as Anglo-Sanskrit professor in the Benares Sanskrit College. He is at present the Registrar of the Calcutta University. "His literary work has been done chiefly in the departments of Indian Philosophy, Astro-

nomY, and Mathematics. His more important publications are, *On the Sulva-sutras*,* 1875: *The Sulva-sutra of Baudhayana*, with translation, 1875: *The Arthasangraha*, a treatise on Purva Mimamsa, with translation, 1882: *The Penchasiddhantika*, the Astronomical work of Varaha Mihir, with translation (in collaboration with Pandit Sudhakar Divedi), 1889: *The Vedanta Sutras* with Sankara's Commentary, translated (Sacred Books of the East, Vols. 34, 38): Indian Astronomy, Astrology and Mathematics in Bühler's *Encyclopædia of Indian Research*, 1899: *The Vedanta Sutras*, with Ramanuja's commentary, translated (Sacred Books of the East, Vol. 48) 1904: has edited (with R. Griffith), the "Benares Sanskrit Series," of which more than 100 fasciculi have appeared."

He is now engaged in collaboration with Pandit Ganganath Jha in editing the scholarly quarterly review entitled *Indian Thought*.

Professor Jolly who was appointed Tagore Law Lecturer to the Calcutta University has also contributed a volume on the Institutes of *Manu* to this Series.

The India Office Library is rich in Sanskrit Manuscripts and its late librarian, Dr. Reinhold Rost, was a Sanskrit scholar of some renown. He is best known for his edition of the late Professor Horace Hayman Wilson's works.

Unfortunately, Sanskrit scholarship is distinctly on the wane in Germany. In that country, there is no one at present who can be compared with Max Muller, Weber, Bœtling or Buhler.

There are many other Sanskrit scholars of Western race, but these notes are not meant to be exhaustive.

B.

*In this he showed that the application of a knowledge of Geometry in the construction of sacrificial altars was evidenced in ancient Vedic literature; which proves that the Hindus possessed independent knowledge of geometry.

SOME WORDS ABOUT INDIAN STUDENTS

AMID the thousand problems, which are now springing into existence in India, there is one which has received too little attention, because the class connected with it are not yet in a position to plead their case. This is the problem of the Indian student. A good deal has been heard of students lately through the medium of the English press. There is, I fear, a general opinion abroad amongst those to whom the Indian student is an unknown quantity, that the young men of India are being trained to be nothing more nor less than noisy and irresponsible abettors of sedition. I feel that it is time that some one of those who have had experience of Indian education should point out that the Indian student has now-a-days a most difficult problem to face. Too little is known of this problem by those whose paths never touch those of the young generation of Indians. It is assumed by many Anglo Indians that because education—as is natural enough to anyone who has the merest rudiments of the philosophy of history—is the fruitful generator of social and political problems, that, therefore, to encourage and support it is a short-sighted and suicidal policy. It is, perhaps, unnecessary to point out that to generate those problems and to deal with them in the most helpful and enlightened way is precisely the self-imposed task of the Government of India. It is a poor and timorous spirit which resents the intrusion of new problems into the ordering of affairs. The Indian student of to-day is not a mere rowdy or revolutionist, but one upon whom the fates have cast a burden of exceeding great weight. When they come to appreciate the

problem which faces the rising generation in India, Englishmen will see that the wiser and more statesmanlike spirit will be to lend all the help they can, to assume the attitude of the sympathetic guide rather than that of the contemptuous and hostile critic.

Very possibly the majority of the readers of this Magazine do not need to be told that the Indian student is, as a rule, a very much maligned individual. But for the benefit of those whose views are quite the contrary, I must quite honestly say that the best type of Indian student is, in my opinion and in that of many others, fully equal to that of any student class to be found elsewhere. I am anxious to keep on the side of moderation and understatement; but, were I to permit myself to say what I most truly think, I should assert that the best type of high class Hindu student possesses qualities which it would be hard to match elsewhere. In my experience they are a straightforward, simple, affectionate, high-principled body of young men. Nobody is, as a rule, more industrious or earnest than the Hindu student. Nobody is more sincerely and touchingly grateful for a little kindness. On the other hand, nobody shrinks more into himself at the touch of unkindness or harshness or lack of sympathy. I have been struck by the genuine vein of philosophy which a little intimacy tends to reveal in nearly every Hindu boy or young man—a philosophy often simple and home-made, but tending to give to the general character of the young Hindu mind a quality or “tone” rarely to be found in the lustier and less thoughtful youth of the West. There is also a singular simplicity and charm, a ready sympathy for high ideals and an

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outlook on the world which is often surprising to those accustomed to English schools and English universities. I do not know that I have met anywhere a type of young man who suggested greater possibilities of a high and noble destiny than some of the Indian students with whom I have come into contact. It is because of this suggestion of something rare and unfamiliar, which seems to belittle by a kind of silent criticism many of the standards to which we have become accustomed in the West, that the conviction has been forced in upon me that education in India may quite likely be the foster-nurse of a surprising civilization, and that the hasty critics of the youthful Indian character may perhaps be making the gravest and most unfortunate of errors—the mistake of treating in a narrow and obstructive spirit something which should not only be our just care but which may eventually prove the most striking witness to what British rule has endeavoured, perhaps with many mistakes, to accomplish in India. When I think of the many young men whose student days I have observed—honest, intelligent, refined and earnest gentlemen—I feel it only fair to them to show that the lot of the Indian student is not altogether an easy one—that his present opportunities fall lamentably short of his just and healthy aspirations. If, moreover, we remember that a new spirit is dawning in India and that the student class, by reason of its youth and inexperience, is at once the most susceptible to that spirit and the least able to analyse it or criticize it in a calm and judicial frame of mind,—is, in a word, apt to feel little but its intoxication,—we should, I think, be more charitable in our judgments and be anxious to guide rather than to suppress. There should be sympathy and an endeavour, not to crush out the new spirit, but to turn it to good account and, as far as possible, lead it into the right channels.

By far the greatest opportunity of doing this lies with the teachers themselves. The first thing that a European Professor or Schoolmaster comes to learn in India is that mere official and rough and ready methods will not do. Personal interest and intimacy is everything. It is surprising how a student seems to change when the barriers of shyness and reserve are broken down. It is only then that a teacher comes to realize the wonderful strength and purifying influence of the religious and social traditions of India. A student who, when treated with indifference or harshness, may appear, at first sight, sulky and dull, becomes a changed being when a man comes to know him better. It is not that his nature has changed but that the only atmosphere in which he can really be himself,—the atmosphere of affection and sympathy,—which was then denied to him, has now been given him. I have never known, in my personal experience, any Hindu student to take advantage of an intimacy with his teacher. Indeed, it is from the students one knows best that one may confidently expect the greatest politeness, good faith and respect. I assert this most strongly as against the almost universal conviction among my fellow-countrymen that to unbend to a native of India is to expose oneself to contempt and the possibility of deception. One ought always to remember that the immemorial ideal of education in India is the relation of *guru* and *chela*. Although this ideal, in its full sense, is naturally most difficult of attainment on the part of the teacher, yet his aim should always be in this direction. The chief and most admirable thing about the ancient system of education in India (the general spirit of which almost all enlightened Indians would like to see revived) was the intimate relation of teacher and taught. I cannot repeat too strongly that every effort in this direction will give the teacher a new and living interest in his

work and will bring out, like a charm, the best qualities of his pupil.

Let me now try to give some idea of the problems of student life, as far as possible, from the point of view of students themselves; and let me, finally, venture a little advice to the students themselves as to what seems to me to be the best way of meeting those problems and converting student life into a real and valuable thing, a stage in a definite and inspiring progress, and not, as is too often the case at the present day, merely a period of uncertainty and of "marking time."

It is obvious that for the high caste Indian boy of good family there is now-a-days only one course open, and that is to avail himself of the machinery of education provided by the State. This is the one avenue to employment. Without it, it is doubtful whether any Government or employer would look at him. In the first place, a knowledge of English is to-day essential, and this can only be obtained at Schools and Colleges. Again, the standard of qualification for employment (putting aside occasional cases where there is family or other influence) has become conventionalized. It has come to be based upon examination results. It is here that the problem of the Indian student begins. He knows that it is essential for him to obtain marks. A First class has a greater market value than a Second class, and a second class than an ordinary Pass. Marks, therefore, become the paramount object in view. A variety of subjects are compulsory, according to the present regulations, excellence in all of which would seem to require a mind of the universalist or Admirable Crichton type, such as is seldom met with in ordinary life. The naturally literary student is seldom attracted to Physics; the boy with an instinct for mathematics is hardly likely to be equally attracted towards literature. But, all the same, he must take up these diverse subjects and he must, if he would qualify

for respectable employment afterward, obtain as many marks in them as possible. This, I take it, is at the root of the present "cramming" system, which so many of those who are interested in Indian education deplore. The Indian student, not unnaturally, adopts the readiest and most direct road to the end which has been forced upon him by circumstances. What he wants from his Professors is something directly useful for examinations. Regrettable though this be from the point of view of high and disinterested culture, yet I think that it is not the student himself who is entirely to blame. The fault lies largely with the variety of compulsory subjects and the mechanical way of marking in examinations. There is too much attention paid by examiners to "right" and "wrong" and too little to the quality of the student's mind. It needs, I am forced to admit, a singularly skilled examiner to look beyond the question to the mind of the candidate; but this is professedly the principle adopted, for example, at Oxford, and it has been found productive of good results. As the Indian University examinations are constituted at present, a little indisposition at examination time is sufficient to mar the prospects in life of the most deserving candidate. I have in my mind an instance of quite a first-class student of my acquaintance who, owing to continued illness, obtained only a third class in his B. A. examination. That student, of course, unless he retrieve himself in the M. A. examination, will almost certainly be judged as a third class student. It is inevitable, indeed, that, in the case of employers who are personally ignorant of applicants for service, all judgment must be more or less "by the book." But I feel convinced that a more enlightened examination system and a more elastic curriculum would largely obviate the evil.

We now come to the question of the student's future career. This is perhaps the most

difficult of all the problems to which education in India has given birth. It has become prominent enough in Europe since the days of open competition; but, in my opinion, it is still more prominent in India, small though the percentage of educated persons may be in proportion to the total population. The reason for this is that there are fewer openings for the educated class in India. Law, government service, medicine—medicine, government service, law—these represent, for the most part, the limited sphere which, whether he like any of these professions or not, lies open to the Indian student after leaving his college. Ever year, hundreds of promising young men, full of high aspirations and intelligence, pass away either to bury themselves in an office on a meagre salary, or to swell the ranks of unsuccessful doctors and pleaders. Those who have personally to do with students feel this unfortunate state of things more especially in the case of young men of studious inclinations and refined tastes. It is true that there are a certain number of educational posts open to Native scholars. But a scholarly disposition does not invariably connote a disposition or even an ability for teaching. It is to be regretted that there is no opening for the pure scholar, the man who would like to continue his education after his college days are over. It is thus that we lose one of the rarest and most valuable products of Indian culture. The highest type of Indian culture is usually unworldly, hateful of stress and bustle, and devoted to the pursuit of ideas. It is a pity that there is at present no opening for this most loveable and admirable class of young men.

All this is no mere academical problem. No one feels it more than the student himself. I have noticed that in our colleges there is what I might almost call a listlessness and an aimlessness in the general attitude towards the future. It is recognised that the first and all important thing is the examination. After

that all is blank. No one knows what will be his lot. He may be lucky and obtain congenial work, or he may not. The whole thing is a matter of health, absence of family troubles, good fortune in the examinations—in a word, of luck. The result of this is at once apparent in the marked absence of continuity between College life and the life beyond. The student cannot, until late in the day, adapt his studies to a particular career. He must spend a great deal of time in qualifying himself in a subject for which he has no liking or aptitude, whereas the same amount of time spent on a congenial subject might have ended in making him a scholar of real value. The argument of all-round culture is, I confess, reasonable enough in itself; but it will never be a *potent personal motive* for the student until the factitious mark standard and the lack of continuity between education and the ends of education have been remedied.

Such are some of the problems of the Indian student of to-day. Most probably married, very often the father of a family, and perhaps expected to contribute his share towards the maintenance of the joint establishment; peculiarly liable, owing to his circumstances and conditions of life, to such visitations as plague; cut off from the prospects of a really affluent or ambitious career, and yet, in these days, feeling within him, both from his education and from the unrealizable something which we sometimes call the "Spirit of the Age," the workings of a new impulse of progress and regeneration,—it is no wonder that the mind of the young Indian often becomes excited and that he is easily led into emotional excesses. At the present moment in India we have an old and established civilization looking on at the birth of a new and progressive civilization. Indian civilization, of course, is far more ancient than anything in Europe. But the new impulse, which is the outcome of the mingling of West and East, is still

young. The time, like all periods of growth and transition, must be one of stress and trouble. It must be a time, very likely, of hasty and extravagant demands, of impractical visions and quick hatreds and chafing against restraint. But the movement is healthy; and those who are destined before all others to carry on this movement are the students of to-day. It is just the sympathetic and susceptible spirit of the young Hindu, the quick responsiveness to ideas and to sympathy or the reverse, which give to such a movement in India a vitality and an eagerness which are perhaps foreign and repellent to the more stolid and methodical spirit of the West. But that the Hindu student is not naturally malignant or bad-hearted, I most strongly assert.

My chief object in this short article is to suggest to some of my countrymen a more generous and sympathetic attitude towards a class which I have come to know well and who, in my opinion, are too often hastily misjudged. If their minds are filled with memories of shoutings and rowdiness, let them not utterly condemn, but remember that Indian students are young and peculiarly susceptible to any appeal to their emotions.

The young men of India of to-day are like sheep seeking a shepherd. They wish to be led, to have the new spirit and its meaning explained to them, and they readily accept those who come to them in the garb of authority. The great danger lies in condemning a *spirit*, which has within it noble possibilities instead of merely correcting its manifestations when it bursts out in a wrong direction. The chief blame here lies not with the authorities, but with those many Anglo-Indians who, in their complete ignorance of students and student life, take up an unpromisingly hostile attitude towards the whole educational system. Misconceptions in India, as elsewhere, are nearly always due to ignorance. It is doubtful whether the

non-educational classes of Englishmen in India will ever have the time, opportunity or inclination to come more into touch with the young generation of Indians; but I feel, at least, that a protest from one who has had a little such experience will not, perhaps, be out of place. To any Englishman, who so desires, the young Indian can be a friend and a very good friend, and, moreover, a friend whom he will respect and in whom he will see not only indications of great possibilities but many qualities from which others may well learn. That he has his faults, not even his own people will deny. But I think that any one who knows him, will most vigorously deny that these faults are the faults of a radically bad nature.

I should say, on the contrary, that such faults as he has are due largely to the difficulties of his position. With larger openings and a freer scope for the working of the new progressive spirit many of those faults would disappear. There would be a greater unity among students, an increased confidence and self-reliance, and a more liberal attitude towards education. Students would feel more deeply the responsibilities of their position. They would strive to fit themselves for it, and there would be less of the present uncertainty and hopelessness about the future.

What I should like to suggest, however as a piece of advice to Indian students, is this, that they should realize that it is just in these problems and difficulties that their responsibility lies. It is the young men, who are being educated now, who will have to attempt a solution of those problems in the future. The educated class is at present an infinitesimal part of the population of India. Their responsibility is the greater for this very reason. Every student who is now at college should determine to do something himself, to think for himself and make himself acquainted with the questions which concern his country. The last thing he should

permit himself to do is to follow blindly the opinions of others, however eloquent or inspiring they may be. He should learn to look all questions squarely in the face. In order to do this, he must learn to be fair, and to judge himself with the same severity with which he judges others. He must not get into an easy way of thinking that everything Indian is perfect, while everything introduced by England into India is bad. Let him consider the two and find out what is really valuable in each. If he does this, he will, I think, discover that there is a tendency amongst Indians nowadays to forget what is after all the most valuable amongst exclusively Indian possessions. The chief aim of the progressive party is now to transplant western political institutions into Indian soil. Meanwhile the true spirit of India,—its philosophy, its literature, its spirituality,—seem to be under a temporary eclipse. India will never be great by mere innovations. Her own past must be embodied with the present and the future. By all means let what is enlightened be borrowed from the west, but not at the cost of all those qualities which constitute the real India. Without those qualities there will be nothing but a poor hybrid result, instead of what many still dream of as a glorious possibility, the union of what is best in two great civilizations. The student who forgets what is behind him, will not be able properly to take advantage of what is before him. It would be very sad if, in the rush for innovations, the true and essential character of India were to be lost.

This, however, may be considered a comfortless kind of advice in the face of the practical difficulties which Indian students have to face in these days. But what I wish to impress upon students is this, that such practical difficulties are merely obstacles to practical success, not to character and ideas: and that, if the ancient traditions of India are forgotten, there will be little advantage left

in overcoming these practical difficulties. As for the difficulties themselves, it is quite certain that as time goes on they will increase. It will become still harder to find a career in the world; and if, as many of us hope, education is some day destined to spread all over India, the problem will, of course, become infinitely greater. The only hope lies in Indians themselves. It is for them to create new openings for the young generations of the future by a campaign of enterprise, by utilising the resources of the country and devoting their time, energies and money to this object. The particular methods by which this end may be achieved are, of course, matters for the specialist and the expert to decide. But no one doubts that the resources and opportunities are available, if only they can be brought into practical use by a spirit of united effort. There is just now beginning to be a movement in this direction, but, as far as I can ascertain, there is still a lamentable selfishness and conservatism among the richer classes in the country. The true spirit of progress must be enterprising, confident and self-sacrificing. If, for example, defects are noted in the educational system of to-day, Indians should found educational institutions according to their own ideas, which would prove a far more useful object lesson than many criticisms. Again, there is for Indians a vast body of problems with which they alone, for obvious reasons, are qualified to deal. These are the social questions of India. How far must existing institutions be modified to fit in with the new spirit? If political ideas are to be democratic, how far must democracy be introduced into the social system? Are not a hierarchy and a democratic government mutually contradictory terms? and so forth.

Such are some of the questions which Indian students should consider it imperative upon themselves to study, if they wish to be held sincere and earnest in their aims. The

solution of these questions offers to the students of to-day a field of intellectual and practical achievement such as is rarely open to the young generation of any country. The time, therefore, should be one of earnest purpose, of clear thought, of public spirit and a conscious adaptation of means to end. If this could only be realized, there would be a less aimless and irresponsible spirit in our colleges, a deeper meaning in education, greater unity in social life, and a more practical and self-confident type of young man to go forth in the

world after college days are over. This end, however, will only be made possible when students come to realize the vital connection which the time they spend at college must have with their after lives. I should not have written as I have done, had I not been convinced that the Indian student is, as I have said, an admirable material in which to realize great ideas. The qualities which he possesses are such, I am sure, as to ensure him the possibility of a great future, if he will only take it.

CXONIENSIS.

IS PARLIAMENTARY GOVERNMENT SUITED TO INDIA?

PARLIAMENTARY Government has proved a great success in the West. But this form of Government is said to be unsuited to India.

During the recent Indian Budget debate in the House of Commons, Earl Percy is reported to have "repudiated the possibility of Parliamentary institutions in India." Mr. Settled-fact Morley also is reported to have said: "One of the most difficult experiments ever tried in human history, was the attempt to ascertain whether they could carry on personal Government along with free speech and free right of public meetings," the clear implication being that nothing but personal Government was possible in India. As we are of opinion that representative Government is quite practicable in India, that a successful beginning in this direction may and ought to be made at once and that no other form of Government can give peace, prosperity, contentment and strength to India, it seems necessary to examine the question in some detail.*

* For the sake of avoiding repetition we refer our readers to the articles "Mrs. Annie Besant's Political Dicta" in our March number and "Home Rule for India," "Contemporary India and America on

The arguments which have been advanced by those who are opposed to the grant of any form of self-government to India are, besides some of those examined in our March and June numbers, mainly the following:—

1. India is merely a Geographical expression, because the hundreds of races that inhabit it have not attained any measure of homogeneousness, and so this form of administration is not feasible.

In our paper on "Contemporary India and America on the eve of the Revolution," published in the last number, we have tried to show that the country which is now known as the United States of America was not more fit for self-government when the colonists threw off the yoke of England than India is to-day. Perhaps it will be more correct to say that India is better prepared for self-government than America was. If self-government and that, too, of a republican type, has proved a success in America, we do not see any reason why it should not be so in India also.

the eve of the Revolution" and "Swaraj or self-rule in Oriental Countries" in the June number.

We have shown in the above-mentioned article that the United States of America are not even at the present day homogeneous as regards race, religion and language. Canada is not homogeneous, nor is the Transvaal, which enjoy self-government of a representative type. Representative government prevails in Austria-Hungary. But the people there are of many races and follow many creeds. The Teutonic race predominates in the west and south-west, and Germans form about one-fourth of the total population. Slavs form nearly half the population: Czechs in Bohemia and Moravia, Poles in Galicia, Croats in Croatia and Dalmatia. About $3\frac{1}{2}$ millions are of Romanic race,—Roumanians in Transylvania, and Italians in the Southern Tyrol and on the Adriatic coast. The Magyars, a distinct race, form about half the population of Hungary. There are also Ruthenians, Slovenians, Serbs, Bulgarians, Ladins, Freulians, Jews, Armenians, Gipsies, and a great variety of other races. As the result of this mixture of races, a variety of languages is spoken, and in most parts of the country at least two languages are in common use. Most of the people are Roman Catholics, but there are Protestants, Jews and members of the Greek Church also. In the small republic of Switzerland, the population is composed of four distinct ethnical elements, following different creeds. The languages spoken are German, French, Italian, and Romansch or Ladin. In the Russian Empire the Duma represents the introduction of the representative form of government. In this Empire, there are the Russians (comprising the Great Russians, the Little Russians and the White Russians), Poles, Servians, Bulgarians, Bohemians, Armenians, Kurds, Persians and other Iranians, Jews, Caucasians, Georgians, Circasians, Finns, Karelians, Esthonians, Livonians, Lapps, Samoyedes, the Volga Finns, Ugrians, Tartars, Bashkirs, Kirghizes, Yakuts, Kalucks, Buriats, Tunguses, Golds, Germans,

Swedes, Roumanians, and a considerable number of other races. Besides various forms of Christianity, Buddhism, Islam, Judaism and various forms of animism and paganism prevail in the Russian Empire.

With respect to the homogeneity or heterogeneity of India, it must be remembered that in spite of the various races and sects inhabiting it, indigenous India is, broadly speaking, socially and spiritually,—in the character of her peoples, one. It is not true, again, that India never attained political unity. Mr. Vincent Smith says in his *Early History of India* (p. 6) that in the reigns of Asoka and Samudra Gupta “the political unity of all India was nearly attained.” Other princes, too, in his opinion, “might fairly claim to rank as paramount powers.” Aurangzib nearly succeeded in making India politically one.

As for India being a mere geographical expression, it would be interesting to learn what great country in Europe has been otherwise, a few decades or centuries ago, and politically one for centuries past. The small bit of land called England had its heptarchy or seven Kingdoms, Wales and Scotland and Ireland were separate hostile countries. The Highlands of Scotland contained many clans constantly engaged in fighting against one another. Similar was the state of things in Ireland. France was not one, nor Spain, Germany, Italy, Greece, Austria or Russia.

2. Another reason for denying Self-Government to India is that public spirit is wanting in this country. But we maintain that there is sufficient public spirit existing in the country to make Self-Government a success. If we turn to the History of England, we find that there have been many periods in the history of that nation when there was the decline of public spirit, but nevertheless Parliamentary Government existed. Referring to the decline of public spirit in the middle of the Eighteenth Century in England, Mr. Lecky says:—

"The fault of the time was not so much the amount of vice as the defect of virtue, the general depression of motives, the unusual absence of unselfish and disinterested action."*

These remarks are equally applicable to India of our times.

We will quote the same author at some length to tell the story of the decline of public spirit that had set in in England in the middle of the Eighteenth Century. He writes:—

"The long war which began in 1739 failed signally to arouse the energies of the nation. It involved no great principle that could touch the deeper chords of national feeling. It was carried on chiefly by means of subsidies. It was one of the most ill-directed, ill-executed, and unsuccessful that England had ever waged, and the people, who saw Hanoverian influence in every campaign, looked with an ominous supineness upon its vicissitudes. Good judges spoke with great despondency of the decline of public spirit as if the energy of the people had been fatally impaired. Their attitude during the rebellion of 1745 was justly regarded as extremely alarming. It appeared as if all interest in those great questions which had convulsed England in the time of the Commonwealth and of the Revolution had died away—as if even the old courage of the nation was extinct. Nothing can be more significant than the language of contemporary statesmen on the subject. 'I apprehend,' wrote old Horace Walpole when the news of the arrival of the Pretender was issued, 'that the people may perhaps look on and cry "Fight dog! fight bear!" if they do no worse.' 'England,' wrote Henry Fox, 'Wade says, and I believe, is for the first comer, and if you can tell whether the 6,000 Dutch and ten battalions of English, or 5,000 French and Spaniards will be here first, you know our fate.' 'The French are not come—God be thanked! But had 5,000 landed in any part of this island a week ago, I verily believe the entire conquest of it would not have cost them a battle.' 'Your Lordship will do me the justice,' he writes, 'to believe that it is with the utmost concern I have observed a remarkable change in the dispositions of the people within these two years; for numbers of them, who, during the apprehensions of the last invasion, appeared most zealous for the Government, are now grown absolutely cold and

indifferent, so that except in the persons in the pay of the Government and a few Dissenters, there is not the least appearance of apprehension or concern to be met with. As an evidence of this truth, your Lordship may observe the little influence an actual insurrection has had on the public funds; and unless some **speedy stop be put to this universal coldness by satisfying the demands of the nation** and suppressing by proper laws that parliamentary prostitution which has destroyed our armies, our fleets, and our constitution, I greatly fear the event.' The Government looked upon the attitude of the people simply as furnishing an argument for increasing the standing army, * * * *."

How truly applicable are the above remarks to India of to-day! The remedy which Henry Fox proposed for the cure of the decline of public spirit in England is also the remedy which will infuse new life in the Indian nation. Henry Fox wrote that "speedy stop be put to this universal coldness by satisfying the demands of the nation." Yes, this should be done in the case of India also.

3. Then, again, it is said, that venality and corruption is a national vice in India and therefore, self-government instead of being a boon will be a great curse to the people. Of course, we deny the charge so wantonly indulged in by charitable Europeans that venality is a national vice in India. But why do they forget the extreme corruption of the English Parliament that existed even a century ago? Every schoolboy knows of the rank corruption that grew luxuriantly in all the national concerns of England. Lecky writes:—

"The question in home politics, which excited most interest in the nation [in the eighteenth century] . . . was one which, for very obvious reasons, Parliament desired as much as possible to avoid. It was the extreme corruption of Parliament itself, its subserviency to the influence of the executive, and the danger of its becoming in time rather the oppressor than the representative of the people." †

* Lecky's History of England in the Eighteenth Century, Vol. II. pp. 86-88.

† Lecky's History of England in the Eighteenth Century, vol. II. pp. 44-45.

* History of England in the Eighteenth Century, Vol. II. p. 91.

The words put in italics need no comment. Yet the representative system of government was not abolished, although there was extreme corruption of Parliament. The same author says :—

"It is not easy to understand how a Parliament so thoroughly vicious in its constitution, so narrow, corrupt, and often despotic in its tendencies as that which I have described, should have proved itself, in any degree, a faithful guardian of English liberty, or should have produced so large an amount of wise, temperate, and tolerant legislation as it unquestionably did." *

Every one knows what frightful corruption exists in the United States of America even in our days. So we need not dilate on it.

Mr. Lecky is right in saying that

"Statesmanship is not like poetry, or some of the other forms of higher literature, which can only be brought to perfection by men endowed with extraordinary natural genius. *The art of management whether applied to public business or to assemblies, lies strictly within the limits of education, and what is required is much less transcendent abilities than early practice, tact, courage, good temper, courtesy, and industry.*

"In the immense majority of cases the function of statesmen is not creative, and its excellence lies much more in execution than in conception. In politics possible combinations are usually few, and the course that should be pursued is sufficiently obvious. It is the management of details, the necessity of surmounting difficulties, that chiefly taxes the abilities of statesmen, and these things can to a very large degree be acquired by practice." * * Imperfect and vicious as was the system of Parliamentary Government, it at least secured a school of statesmen quite competent for the management of affairs."

We have italicised certain passages in the above extract. Mr. Morley is reported to have said in his last Budget speech that Indians "were incapable of working the elaborate machine of the Indian Government." This extract is a sufficient theoretical refutation of Mr. Morley's groundless and absurd generalization. Even schoolboys can recount the names of the great statesmen of ancient,

medieval and modern India in practical refutation of this slander of a whole nation.

If India be given a start in the Parliamentary system of government, is it too much to say that what was achieved in England when Parliament was notoriously corrupt, will not also be equally achieved in India? 'If the English Parliament was a faithful guardian of English liberty,' an Indian Parliament will also play a similar part in India.

4. One of the common arguments which one is sick of hearing against the grant of the boon of self-government to India is that education has not made much progress in the country and that nearly 90 per cent. of the population being illiterate, it is not possible for them to carry on the system of self-government. Those who advance such an argument may be charged with cant and hypocrisy. To wait till the day when illiteracy shall be swept away from the length and breadth of a country and then to grant it self-government resembles the attitude of the boy on the banks of a river who waited to cross it when it would become dry by the flowing-away of all its waters. Did illiteracy disappear largely from England before Parliamentary Government made its appearance in that land? Even now voters need not have any educational qualifications in England; illiteracy does not disqualify anybody from the enjoyment of the franchise. Compulsory and free education came into vogue in England only a few decades ago, and yet that country has enjoyed Parliamentary Government for centuries when very few people could read and write. Besides, the hypocritical bureaucrats who bring forward this argument are themselves responsible for keeping India illiterate. But even illiterate castes in India manage their own caste affairs quite efficiently according to representative methods in their own *panchayets*.

5. Another argument is that the English system of party government being inapplicable

*Ibid. p. 65.

to India, she cannot have representative institutions. If the official party be beaten, are the English to retire from India, leaving the government to be carried on by the non-official Indian majority? The extremists will say, let them. The moderates will say, not necessarily; let the Viceroy, like the English King, belong to no party. There is among non-official Indians themselves sufficient difference of opinion to allow of the formation of two parties. If there can be and is party government in the colonies, under British suzerainty, why not here?

The educated Indians who ask for self-government are taunted as being a 'microscopic minority'? But why this fling at the 'microscopic minority'? In English history, nay, in the history of the world, it has been the 'minority,'—perhaps ultramicroscopic, which has always carried out reforms. Says a great thinker :—

"All that has made England famous and all that has made England wealthy, has been the work of minorities, sometimes very small ones". (Sir H. S. Maine's Popular Government, p. 88).

Aye, 'the microscopic minority' is sure to swell into a "macroscopic" majority if equal opportunities are placed within their reach.

In our article on "*Swaraj* or self-rule in oriental countries", published in the last number we have shown that in India and other eastern countries democracy is not a new thing. That disposes of the argument that we are fit to have only a "benevolent despotism."

So we see how unsound and untenable are all the arguments which have been advanced against granting the boon of self-government or Parliamentary Government to the people of India. Those arguments will hardly bear the test of examination. We naturally arrive at the conclusion that it is liberty which alone befits a people to enjoy it and if the

people of India are given *swaraj*, they are sure not to abuse its privileges.

But admitting that India being inhabited by different races speaking different languages, representative institutions cannot be granted to her as a whole, what stands in the way of dividing India into Provinces which are for all practical purposes racially and linguistically homogeneous, giving these divisions representative assemblies and converting the whole country into a federation of self-governing States? For instance, Bengal proper is racially and linguistically one, the Musalmans for the most part being of Hindu origin. The whole of the Hindustani-speaking tracts may also be constituted a self-governing State. Similar treatment may be accorded to other divisions on the linguistic basis. Of course it may not be practicable to follow the language basis throughout India. But other bases are available. It will no doubt be objected that Hindu-Musalman relations are a difficulty. But their relations are generally cordial when these religious communities are left to themselves. Animosities are often created by interested officials and their toadies. But taking the worst view of the situation, have Hindus and Musalmans ever treated one another worse than Roman Catholics and Protestants have done in England and other European countries? Have they ever burnt one another alive? Have Hindu-Musalman riots been more sanguinary than No-Fopery riots, anti-Jewish riots, the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacres, &c.? In the United States of America, particularly in the South, cases of lynching of Negroes are not even now rare. But will Englishmen propose that for that reason Americans should be enslaved? If in spite of religious animosities, riots and massacres, representative institutions have flourished in European countries, why should not they in India?

THE PRE-SUPPOSITIONS OF PSYCHOLOGY

IT has always seemed to me that the study of Psychology might be greatly facilitated if the pre-suppositions of the science were explained at the very beginning of a regular study of the subject. Psychology is not an independent science, a branch of knowledge unconnected with such other branches, a department of inquiry which may be pursued without taking for granted truths which form the subjects of other branches of inquiry. Apart from Physiology, with which, during recent years, it has been more and more closely associated, its connexion with the other philosophical sciences, with Metaphysics, Logic and Theology, is most intimate, for it is a member of this particular family of sciences. Before a systematic study of Psychology begins, its connexion with these sciences should, therefore, be shown as clearly as possible. If Psychology dealt with a distinct object, an object which is not the object of other branches of inquiry, it might have little to do with other sciences. If mind, which is the object of psychological investigation, were not also the object of Metaphysics, Logic and Theology, Psychology might be studied without any attention being paid to these other sciences. But it is not so. The same object with which Psychology deals, is dealt with from different standpoints by the sciences just named, so that in dealing with mind, the former comes into constant contact with the latter. The truths established in the other sciences must be treated as pre-suppositions in Psychological investigations, or else investigations which are metaphysical, logical or theological, must be interpolated into inquiries purely psychological. Of late, there has been a studied attempt on

the part of a class of philosophers to keep Psychology independent of the other branches of the same family, specially Metaphysics and Theology. The attempt is not fundamentally an objectionable one. The very distinction of these sciences makes it necessary that, so far as possible, their functions should not be confused, and investigations which are proper to the one, should not unnecessarily be intruded into another. But this separation of functions and treatment is only relative, and not absolute; so that, when it is attempted to be made absolute, the results cannot but be grotesque and almost ridiculous. Few things are more amusing than to see metaphysical problems systematically ignored in certain recent treatises on Psychology as outside its proper sphere, and get those very problems, — solved in a particular way, determining all the theories and doctrines set forth by the authors in the course of their psychological investigations, — investigations which are represented as *purely* psychological. There can be no objection, indeed, in laying aside certain investigations as metaphysical and not psychological, and yet using conclusions drawn from such investigations as pre-suppositions in Psychology. But when conclusions of this nature are made use of without any knowledge or recognition of their being metaphysical, — when, moreover, they are held forth as inferences drawn from purely psychological facts, whereas they have all along guided the psychologist in his inquiries as pre-suppositions, as data and not *quesæta* — when such is the case, I say, the result cannot but strike one as grotesque and ridiculous. It will be a part of my task, in this lecture, to hold forth

to you some of these subterfuges of recent Psychology as studied in some of the schools of Philosophy.

As a part of my to-day's task, I have further to tell you that nothing is more important, in commencing the study of Psychology, than to gain the true psychological standpoint. I have met with people who have gone through a whole course of psychological study without attaining the point of view from which Psychology looks at things. The result is, as could be expected, that the whole thing has been an unprofitable toil to them, and they feel that it has been unprofitable. I have seen students learning Psychology as they learn history or geography, committing to memory facts which seem to them as remote as the passage of the Israelites through the Red Sea or the Arctic regions explored by Nansen, whereas the facts relate to an object which is their very self. I have heard students ask with wonder why such obviously material and external objects as sound, colour, resistance and extension should be treated as objects of Psychology ; and as this feeling of wonder has never ceased at any stage of their psychological study, Psychology itself has seemed to them a false science, a jumble of unmeaning theories and problems, a meddling affair which should be put aside in favour of more real and profitable pursuits as soon as one's academical career is over. All this would be impossible if it were once for all made clear at the very commencement of psychological study what is the scope and what are the limitations of Psychology, how this scope and these limitations are, what they are and not otherwise, and how the same objects that form matters of inquiry to other sciences, may and do become objects of psychological investigation. Without further introduction, therefore, I proceed to make these points as clear to you as I can in the course of a short address.

I ask you, then, first of all, to conceive a

clear distinction in your minds between being and knowing, between the existence of a thing in itself, and its being known by an intelligent subject. Perhaps you will be told in course of time that the distinction is only relative and not absolute—only *vyāvahārika* and not *pāramārthika*, as our national philosophy, the Vedānta, says ; but you need not think of that just now. Though only provisional, the distinction needs to be clearly conceived at the beginning of philosophical study. As Professor Fraser says in effect, the knowledge and ignorance of the distinction makes all the difference between a philosopher and an ordinary unreflective person. It is one thing for an object to be unknown and unthought of by intelligence and thus remain unrelated to it, and quite another thing for it to be known and thought of by, and thus come into relation with, intelligence. So long or in so far as it is in its former condition or capacity, Psychology has nothing to do with it ; it is only as something related to mind,—related to it as the object of its knowledge—that it is a subject for psychological inquiry. In this capacity, as a known or knowable object, any object, however remote from us, may become a subject for psychological investigation as much as the mind itself. The mind itself is an object of Psychology only because it is, and in so far as it is, a known thing. Now, I would ask you, again, to conceive clearly this relation of knowing and known between the mind and its objects. You will find gradually that the relation is far more deep and comprehensive than it at first seems to be. We distinguish between external and internal objects. The distinction is necessary in Psychology : but if you think upon it, you will see that it is made by the mind itself, so that, in one sense, both external and internal objects are internal to the mind—that is, equally related to it as known objects. The mind takes in everything known in its wide sweep. This table before me is known to me.

I see its colour, I feel its coldness, I perceive its extension and resistance. These qualities of the table, though the qualities of what we call an external object, are nevertheless related to my mind. Just as my seeing, my touching, my perceiving are mental acts and so proper objects of Psychology, so the colour, the coldness, the extension and the resistance that make these acts possible—without which these acts would not be possible,—are alike objects of Psychology. You will see if you think upon the matter, that in the act of perception, and indeed in all mental acts,—memory, imagination, judgment, feeling and willing—the subjects and object, the mind and objects conceived as acting upon the mind, are indissolubly connected. You cannot think of the mind acting or being acted upon—as having these various states of consciousness—without thinking of certain objects as related to it,—as making these actions possible. You see now that not only the mind itself, but all known and knowable objects come within the comprehensive scope of Psychology. But in saying this, I do not, by any means, mean that Psychology includes all other sciences—that all other sciences are its branches. Apart from the conception—which I at present allow—of objects as lying without being known,—at any rate without being known to us as individuals,—even objects known or knowable to us may be treated of without their relation to intelligence being considered. Not that by such treatment those objects are taken out of the sphere of knowledge,—for, if taken out of the sphere of knowledge, they could not be made objects of any science whatever,—but we may, by an act of mental abstraction, discount their relation to intelligence, ignore this relation for a time, and treat of their relations to one another, or of their qualities, under various relations among themselves. Thus, we may treat of this table, which we have seen to be a proper object of Psychology,

as an object in itself, not really thinking of it as an object unrelated to mind, which is impossible, but by practically ignoring this relation. We may treat it as an object in itself and make it a subject for physical investigation—investigation which is proper to the science of physics. We may deal with its properties in their natural relations and of the whole object in relation to the objects that surround it. You see that all this is possible only by a process of abstraction. Now, it is this act of abstraction upon which all special sciences, *i. e.*, sciences of particular classes of objects, are founded. It is not only a fact, but a truism, that no object can actually be thought of as unrelated to mind, *i. e.*, unrelated to thought, so that there can be no science into which Psychology, the science of mind, does not, in a sense, enter. But we may not always explicitly think of the relation of objects to the mind, and that is what makes the natural sciences possible.

Having briefly shown the relation of Psychology to the natural sciences, I shall now speak of the philosophical sciences, sciences with which the relation of Psychology is more intimate. You have seen that everything is comprehended in the wide sweep of knowledge, and as knowledge is the principal function of the mind, everything comes under the scope of Psychology or the science of mind. But knowledge, the light that lighteth everything in the world, shines in us only intermittently. We know objects and we cease to know them. This lecture-room, with all its variety of objects, will cease to be an object of knowledge to us a few minutes hence. At this moment, while you are listening to me, a thousand objects that you have known are beyond your knowledge. A few hours hence, in the mysterious hours of sleep, what we call our own minds will themselves cease to be objects of our knowledge, and as individuals, as particular vehicles of knowledge, we shall cease to be knowing,

thinking beings. But we know that even when unknown to us, objects continue to exist; for, when they come back to us, they come as old objects, as the same objects that were known before; and this would not be possible if they had ceased to exist while unknown to us. Here, then, we come into contact with a most strange fact, a fact which does not strike us as strange on account of its familiarity. It is that though, in one sense, we are limited, individual beings, we can, in another sense, transcend the limits of our individuality—we can know objects which are beyond our individual experience. Thus, this room, with all its varied contents, is the object of our individual consciousness; it forms a part and parcel of our conscious individual life at the present moment. But we also know that it is not merely an aggregate of subjective sensations and ideas confined to the present moment; we know it is an objective reality, not depending for its existence on its momentary appearance to us, but having a basis of existence independent of our intermittent acts of perception. The whole of what we call the material world is such an objective reality, a reality which we do not create by our momentary perceptions of it, but which rather makes our perceptions possible. At any rate, this is the belief on which all practical life, and no less all scientific inquiry, is based, and for our present purpose, which is the examination of a few pre-suppositions of psychological study, the belief will serve as well as the reality. Now, what we call our minds, our subjectivity as contrasted with the objectivity of the world, will be found to be, on close examination, as much objective as the world, *i. e.*, as much permanent and real, and as little dependent on momentary perception, as the material world. In deep, dreamless sleep, we lose our minds as much as the material world. We are then no more conscious of our minds than of the world;

and yet we know that our minds are not destroyed by this temporary suspension of consciousness. The mind, in each case not only re-awakes, but also keeps its identity fully intact. It knows itself as the same mind as it was before, and identifies the contents of its consciousness, its ideas and judgments, as the same as it had before. It thus knows itself as an objective reality, a reality having a higher and more lasting basis of existence than its own transitory perceptions and thoughts. In knowing ourselves, therefore as much as in knowing the world, we transcend the limits of individuality. Though everything that we know is known through the momentary perceptions and thoughts that constitute individual consciousness, we see that everything that thus comes to our consciousness forms part of a grand world of objective realities. This, then, is one of the pre-suppositions of psychology, one which includes all others that we may enumerate. Psychological inquiry, the inquiry into the contents of the individual consciousness, into the nature of these contents and the laws that determine them,—pre-supposes a belief in the objective existence of the mind and the world,—their existence independently of their expression in the form of conscious individual life. Consciously or unconsciously this pre-supposition guides us at every step of psychological inquiry. You will meet with Psychologists who will tell you and undertake to prove to you that our belief in the reality of mind and the world is a later formation,—that it is gradually formed out of pure sensations unrelated to any permanent mind and unconnected by any necessary laws. But if you are shrewd enough, you will see that the pre-supposition of an objective world guides him as much as you, and that the primary elements, the so-called pure sensations, with which he would build the world, are far from pure, that they already contain what he would bring out of them. While professing to think

of mere sensations, unrelated to a thinking being and thereby to one another, he really does nothing of the kind. Unconsciously to himself, he, like a juggler, smuggles into them the ideas of permanence, relation, substantiation, causality and so on, and brings them out as the creations of his psychological magic. Whole chapters and even whole treatises on Psychology might be shewn to be vitiated by this psychological jugglery; but for our present purpose what has been said seems enough.

Here we come in sight, then, of the relation of psychology to Metaphysics. Psychology, the science of individual consciousness, pre-supposes a belief in an objective world of facts, and Metaphysics is the science which deals with objective existence. It would be going out of my way to speak at any length on Metaphysics, specially at this stage of your knowledge. But since I have undertaken to speak to you of the pre-suppositions of Psychology, it would not do for me to stop at the primary pre-supposition, which I have already mentioned; it seems incumbent on me to mention a few at least of its applications. I have said that Psychology pre-supposes the objective existence of the material world, by which I mean nothing but the world that is presented to us in perception. Now, what are the conditions of the objective existence of this world? In actual perception, the world appears to us as one related to knowledge. It is a seen, heard, smelt, tasted and touched world that we know in perception, and the world whose objective existence is the pre-supposition of psychological inquiry, is this perceived world. I say nothing here as to the actual or possible existence of a world unrelated to perception,—absolutely unrelated to knowledge. That world, if it exists, is not one with which psychology has anything to do. It is with a perceived world, a known world, with which psychology deals, and it is the objective existence of such a world that is

pre-supposed in all psychological investigations. The objective existence of such a world further pre-supposes, therefore, the existence of an objective Mind,—a Mind independent of the changing moods of our individual life,—a Mind related to us, indeed, and the very basis, of our conscious life, as we shall see, but which does not forget with our forgetting, and does not sleep with our sleeping,—a Mind as much permanent, at any rate, as the world which is related to it. This objective Mind is what we call God in theological parlance, and so you will see that Psychology is based not only on metaphysical, but also on theological pre-suppositions. I have often regretted that the study of Psychology brings no spiritual good to our youngmen, whereas the chief motive for the study of the science with the ancients was spiritual improvement. The evil is not due to the science itself, but to the wrong method of teaching it that prevails at the present time. This wrong method is favoured both by a large and perhaps growing class of writers on Psychology and by many of its teachers. I am far from being in favour of obstructing or vitiating the progress of science by burdening it with doctrines of dogmatic Theology. But there is a theology which is not only consistent with science, but on which science itself is based. All sciences comprise some principles which are truly theological. But Psychology does so more than any other science. Even its basal principles imply judgments which are strictly theological, whether you call them by this name or not. I have already exemplified this in part; I shall now furnish one or two instances more. You have seen that what we call our mind is, notwithstanding its intermittent expression, its constant forgetfulness, and its regular and occasional lapses of consciousness, an objective reality, existing with its contents of ideas and judgments even when its expression in an individual form is in abeyance. Now, what

does this imply? How is this made possible? You will easily see, if you think on the matter, that ideas can exist only in a thinking mind, —only so long as they are thought,—and judgments can have existence only in the form of being judged,—only in relation to a judging understanding. No material object like the brain can be the receptacle of thoughts and judgments, however necessary it may be for the manifestation of consciousness in a sentient life such as we are endowed with by the Creator. It is only an ever-waking, ever-conscious mind that can explain the permanence and constant re-appearance of the contents of our conscious life,—a Mind that contains our little minds, and communicates to us all the varied wealth of our intellectual and spiritual life. The pre-supposition of the existence of this all-containing, all-uniting Mind, underlies all those laws of reproduction and association with which Psychology seeks to explain the elaboration of the primary elements of mental life,—the formation of concepts and judgments out of them. These primary elements themselves pre-suppose such a Mind, and are quite wrongly conceived when this pre-supposition is ignored. The primary elements of mental life are not, as they are often supposed to be, mere passing sensations unrelated to one another and undetermined by a permanent intellect. If they were such, they could no more be aggregated and formed into concepts and judgments than unextended points into lines and other extensive quantities. If what is called a sensation were the momentary, unrelated thing it is represented to be, it could not persist and could not revive. There can be no meaning in the persistence and revival of an object which is confined to the moment in which it is felt. In fact, far from persisting and reviving, it could not even be thought or spoken of; for it is only a determinate object, an object occupying a particular time and a particular place in relation to other objects and thus related to an

intelligence uniting those objects in the unity of its consciousness, that can be thought and spoken of. The primary elements of mental life, therefore, are not mere unrelated and momentary sensations, but determinate objects or ideas having necessary connexions with other ideas and implying a permanent Mind as their source and support. Then, as to revival or reproduction, it is only such a fixed idea, as I have already said, and not a momentary sensuous event, that can re-appear in individual life after it has once vanished from it. There can be no meaning in the revival of a sensation when once it has been felt and lost. In another moment it would be another sensation, and not a previous one, that would arise. Nor can a mere sensation be similar to another sensation, for similarity implies comparison, and it is only fixed ideas that can be compared, and not feeling objects of which one vanishes for ever before the other arises. That we can compare our perceptions,—for instance, a succession of sounds which we shall name *a*, *b*, *c*,—shows that they are not mere fleeting sensations, but determinate ideas in an ever-conscious mind. If *a* were a mere fleeting sensuous event, it would be all over with it before *b* arose in our minds, and the two could not be compared and known to be related to each other as 'before' and 'after,' as 'first' and 'second.' The same would happen to the relation of *b* and *c*. Then, as to association, let us suppose that *c* and *b*, two objects, have been associated in my past experience. Does this past association suffice to explain why, on the appearance of *a* in my mind now, *b* follows? How can *b* re-appear at all if it has not persisted in an ever-conscious mind,—a mind that has not lost it with its lapse from my individual consciousness,—and how can it now appear in my subjective experience in association with *a*, if it has not all along been associated with it in a lasting, objective experience? The laws of subjective association will thus be seen to be based on

an objective association,—a necessary and permanent connection of objects in a Mind which is the necessary pre-supposition of all things,—all laws and all events. It would be delightful to a teacher, and interesting to the pupil, and edifying to both thus to read the deeper meanings of the laws of mind in the course of psychological study. These meanings are nowhere absent in the noble science of the mind. It is either ignorance,—an inadequate conception of the nature and scope of the science—or a fashionable but misguided secularism that seeks to banish God from science

in the name of civilisation, —I say it is one or the other of these two things that overlooks these higher meanings hidden in the laws of mental life. However, though the subject is inexhaustible, enough, I suppose, has been said in this discourse to convince you that Psychology is intimately connected with Metaphysics and Theology, and that it is suicidal to banish metaphysical and theological principles from psychological investigations.

SITANATH TATTWABHUSHAN.

The above is the substance of an address.

SAVITRI—AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY

IX

But that was only a thought. Whatever it might be that I thought I ought to do, with the morning and before my furious and vengeful mother-in-law and before my cruel and heartless sisters-in-law, my resolution melted away. I armed myself with the thought that it was a fate which, perhaps, by some evil doings in my previous birth I had brought upon me. "And what I have to undergo has to be undergone. There is no dallying with doom."

And while in a corner preparing a curry or cleaning a vessel, and solitary and all fearful, I worked on and could hear them talking and laughing, I thought upon what my mother would be doing at home, how my brothers would be playing, how the whole village would be as jovial as it ever was, while I, until recently a careless bird, was now caged here and doomed to great sorrows. And I thought of the stream, and I thought of the field and I thought of the hill, and a thousand thousand pictures danced around

me. Am I to be there no more? The idea was crushing. My brothers, do they not enquire about my wellare? How much I think of them! How often do I wish to be with them! Why do they not come at all?

Thus I would think on and cry on till I was called. And then I must suddenly dry my tears and appear cheerful, otherwise—"ayo! what have we done that you should cry, madam,—ayo! we cannot afford to employ cooks to do your work—" and many a sentence like that would be levelled against me. And then I would think of what Sita and Damayanti had suffered. Did not Sita loose her Rama and was exiled and had to pine for years and years? And did not Damayanti awake one morning and find herself all alone and in a horrid forest? What were my sufferings when compared with theirs? And then I would pray, pray to the God of my village, to give me patience to bear with my new relations— and I could scarcely shut my eyes for the hot, burning tears that flowed out of them.

X

At last my father came. He came to enquire how I was getting on. Krishna, the landed proprietor, had come. Grand were the preparations that were made to do fitting honor to him. My mother-in-law asked me to go and dress myself and "never to enter the kitchen, lest I should spoil anything." My father was talking to Narayana, my father-in-law. For a long long time he was talking. Would he not come to me? How I longed to fall at his feet—to embrace him—to cry and to go away with him, away, far far away from this wretched, wretched place! How I longed to speak to him! And how much I had to tell him! And how much I had to ask him! Would he not come to me soon? Thus behind the doors, hearing all that they were saying, and hoping that they would stop at every word and my father would come to me, I stood, my heart throbbing and my breath coming and going.

"Where is Savitri?"—And thus saying my father rose from where he sat and advanced towards the door where I was standing. Oh what was it that I felt? I knew not, but when my father came to where I was standing, my overburdened heart gave way and I burst into tears.

And the tears would never cease but they flowed on, and with each question of my father, dear, dear father, I could only cry on and on. My mother-in-law was the first to come, but she stood at a respectful distance, but I cried on. It was not to be stopped. And as any one asked me any question, the answer came in abundance of tears. My sisters-in-law came near me, but they had not the courage to comfort me. My father-in-law came and took me by my hand.

"Why should you cry—you can go with your father and be there in your house and play with your friends and brothers.—Do not cry, it is awkward."

What a good man! His words went to my heart like the evening dew. I stopped crying. It was all that I wanted—I wanted to go home to my mother and brothers—I wanted to leave this hell of a house and never come back again.

"You are coming with me?"—asked my father.

"Yes, father—" I said—"I will—I will."

XI

I started. I packed up my things. In vain my mother-in-law murmured and grumbled. In vain my sisters-in-law flitted here and there, reporters as they were to their mother. My father-in-law came to me to my room and mildly expostulated with me. Why should I go? Do I not get all that I want here? And does he not love me as my own father? I never replied. I must go. Oh! I must.

And then it was my mother-in-law's turn. She wondered how any girl could have the audacity to cry so loud and before grown up females. What? Has she not seen young girls, younger than I by many years, living with their husbands, ever so contented? Has she not been a daughter-in-law herself. Am I the only girl that has come down from heaven and could not do any work? And she cursed her fate that threw me in her way. So and So would not have done so, and So and So would have made a better daughter-in-law. "I tell you, you must not go—" she said decisively.

I never made any reply. I was silent. I looked down to the ground. I was afraid of her. And I could not reply. "Why are you silent—I say, you ought not to go."

I had no reply to make. I was resolved to go, and tell what she would, I would go.

"Look at her obstinacy—stony heart—I have never seen a girl like this!"

And with a face that was burning and eyes that were flashing she walked quickly away.

My father meanwhile was speaking to my husband, and after some time both of them

entered my room. A pang shot through my heart. Will my father also persuade me to stay? What am I to do? And my habitual fear of my father, a fear which in the extremity of my feelings I had forgotten, returned to me again. But I was very agreeably disappointed.

"Have you packed your things, Savitri?"

"Yes, father——" I said.

"Then let us go——" he said, and taking me by the hand he led me out of the room. My husband never said anything. I never looked at him. I wanted to go away.

"Has she had her meals——" he asked.

"Yes——" I said, looking down to the ground.

Down below were my father-in-law and my mother-in-law, before each of whom I had to prostrate myself. Outside the gate was the carriage, and once in the carriage, I was myself again. Each roll of the wheel took me yards nearer to the place of my birth.— Oh! what a joy was there!

(To be continued.)

S. PARUKUTTY.

PLASSY

(JUNE 23RD, 1757.)

PLASSY has come to be recognised as one of the decisive battles of India. It has even come to claim recognition as a "great battle" fought and won by the sword "as a fit retribution for the atrocities of the Black Hole."

Whatever might have been the real character of the actual struggle, few will seriously deny that it was not the sword but the pen, which ensured the victory; and created for the English unexpected opportunities to carve out an Empire in the East. Praise has, however, been given to all concerned, particularly to the 39th Regiment, with the privilege of bearing on its banners the name of Plassy, and the Motto—*Primus in Indis*, to clothe Plassy with every military honor due to all great battles in history.

It was not a regular fight. It was not even a fair fight. It was only when treason had done its work that Clive was encouraged to advance without the certainty of being annihilated.

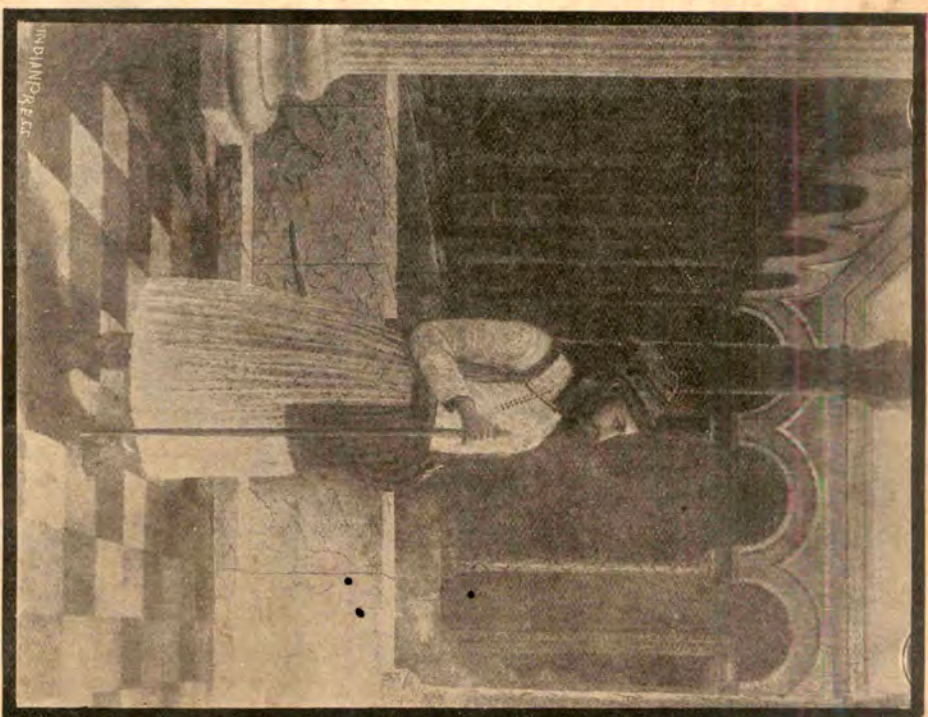
Yet Plassy was a decisive engagement. It decided the fate of Moslem rule. It was the beginning of the end, or the great end itself, which paved the way for a great beginning,—the birth of a new England and new India, fraught with great possibilities for both in establishing a new landmark in the history of man.

The story has, therefore, a peculiar fascination for all classes of readers and for all time to come. It cannot accordingly be out of place to recapitulate the events which brought about the great end,—not at any rate at a time when the first idea for a fitting memorial to the "Baron-de-Plassy" has come to engage public attention after a century and a half.

The great Mogul was a great potentate,—great in every way—in power, prestige and prerogative. He was graciously pleased to confer on the English Company a great concession,—a commercial privilege—protected by an Imperial *Firman*, authorising the recipients to carry on a lucrative trade, free



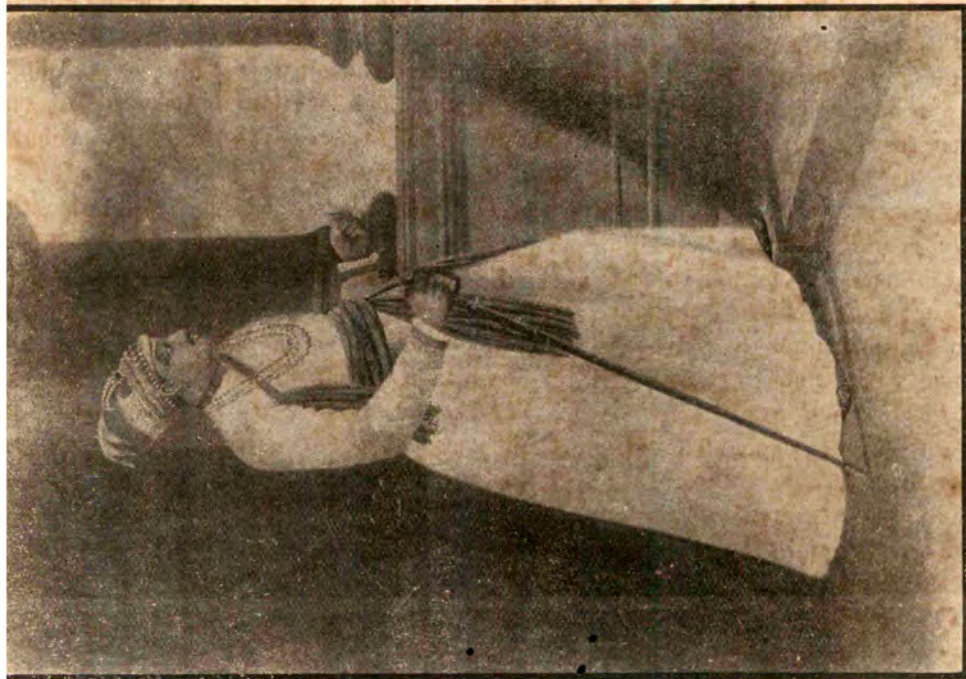
LORD CLIVE.



NAWAB ALIVERDI KHAN.

From a painting in the palace of the Nawab Bahadur of Mynshahabad.

INDIAN PRESS, CALCUTTA.



NAWAB SIRAJUDDOWLA.

From a painting in the palace of the Nawab Bahadur of Murshidabad.



NAWAB MIR JAFAR AND HIS SON MIRAN.

From a painting in the palace of the Nawab Bahadur of Murshidabad.

INDIAN PRESS, ALLEAHAD.

of all customs duty under a special permit called *dastak*. This document empowered the Company alone to trade under a limited concession, limited to export trade and to such trade of specified articles only. None but the Company could claim this privilege. But the advantages were too tempting to be easily foregone by the unscrupulous adventurers, who had then come out to India "either to die of fever, or to make a fortune in the East." Money appears to have been the great gospel in which every one believed, English or Indian; and the proverbial "pagoda tree" afforded many opportunities for all. The *dastak*, therefore, came to be abused. It was sought to be extended to all sorts of trade, export or inland, to all classes of articles, specified or otherwise, and to all unscrupulous persons, English or Indian, who could purchase it with money, or fabricate it with impunity. This did not fail to stir up troubles for the English. The Nawab, whose revenues were affected, insisted upon its proper use; the adventurers, whose profits were swelled, tried to perpetuate the abuse.

It was a hard duel, not altogether fair on both sides. In the struggle which followed, the English came to discover a secret,—the value of a well-applied bribe to the influential officials, who held control over the affairs of State. The early records of the British in Bengal abounded in instances of this nature. The Fouzdar of Hugly, the Naib of Dacca, the heir-apparent to the Musnud, all had to be "appeased,"—some with annual presents, all with occasional gifts, which would purchase their patronage and ensure peace. This gave the English the first handle to wield the officials to advance their 'cause.' It was an age of spoliation, and it might be urged on behalf of every Englishman, thus engaged in money-making, that he was satisfied with so little! This was in substance the only plea put forward by Clive when he was questioned about his ill-gotten gains.

In Aliverdi Khan the English found an exception to the general rule. He tried to be just. He had, therefore, to punish the English, whenever he caught them robbing. But the fifteen years' war, the Marhatta invasion of Bengal,—left him little leisure to attend to internal administration. Yet his government had many a quarrel with the English, all based on the abuse of the *dastak* or an undesirable aggrandisement of the "foreign merchant." We have it on the authority of Holwell that his "last advice to his grandson was to deprive the English of military power."

The growth of this power had a history of its own. It originated with the employment of "Burkandazes" to protect the factory and its merchandise. It developed into an organisation, as occasions arose, for all persons to protect their lives and property as best they could, under orders of the Nawab, who was obliged to grant large concessions in their behalf in times of trouble. The English did not sleep over the same like other Europeans. They built "Fort William," they constructed defensive works round their Cossimbazar factory, and excavated the notorious "Marhatta ditch." They also enlisted soldiers and sepoys, imported guns and field-pieces; and in their apprehension of a war with France, kept a navy in Indian waters, ready to come to the relief of Calcutta. Their repeated successes in the south had filled the dying Nawab with apprehensions, which he could not live to remove. He died with a word of caution on his lips to indicate the policy his successors should follow.

The English had also to shape a policy of their own. They received "many insults from the government,"—particularly in their giving public orders that "no person should serve the factory." The Court of Directors, who managed the trade from London, were, however, unwilling to add to their troubles in the East. To all representations from Bengal, for the increase of military power, they had only one answer to return.

"We must recommend it to you in the strongest manner to be as well on your guard as the nature and circumstances of your presidency will permit to defend our estate in Bengal; and in particular that you will do all in your power to engage the Nawab to give you his protection as the only and most effectual measure for the security of the settlement and property."

This was the last advice from "Home" on which the English had to depend for their guidance in the struggle which followed the death of Aliverdi. They could not and they did not openly disregard these injunctions; but they did not at the same time neglect what they thought was the only sovereign remedy, the development of military power. They had, therefore, to develop a diplomacy, which necessarily depended upon duplicity for its success. Call it by any name, 'oriental' or occidental—it was a diplomacy which was sought to be justified by the peculiar requirements of the situation. The actors never appeared to be ashamed of it, as indeed the weak in every age cannot afford to be ashamed of the clandestine means in which alone they fancy they find a real protection.

The death of Aliverdi was a signal for the outbreak of internal dissensions, which had so long threatened the succession. Aliverdi had no son to succeed him. He had three daughters, whom he had married to the three sons of his brother. All of them were provided with lucrative appointments. Nawagis Muhammad was governor of Dacca, Syed Ahmed of Purnea and Jaiu-ud-din of Bihar. Aliverdi adopted his grandson, the unfortunate Sirajaddowla, and appointed him his heir and successor in the government. When Aliverdi breathed his last (may his soul rest in peace!) he left behind him three daughters and two grandsons. Ghasetty Begum, the widow of Nawagis Muhammad, with the help of his deputy Rajballabh, set up a claim to the *Musnud* on behalf of her adopted son, Sokut Jung, son and successor of Syed Ahmed, was not without his pretensions. But Sirajaddowla

managed to occupy the *Musnud* without any open rupture.

The English knew not whom to "appease" with the best advantage. So they kept their eyes on all. Though they openly acknowledged their loyalty to Sirajaddowla, they did not hesitate to enter into a sort of secret understanding with Rajballabh nor scruple to watch the chances of Sokut Jung. Their diplomacy at this stage taxed the cleverness of all to devise effective methods by which alone they could steer clear of all difficulties, which this situation thrust upon them from every side.

The English made many a mistake. The first and foremost was their secret alliance with Rajballabh, which forced them to give shelter to his son, Krishnaballabh, in Calcutta, at the risk of offering a just irritation to the Nawab on the *Musnud*. They hastened the repairs of the fort and the construction of defensive work on the river-side. In this also they deliberately disobeyed the injunction of Sirajaddowla, and ordered his ambassadors to be turned out of the settlement. agent at Cossimbazar, appears to ^{be} ^{the} ^{great} ^{oracle} ^{whom} ^{the} ^{Council} ^{of} ^{Calcutta} ^{had} ^{to} ^{follow} ⁱⁿ ^{all} ^{these} ^{hasty} ^{decisions}. He continued to report that though seated on the *Musnud*, Sirajaddowla had no chance to be confirmed in the Government, which would come into the hands of Rajballabh, to be retained by him in the name of Ghasetty Begum and her adopted son.

The crisis came. It came with a suddenness which baffled all diplomacy. Mr. Watts acquainted the Governor and Council of Calcutta that

"he was told from the Durbar, by order of the Nawab, that he had great reason to be dissatisfied with the late conduct of the English in general. Besides he had heard they were building new fortifications near Calcutta without even applying to him or consulting him about it, which he by no means approved of; for he looked upon (the English) only as a set of merchants, and, therefore, if (they) chose

to reside in his dominions under that denomination, (they) were extremely welcome; but as Prince of the country, he forthwith insisted on the demolition of all those new buildings (the English) had made."

The oracle spoke and the Council obeyed. The story has been told at length by Orme.

"As the last advices from Kasimbazar described the event between Sirajaddowla and the widow of Nowagis to be dubious, the Council resolved that both the messenger and the letter (from the Nabob) were too suspicious to be received, and the servants, who were ordered to bid him depart, turned him out of the Factory and off the shore, with insolence and derision: but letters were despatched to Mr. Watts, instructing him to guard against any evil consequences from this proceeding."

It was duplicity indeed to turn out the Nabob's messengers with insolence and derision, and to instruct Mr. Watts to guard against its evil consequences by submitting suitable explanations to the Darbar. But the duplicity did not succeed. The English factory at Cossimbazar was besieged by the Nabob's troops, inspite of the best efforts of Mr. Watts to assure the Nabob that the English Council had offered him no real insult. The attack on Cossimbazar, however, opened the eyes of the English Council. They were now very eager to appease the Nabob, and they instructed Mr. Watts "to submit to *any* condition which the Nabob pleased to impose." Watts submitted accordingly to the following conditions by executing a bond of obedience:—

(1) "to destroy the redoubt at Perrins near Calcutta; (2) to deliver up any of the Nabob's subjects that should fly to the English to evade justice; (3) to give an account of the *dastaks* for several years past; (4) to pay a sum of money that should be agreed on for the bad use made of them; (5) and lastly, to stop Mr. Holwell's extensive powers as zemindar of Calcutta which he wielded to the great prejudice of the Nabob's subjects in the town."

The conditions were fair; but they aimed a death-blow at the money-making scheme. So the conditions were allowed to remain on paper, never to be sincerely submitted to in

practice. The abuses remained as unchecked as ever. They only mocked the Nabob all the more and wounded his prestige as a ruler of the country. He now recalled to his mind the last words of his illustrious grandfather. They were words of caution but they excited the young Nabob to immediate action.

"They, who, we see, are every day using all their policy and their power against what they themselves say is the Law of the most High, are only to be restrained by force."

These were the words which now dinned in the ears of the young Nabob night and day. He resolved to enforce submission to the stipulated conditions by force; and with that object in view marched upon Calcutta with the best part of his army.

The English could hardly meet such force by force. They, therefore, sent orders to their chiefs at Dacca, Jugdea, Balassore and other places "to withdraw and quit their factories with what effects they could secure." They entreated the Seths to intercede, and they ventured to approach the Nabob—not with a view to submit to the stipulated conditions,—but with a view to induce him to cancel the bond. The usual method of "calming the angry feelings of Eastern princes" was resorted to. A sum of money was tendered to purchase the Subahdar's absence; but it was indignantly refused. The Nabob entered the town, and laid siege to the fort. Governor Drake and his principal civil and military officers fled in a ship with the ladies, leaving the rest of the garrison to meet the wrath of the angry Nabob as best they could. The flight was unavoidable, it was perhaps a necessary step. Says a celebrated historian:—

"In such circumstances the expediency of abandoning the fort and retreating on ship-board naturally occurred to the besieged, and such a retreat might have been made without dishonor. But the want of concert, together with the criminal eagerness manifested by some of the principal servants of the Company to provide for their own safety at any sacrifice, made the closing scene of the siege one of the

most disgraceful in which Englishmen have ever been engaged."

The fall of Calcutta obliged the fugitive Englishmen to conceal themselves at Fulta, where they braved the worst privations in the fond hope of receiving a relief from Madras. But when the news arrived at Madras, "it scarcely created more horror and resentment than consternation and perplexity." This is the evidence left behind by Orme, an eye-witness, who was himself a member of the council at Madras. Another eye-witness tells us how fared the unhappy fugitives at Fulta:—

"The remains of our unfortunate colony were now lying on board a few defenceless ships at Fulta, the most unwholesome spot in the country, destitute of the common necessities of life; but, by the assistance of the French and the Dutch, and partly by the assistance of the *natives*, who privately supplied them with all kinds of provisions, they support the honors of their situation."

Macaulay, in his essay on Lord Clive, certified that "within forty-eight hours after the arrival of the intelligence, it was determined that an expedition should be sent to the Hughley and that Clive should be at the head of the land-forces." It is difficult to say where Macaulay could get facts to justify this bold assertion.

The Council of Madras wasted two months in fruitless deliberations. When they actually came to send an effective relief, they had no end of altercations in selecting a General. Pigot, the Governor of Madras, was not a soldier by profession. Colonel Aldercron was senior in rank, but he had no experience. Colonel Lawrence was fit in every way, but he was asthmatic and infirm. There was, thus, no choice left except sending out Clive at the head of the land-forces and Watson in charge of the royal navy. They were, therefore, sent out armed with letters of recommendation from the Nizam and the Nabob of Arcot to sue for peace and re-establish the trade.

When they reached Fulta, the fugitives had already secured the pardon of the Nabob through the officers of State, whose friendship and support had been extended to them with a lavishness well-known in history. Clive and Watson were, however, eager for war. They found in Manikchand, the Governor of Calcutta, a ready tool. At Budge-budge, a bullet passed by the turban of Manikchand, and he fled at once to Murshidabad, leaving Calcutta once more in the hands of the English, who completed their victory by plundering Hugly. Sirajaddowla once again marched upon Calcutta to punish this insolence. He wrote from Hugly to Admiral Watson—

"You have taken and plundered Hugly, and made a war upon my subjects: these are not acts becoming merchants. I have, therefore, left Maxudabad, and am arrived near Hugly. I am likewise crossing the river with my army, part of which is advanced towards your camp. Nevertheless, if you have a mind to have the company's business settled upon its ancient footing, and to give a currency to their trade, send a person of consequence to me who can make your demands, and treat with me upon this affair."

Clive hesitated, he made a night attack upon the camp of the Nabob, and after an "honorable retreat" condescended to conclude peace by an agreement which is known as the "treaty of Alinagar."

This treaty stood in the way of attacking the French at Chandernagar. The Nabob "detested the idea"; he warned the English against breaking the peace of the country, and advised them to open negotiations with the French for a suitable treaty. Watson stubbornly refused to sign any such treaty. The English had, therefore, no alternative but to attack Chandernagar. The troops of the Nabob, under Nanda Kumar, stood in the way. They were stationed there to protect the French. But Nanda Kumar moved off with his army to enable the English to take Chandernagar with the help of a French deserter. The service thus rendered to the English by Nanda Kumar for a well applied

bribe, is still noted in the records in the words of Clive,—

"We the servants of the East India Company, should always be grateful to that noble-minded and wealthy native merchant of Calcutta, Omichand. It was through his agency that we succeeded to secure the assistance and co-operation of Dewan Nanda Kumar, Fouzdar of Hugly. A body of the Subahdar's troops were stationed within the bounds of Chandernagar previously to our attack of that place. These troops belonged to the garrison of Hugly, and were under the command of Dewan Nanda Kumar. If these troops were not withdrawn, it would have been highly improbable to gain the victory."

The fall of Chandernagar sealed the fate of Sirajadowla, and precipitated his ultimate discomfiture at Plassy. The Nabob had only one choice now, a choice between giving shelter to the French and placing himself at the mercy of his conspiring officials who attempted to procure his dethronement with the help of the English. Circumstances forced the hands of the young Nabob to trust the English and to bid adieu to the French.

Left alone and unfriended, Sirajadowla had yet an army that could strike terror into the hearts of all. But his faithless generals entered into a conspiracy with the English and resolved to place his kinsman, Mir Jafar, on the *Musnud*. A secret treaty was executed by Mir Jafar under circumstances peculiarly difficult. A breath of suspicion could even then spoil the scheme and punish the treason. The treaty had, therefore, to be settled and executed in secret, with all the caution and dissimulation which the parties could adopt.

Great dexterity as well as secrecy being necessary in executing the plan of this revolution, the whole management thereof was left to Col. Clive and to Mr. Watts. One controlled the affair of the secret committee at Calcutta, and the other the council of the conspirators at Murshidabad. But Mr. Watts, being too closely watched by the Nabob's spies to venture himself, was obliged to take an agent into his confidence. This agent was

no other than "that noble-minded and wealthy native merchant of Calcutta, Omichand."

Says a strong critic of the day,

"Necessity, which in politics supersedes all oaths, treaties or forms whatever, induced the English East Indian Company's representatives (about three months after the treaty of Alinagar), to determine 'in the blessing of God' upon dispossessing Sirajadowla of his Nizamut and giving it to another."

But it was not possible to achieve the object in a fair fight. It was not even possible to settle the terms in public. So Clive wrote to the Nabob in terms "so affectionate that they for a time lulled the young prince into security." The same courier, who carried this "soothing letter," carried to Mr. Watts another in which Clive wrote:—

"Tell Mir Jafar to fear nothing. I will join him with five thousand men who never turned their backs. Assure him, I will march night and day to his assistance, and stand by him as long as I have a man left."

The Early Records of British India, a compilation of skill and labour, gives the plain truth about these transactions.

"The plain truth was that the so-called treaties were mere agreements patched up on the eve of a revolution. The English were in a position to demand anything, the Nabob-expectant could refuse nothing. There was not even a shadow of deliberation, for there was no time to haggle over terms."

The secret treaty, thus patched up in haste, secured to the company and its servants pecuniary advantages of great importance. Clive was, therefore, anxious to have this treaty executed by Mir Jafar with every formality,—with a solemn oath on the Sacred Koran,—in the presence of a reliable witness, who would not deny the execution. Watts was accordingly deputed to carry the treaty and get it signed in his presence. This was beset with more difficulties than Clive could foresee. The Nabob had his suspicions against all, and particularly against Mir Jafar. He had deputed his trusted spies to keep a strict eye on the movements of Mir Jafar. It was not possible for Watts to elude this vigilance.

He, therefore, entered Mir Jafar's harem in a palanquin as a lady of position; and Mir Jafar put his signature on the document with an endorsement in his own hand that "he swore by God and the Prophet of God to abide by the terms while he had life."

Omichand created an unexpected difficulty, which, threatened the conspirators with a disclosure of their scheme. He, too, expected a suitable reward, and demanded thirty *laes* to be noted in the treaty as his share for the risk he had taken in helping the conspirators. Clive was more than a match for such persons. He formed the plan of a fictitious treaty to hoodwink the "wily merchant." Watson refused to be a party to these tricks. But Clive overcame his scruples by making Lushington sign the Admiral's name.

As far as Clive's reputation is concerned, the question is of no moment, as he himself declared in his evidence before the Select Committee of the House of Commons that

"He never made a secret of it, for he thought it warrantable in such a case and would do it again a hundred times."

But his countrymen took a different view of this sharp practice. Mill made no secret of his verdict. "Clive," he wrote, "was a man to whom deception, when it suited his purpose, never cost a pang". Malleeson went a step further in his denunciation. He wrote—

"The greed for money, the ever-increasing demand for the augmentation of the sum originally asked for, the dishonoring trick, by which a confederate was to be balked of his share in the spoil, these are actions the contemplation of which makes, and will always make, the heart of an honest man burn with indignation."

The historian could hardly anticipate that a hundred and fifty years after the event funds would be raised by his countrymen for a suitable memorial in honour of the very man whose contemporaries condemned him with one voice as a man "to whom deception, when it suited his purpose, never cost a pang".

As soon as the secret treaty was duly signed, sealed, and made over to the English agent, the time for action came to engage the serious attention of Clive. He appears to have hesitated, suspected and prevaricated from start to finish; at no stage manifesting the courage with which he had tried to inspire Mir Jafar in his secret correspondence. There were good grounds for such hesitation at every step. From Calcutta to Plassy the English had to march over a hostile country, domineered at every important place,—at Hugly, Agradwip and Cutwa,—by the garrisons of the Nabob. The commanding officers at all these places had to be "appeased" with the help of Omichand; their professions of fidelity had to be scrutinised before their stations could be approached; their seeming resistance had to be overcome by mock attacks, which had also to be managed with skill in anticipation of unexpected treachery; and above all, the real attitude of Mir Jaffar and his associates had to be carefully ascertained before the English army could be ordered to march across the river to the field of Plassy. This taxed the cleverness of Clive at every turn. As a matter of necessary precaution, he sent out an advance guard to occupy the military stations of the Nabob before he ventured to go there in person. At Cutwa there must be a long halt; for that was the last place which afforded the chance of a retreat to the Bay, should the plan miscarry in any way. It was indeed a trying situation, which would have perplexed any soldier. Before Clive lay the *Bhagirathi*, over which it was easy to advance, but over which, if things went ill, it was not easy to return. Had defeat ensued, "not one man would have returned to tell it,"—so said Clive in his deposition in after years. Much bewildered by this perplexity, as well as by the danger of coming to action without horse, of which the English had none, Clive wrote to the Raja of Burdwan who was discontented with the Nabob, inviting

him to join the English with his cavalry, "even were they only a thousand." Nor was this all. Clive called a council of war. The question that was put to this council has come to be variously worded by various authorities. Clive said in his deposition before the Select Committee of the House of Commons, that the question was,— "whether they should cross the river and attack Sirajadowla with their own force alone, or wait for further intelligence?" Coote deposed before the same tribunal; but he said the question was,— "whether in those circumstances it would be prudent to come to an immediate action with the Nabob, or to fortify themselves where they were, and remain till the monsoon was over, and the Marhattas could be brought into the country to join the English?"

Contrary to the forms usually practised in councils of war, of taking the voice of the youngest officer first, and ascending from that to the opinion of the President, Clive gave his own opinion first. It was different from what he had so eloquently represented to Mir Jafar in his letter of assurance. He could not and he did not vote for an advance. On the same side voted Majors Kilpatrick, Archibald Grant, Captains Waggoner, Corneille, Fischer, Gaupp, Rumbold, Palmer, Molitor, Jennings and Parshaw, a strong majority, too strong to be lightly set at naught. Major Eyre Coote took a different view. He was for immediate attack. He was supported in his view by Captains Alexander Grant, Cudmore Muir, Carsstairs Campbell and Armstrong. But the opinion of Clive and his majority prevailed, so long as he did not hear again from Mir Jafar. When he heard again, his hesitation gave place to a bold resolve, and the army advanced. It was an army of 650 European infantry, 150 artillery men, (including 50 seamen,) 2,100 sepoys, and a small number of Portuguese, making a total of something more than 3,000 men (not even the 5,000 promised in the letter to Mir Jafar). This army with only six field-pieces, to oppose the army of the

Nabob on his own field, could not have been meant for a fair and serious fight by the conspirators. They wanted as how and Clive had enough for such a purpose.

But the show looked poor when the day dawned on the field of Plassy. Clive had reached Plassy-grove before day break, after a very fatiguing march and through a whole night's rain. The soldiers slept. But few of the officers, and least of all the commander. At day break the Nabob's army was perceived marching out of their lines towards the mango-grove, which the English were in possession of; their intention seemed to be to surround the English. Says an eye witness. "What with the number of elephants, all covered with scarlet-cloth embroidery, their horse, with their drawn swords glistening in the sun, their heavy cannon drawn by vast train of oxen, and their standards flying—they made a grand and formidable appearance."

Formidable indeed! For if Mir Jafar, Yar Lutiff and Rai Durlab, who stood at the head of their vast army, arrayed in a semi-circle, had only advanced towards the English, they would have been totally annihilated in a moment without receiving the chance of returning a single blow. But these Generals of the Nabob also stood in their lines to supply a pre-arranged show. Mir Mavlau Mohun Lal and Captain Sinfray alone stood in front with a strong determination to die or conquer. They were the only faithful soldiers, where so many were faithless and corrupt. Their attack was sincere and well directed. It struck terror into the heart of the bravest soldier in the English camp. The Mosomedan historian records an anecdote, a conversation between Clive and Omichand at this juncture, in which Clive is said to have reprimanded Omichand for his false assurance that there was to be no fight at all, but only a sure victory, to be picked up by the mere presence of the English. An eye witness says —

"We soon found such a shower of balls pouring upon us from their fifty pieces of cannon, that we retired under cover of the bank."

This was precisely the order of the English Commander, who himself retired to the hunting house close by. Orme's description of this battle is graphic and reliable. He says,—

"Some say Clive was asleep, which is not improbable, considering how little rest he had for so many hours before; but this is no imputation against his courage or conduct."

An accident decided the fortunes of the day. The brave Mahomedan General, Mir Madan, was killed at noon, the Nabob was prevailed upon to bring back Mohan Lal and Sinfray; and was persuaded by his generals to leave the field for his capital in the afternoon. This left the camp in the possession of the English, and placed Plasay on the list of the decisive battles of India.

It was undoubtedly a decisive battle. It decided more matters than one. It decided the course of action, the only policy, which would enable Clive to achieve wonders in building an Empire for England in the Far East with little or no exertion on the part of his mother-country. He discovered the great secret of setting one party against another. In this he succeeded everywhere in his after-career in India. It may, however, be noted to his credit that he never appeared to forsake his Indian friends, which enabled him to acquire their unflinching attachment in a country where their own kith and kin had failed to inspire confidence.

The story of Plassy is thus a romance "sparkling with incidents of the most varied character." It laid bare in bold relief the defects in the character of the Indian races, and thereby encouraged the English to aspire to the empire-building for which they are now so well-known. It indicated the real nature of the Indian people,—their impressionable character, and passionate appreciation of great qualities, which formed alike their strength and weakness,—“their strength after subjugation, and weakness during the struggle.” Plassy disclosed how whole divisions could be set in opposition to other

divisions. Col. Malleeson sums up the matter in well-chosen words. He says:—

"In the combination of astuteness with simplicity, of fearlessness of death and conspicuous personal daring with inferiority on the field of battle, in gentleness, the submission, the devotion to their leader, which characterised so many of the children of the soil, the student of history will not fail to recognise a character which demands the affection, even the esteem of the European race which, chiefly by means of the defects and virtues I have alluded to, now exercises overlordship in Hindustan."

Plassy has, therefore, a lesson for all; but a dispassionate consideration alone can bring home the lesson to the rulers and the ruled, and induce them to make one united effort for the real advancement of the country. In that alone lies the sure foundation of a fitting memorial of Plassy, not in any monument or statue that money can purchase.

The plea for this appeal to both is supported by every incident in history. It was Plassy which tied together the English and the Indian in one common tie, that of their common interest to usher in a better-form of administration in which the merchants and landlords, and through them the people in general, might have a greater voice and a more sympathetic treatment. It was a deliberate attempt to make the will and pleasure of the ruler give place to the real advancement of the ruled. The only way in which the memory of Plassy can be really honored, must, therefore, lie in the united effort of both to introduce and ensure a better administration of the Empire. If Plassy needs be remembered at all, both should receive encouragement to remember it with mutual gratitude, without any reference to the sword or the pen, which supported the diplomacy, "oriental or occidental."

Whatever might have been the direct or indirect after-effects of the encounter at Plassy, it could not claim recognition as a "great battle," nor as a "fit retribution for the atrocities of the Black Hole."

It is only in later compilations that we read of Plassy as a field of heroic deeds. Clive never claimed any unusual credit for what was done. He was candid enough to acknowledge the plain truth in his deposition that

"The battle being attended with so little bloodshed arose from two causes; first,—the army was sheltered by so high a bank that the heavy artillery of the enemy could not possibly make much mischief; the other was,—that Sirajadowla had not confidence in his army, nor his army any confidence in him, and, therefore, they did not do their duty."

If there was any heroism displayed in the field, it was almost entirely one-sided. While Mir Jaffar, Roy Durlab, and Yar Lutiff stood by to watch the progress of events, at the head of their respective regiments, each of which singly could have annihilated the English, Mir Madan, Mohan Lal and Sinfray fought with a devotion and courage which could have immortalised their glory in any other land and under any other circumstances. One of their lieutenants, a faithful Moslem Jamadar, who died in doing his duty, lies buried in a part of the field, which has been spared by subsequent encroachments of the river. His tomb, an humble mound of earth, without a tablet or epitaph to hand down his name to posterity, still marks the spot where he fell. Local cultivators assemble near this last relic on every Thursday (the day of the week on which the battle was fought), to shower their offerings on the grave.

As for the motive which really instigated the English to join the conspiracy to bring about the revolution, we can have no better authority than that of Clive himself. His first letter to Sirajadowla, after his advent from Madras, ran as follows:—

"The Admiral Watson, Commander of the King's invincible ships, and himself a soldier whose conquests in the Deccan might have reached his (the Nabob's) ears, were come to revenge the injuries he had done the English Company; and it would better become him to shew his love of justice by making them ample

satisfaction for all their losses, than expose his country to be the seat of war."

His last letter, on the eve of the march towards Plassy, ran as follows:—

"That from his great reputation for justice, and faithful observance of his word, he (Clive) had been induced to make peace with him, and to pass over the loss of many crores of Rupees sustained by the English in the capture of Calcutta, and to rest content with whatever he, in his justice and generosity, should restore to them."

In acquainting the Court of Directors with the motives, which made it incumbent upon their servants in Bengal to help the dethronement of the Nabob, Clive wrote as follows:—

"Some of Sirajadowla's letters (to the French) having fallen into my hands, I enclose a translation of them, just to shew you the necessity we were reduced to of attempting his overthrow."

In his account of the "Last days of Murshidabad," Mr. Beveridge notes with a significant hint:—

"It is interesting to contrast the lights and shades of Orme's history with those of the Mahomedan historian. Thus the latter does not say a word about the Black Hole."

Haji Mustapha, a renegade Frenchman, who translated the Persian account into English, added a note that

"this event, which cuts so capital a figure in Mr. Watt's performance, is not known in Bengal."

All this stands in strange contrast with the account of history, subsequently compiled by English writers, with evident self-exultation to declare that

"the barbarities practised on the English, and the terrible death of 123 of them in the Black Hole called aloud for vengeance."

The romance of Plassy has thus come to gather embellishments from every succeeding writer till truth has come to be completely enveloped in rhetoric, which might suit other forms of literature better than reliable history, to which posterity must turn for actual facts.

Some of these facts may still be gathered from the sayings and doings of the principal

actors in this tragic drama. They are, however, inconsistent with the irresponsible folk-lore, now so current in most text-books of Indian history. Thus, there was no clause in the "treaty of Alinagar," concluded by Clive, securing any compensation to the families of those who are said to have perished in the Black Hole. One historian notices this significant omission with indignation. Says Thornton:—

"No satisfaction was obtained for the atrocities of the Black Hole; and the absence of any provision for this purpose is the greatest scandal attached to the treaty. For this no sufficient apology could be found. Peace was desirable, but even peace is bought too dearly when the sacrifice of national honour is the price."

This implies a direct condemnation of Clive's decision; but this is based on the assumption that the massacre of Black Hole was a fact which admitted of no doubt; and that that fact could be entirely overlooked by Clive in patching up a hasty peace at any price! How far the hero of Plassy actually deserved this condemnation is, however, a controversial matter, a reliable decision of which depends entirely upon a dispassionate consideration, so rare with ordinary English writers of history, and so justly insisted upon by their continental critics for a proper investigation into all historical truth.

AKSHAY KUMAR MAITRA.

FOLK-TALES OF HINDUSTAN

THE SEVEN GOLDSMITHS.

IN a certain city there was a firm of seven goldsmiths, who were very famous for their wonderful workmanship. One day they were called upon by a powerful nobleman, who lived out of the town, to make some ornaments for his wife. The seven friends started forward towards the castle of the chief, and passing through dreary forests reached it safely. The nobleman himself came out to receive them, and conducted them into a large room where everything was ready for their work. The chief was a man of a very sullen and repulsive aspect, and at first the goldsmiths were frightened at his sight and thought him to be a fearful ogre. They would have resigned the work and returned home, but that the nobleman promised most handsome remuneration for their labour and great rewards when the work should be completed. So the greed of the

goldsmiths prevailed over their good sense and they stopped in the castle to prepare the jewels and ornaments.

The chief, showing all the arrangements which he had made for their work, such as, the furnace, the blow-pipes, charcoal, &c., led them to another room, which was smaller in dimensions, and in which there was a bedstead and a she-goat. Then the chief said:—"This is your sleeping room, that which we left behind is your laboratory. You will retire after your daily work into this room, drink the milk of this goat, and go to sleep on that bed which will accommodate you all. You will get no other food but the milk of that goat, but think not that it will be less nourishing than the most richly cooked dishes. Her milk has the virtue of strengthening the body and sharpening the intellect. She will yield sufficient milk for you all. But mind, you must finish your work within seven days. Now go and begin your work at once."

The goldsmiths did not like much the imperious treatment of the nobleman and much less the accommodation provided for them. However, they began their work and laboured on it all the day, and did a good deal, and hoped to finish it in less than the allotted time. When it was dark, they went out of the laboratory, changed their dress and milking the goat began their supper. They found that the chief had not at all exaggerated the virtues of the animal, for in fact the milk was so very sweet and delicious, that they had never tasted anything equal to it before; and as soon as they drank it they felt a strange exhilaration, and feeling drowsy, they went to sleep. The bed, however, was found to be too small for seven, but it just accommodated six of them. So one of the friends was obliged to sleep on the ground, while the other six slept on the bed.

When it was about midnight the goat began to lick the soles of the feet of the goldsmith who was lying on the ground, and by degrees sucked up the whole life blood of the poor artizan, and the fellow died without any noise. Then there was a clap of thunder and a strange blue illumination in that room, and the nobleman came in and said:—"Sister, art thou happy? Sister, is thy hunger satiated?" The goat replied:—"Brother *Rākshas*, I am happy so long as you keep me so, my hunger is satisfied so long as you give me human blood." And then there was another clap of thunder, and the nobleman and the corpse were both gone out of the room.

Next day when the goldsmiths awoke they found that one of them was missing and they searched him everywhere but could not find him. Then they began their work with great misgivings and the chief reminded them that they must finish it within the stipulated period, of which one day had already passed, and six only were remaining. The friends worked harder than usual, but being one less, could not do so much as they had done the day

before, but still they hoped to finish it within the time agreed upon. They laboured without a minute's interval of recreation or rest from early morning till late at night, when at last feeling hungry they went to breakfast on the milk of the goat. As soon as they drank it, they again felt the same drowsiness and went to sleep on the bed. But to their surprise they found that the bed had contracted in length and breadth during the day and it could not now accommodate more than five persons. So this day also one had to sleep on the ground. The milk possessed mysterious virtues and no sooner had they lain down than they became perfectly unconscious. Again when it was midnight, the goat licked the feet of the sleeper on the ground, and sucked up his blood, and again the nobleman appeared asking the same questions as before. After which the chief and the corpse vanished.

The next day the friends found that one more of their number was missing and again they searched everywhere unsuccessfully, and returned to their task with hearts frightened at the strange disappearance of their two comrades. They, however, were afraid of leaving off their work through fear of losing the rich rewards promised, and incurring the anger of the valiant chieftain. But with all their efforts the five could not do as much work as the seven. When at night they went to sleep, the bed was still more contracted and now could contain only four. That night also they lost one of them. Thus they lost one of their comrades daily, till at the end of five days only two remained. Then the two friends said to each other:—"Friend, we will sleep with our *Chotis* (lock or tuft of hair in the middle of the head) tied together, so that none may vanish without awakening the other."

That night when they went to sleep, the bed accommodated only one of them, and the other slept on the ground, but with his hair tied to that of his friend on the bed. When

it was midnight, the goat again sucked up the blood of the sleeper, and the nobleman again appeared and asked :—"Sister, art thou happy ? Is thy hunger appeased ?" The goat replied as before :—"Brother *Rákshas*, I am happy so long as you are happy, my hunger is appeased so long as you give me human blood." So the nobleman vanished in a clap of thunder together with the corpse.

The other goldsmith, who was sleeping on the bed was aroused out of his sleep as soon as the goat had begun to suck the blood of his comrade, for he felt a pull at his head. Thus he heard and saw all that transpired that night and trembled with horror and fright when he found that the castle belonged to terrible *Rákshases* whose food was the blood and flesh of man.

No sooner was it morn than the goldsmith rose up, and on the excuse of making his morning ablutions went out of the castle, and ran for his life. The goat learned at once of his flight, and immediately changing herself into a beautiful damsel, began to run after him, crying in a very melodious voice :—"Husband dear, husband dear, where are you going away ? Do not leave me behind, take me with you." But the goldsmith knew that it was all a syren's song, and that she was a monstrous *Rákshasi*. So he began to flee with greater speed. In the way he saw a large Banyan tree sacred to God Shiva, so he climbed up to its highest branch and earnestly calling upon the divinity, cried out :—"Protect me O Shiva, Lord of spirits and ghosts ! Protect me from that terrible *Rákshasi*." His prayers were heard, and when the *Rákshas* woman came to the tree and saw the goldsmith on its top, she tried to climb it but could not. Then she sat down under it and went on weeping and crying :—"O cruel husband, why have you abandoned me ? Come down to me. I am afraid of climbing such a tall tree, otherwise I would have come to you. Do descend, O dear lord of my life and

solace of my heart." She made many such wails, and wept and sobbed, beating her breast, and pulling her hair, and the noise of her loud lamentation rang through the woods.

By chance a Raja passed by that place on a hunting expedition, and seeing a beautiful young lady weeping under the tree went up to her and consoling her, learned the cause of her sorrow. Then looking up to the goldsmith who was perched upon the highest branch, he said :—"Fellow, why do you treat so badly such a good and sweet wife ? Come down and take her home." The poor fellow afraid of telling the truth, and thinking that even if he did so, no one would believe him, replied :—"Your majesty may take her away. I renounce all my claims on her. She is nothing to me." Then the Raja, happy to get such an easy prize, addressing him said :—"We do not accept gifts from our subjects, but purchase them. Here are two *lakhs* of rupees for her, come down and take it." "Put it under the tree," said the goldsmith, "I have made a vow not to descend so long as she is within sight." The Raja, accordingly, put the purses under the tree and taking up the seeming damsel, placed her in a beautiful conveyance and brought her to his kingdom and married her with great pomp and *eclat*.

The Raja had a favourite horse, a favourite dog and a favourite son, whom he loved very much. The first thing which the *Rákshasi* did was to eat up the horse one night, and throw its bones in the palaces of the other *Ranis* (queens). When the Raja saw next morning that his horse was gone, he came at once to his new Rani, the *Rákshasi*, on whom he doted with strange infatuation, and told her that his horse was nowhere to be found. The wily ogress said :—"Search for it in the palaces of the other *Ranis*." The Raja repaired to the houses of his other *Ranis*, who were seven in number, and searched their palaces and found the bones of his favourite horse there. He was, of course, very much enraged with

his Ranis, and heavily rebuked them for their supposed crime, and in spite of their strong protestations would not believe them to be innocent. However, at last he spared their lives, but kept them in disgrace.

Next day the dog was missing, and the day after his favourite son, and the blame of their disappearance was also laid on the shoulders of the poor Ranis. The Raja was infuriated and ordered them to be beheaded, but on account of the strong intercession of the Prime Minister, and also because the ladies were *enceinte*, the Raja pardoned them their lives but ordered them to be thrown into a dark well without any food.

The poor Ranis lamenting their misfortunes began to live in the well and to starve. They would have been forced to eat one other to allay the burning fire of their hunger, had not the eldest Rani brought forth a son. Then they unanimously cut the child into seven portions and ate it. Thus they lived for some time on the flesh of the child. Next the other Rani gave birth to a son, and the babe suffered the same fate as his brother. Thus one after another the six Ranis gave birth to a son, and every one was devoured by the famishing mothers. When the seventh gave birth to a son the others said:—"Now sister, kill it, and let us have its flesh to eat, we are dying of hunger." She replied—"Sisters, I will not kill my son. Here are six pieces of flesh which you gave me, but which I never touched. Eat and have your hunger appeased, but let my son live." Saying which, she brought out the six pieces which had fallen to her share and distributed them amongst the other Ranis. Seeing this, God Shiva was pleased with her, and coming down into the well in the shape of her father, said to her:—"Daughter, I have heard of your misfortunes, but could not find up to this time any opportunity of communicating with you. Henceforth you will get daily eight dishes full of food, one each for you and your sisters and

the other one for your child." Having said this he went out of the place and the Ranis were supplied with food by invisible hands and began to live in that well happier than before.

The virtue of the celestial food was such that within one year the child grew as big and strong as if he were a youth of twenty, and then he one day asked his mother:—"Mother, have I any father, uncle, grand-father or not? Where are they?" The Rani wept bitterly and observed:—"Son, you have no father, but your *Nana*, that is my father who lives somewhere in this city. He is a carpenter, and supplies us with food." The Prince replied:—"Mother, bless me and permit me to leave you, for I will go and search out this relative and see whether I cannot get you out of this horrible and dark place." His mother dissuaded him very strongly but he was resolved to go. At last she bade him adieu with tears in her eyes and the Prince went out to search his *Nana* or maternal grand-father.

Following the directions given by her mother, he found out the house of her father and going up to him said:—"Nana dear, I have come to you to see you and the wonders of the place." The old man was very much pleased to see his grand-child and asked him what he could do for him. The Prince replied:—"Make for me a wooden horse of such a wonderful workmanship that it may fly in the air and gallop on the earth as I should bid it." The carpenter telling his grand-child to stop with him for some days, began to work on the wooden horse. He finished the machine in a week and then presented it to the Prince. Great was the joy of the young man to find such a useful object, and bidding on it he went to the palace of the Raja.

Going straight to the palace where the Raja was holding his Darbar, he offered his services to him. The Raja was soon pre-possessed in his favour, though he did not, of course, know

him to be his son, and employed him at once as the captain of his guard, and sent him to keep watch over the palace of his new wife, the *Rákshasi*. The Prince going up to the palace rode round and round the building on his wooden horse and frightened all evil persons by his courageous bearing. His arrival soon produced a commotion among the inmates of the palace, so that the cruel ogress herself peeped out of the window to see who this new watch was. As soon as she caught a glimpse of his face, she at once recognised in it the lineaments of the Raja, and knew him to be the Prince born in the well.

So when it was night she put off her rich dress and jewels and, wearing a worn-out and dirty cloth and dishevelled her hair, she retired to the hall of anger. When the Raja came to the palace he looked for the Rani, but not finding her in her usual place called the maids of honor and asked them where the queen might be. They replied most humbly:—"The Rani has been weeping all day and beating her breast, and has gone to the hall of anger." The Raja hastened there, fearing that there must have happened something very wrong to have annoyed the Rani so much. When he reached the place, he found her rolling on the ground bedewing the floor with her tears. The Raja falling on his knees entreated her to tell him the cause of her grief, and after much solicitation she replied:—"Do you think I have no heart? Send me at once to my father's. It is long since I have heard anything from them. Send some body at once to bring the news of their health, and also the singing water and the *Vanaspati Chauval* (the rice-lord of the forest), a plant which yields cooked rice and grows to the height of forty yards. Procure for me these things soon, or else I leave you. Send this young guard on this expedition, if you love me." The Raja promised most solemnly to do as she directed. Then calling his son he said:—"My brave young man, go at

once and bring the singing water, *Vanaspati* rice and news of the queen's relatives. Haste as thou valuest thy life, and return as soon as thou canst. Take this letter from my wife to her father."

The Prince at once rode forth and took the road to the city of the *Rákshasas*. He travelled on for months and months till he came to a dense forest, where alighting from his horse he began to travel on foot. When he had travelled long, he came upon a lion in the way, very fierce to behold. The Prince was very much frightened, but, not losing his presence of mind, he stepped boldly towards the lord of the forest and said:—"Mama (uncle), Rám Rám (how are you), good day." The lion who had thought that there was a nice morsel for him in that young man, was sorely bewildered when he found that the new-comer was his nephew. So he welcomed him mildly:—"Come, nephew, come, go in and pay your reverence to your *Nani* (maternal grandmother), she is there." The Prince went in to the lair and said:—"Nani, Rám Rám," and was welcomed by her equally. He tarried there for sometime, and then went forward in his journey. Further on he met a wolf, whose clutches also he got out of by establishing the same close relationship. Thus he crossed that forest full of wild animals by calling every ferocious animal he met with *Nana*, *Nani*, "cousin," "friend" or other such endearing names. When he emerged out of the wood, he saw a small thatched hut. He entered it, and saw a *Yogi* immersed in trance. He stood with joined palms all the while the saint was in contemplation; and as soon as he opened his eyes, the Prince prostrated himself before him and said:—"O great soul, help me in my enterprise. Tell me where I can get the singing water, the *Vanaspati* rice, and the relatives of the queen. Where dwells the person to whom this letter is addressed?" The *Yogi* graciously told the Prince to tarry there that day and he would show him the

way to-morrow. The Prince lodged there for the night, and slept on a mat on the ground. When the *Yogi* saw that the traveller slept soundly, he took the letter and breaking the seal, read it by the light of the *Dhuni* (the perpetual fire which burned before him). The contents of the letter were:—

“Dear brother,—As soon as you see the bearer, kill and devour him. Yours affectionately, THE GOAT RAKSHASI.”

The *Yogi* burned the letter, and taking up pen, ink and paper wrote the following:—

“Dear Brother,—The bearer of this is my son and your nephew. Treat him kindly and send through him the singing water and *Vanaspati* rice. Yours &c., THE GOAT RAKSHASI.”

The *Yogi* then put this letter in the bag which the Prince carried. When it was morn, the holy hermit pointed him out the road to the land of the *Rákshases* and instructed him how to proceed, telling him:—“If you succeed in your enterprise, do not leave behind a single bone which you may find in the castle of the *Rákshas*. Bring them all away.”

The Prince thanking the holy man for his good advice, bade him good-bye and hastened on his journey. After many difficulties he reached the castle of the *Rákshas*—the same castle occupied by the seeming nobleman who had invited the goldsmiths. On reaching the castle he was led before the chief and presented the letter. On reading the epistle, the *Rákshas* was greatly rejoiced, and embraced him heartily under the mistaken idea that he was his nephew. The chief, who was the king of the ogres, then invited all the ogres and presented the Prince to them, telling them not to molest him in any way. Then he led him to his mother who was a very old and ugly ogress, and consigned the Prince to her care. The Prince began to live in the castle apparently quite contented and happy, but inwardly planning how to encompass his object. He

managed to get into the confidence of the ugly ogress, and one day asked her:—“*Nani* (grandmother), show me the wonders of this castle. I wish to know wherein lie your life and death, for, dear *Nani* I love you and *Mama* (uncle) and all the *Rákshases* so much that I am afraid lest anything might injure you.” “Do not be afraid on our account,” said the hag, “we, the race of *Rákshases*, bear charmed lives. We fear no death. Come with me and I will show you what I mean.” She then conducted him into a large hall in which there were innumerable birds kept in cages:—Parrots, peacocks, pigeons, sparrows, wood-peckers larks, &c. The collection of birds was grand and unique, and the Prince thought that he was in an aviary. Then the old *Rákshas* said:—“Prince, these birds are our lives: as long as these birds live, we live, when they die we die. You see they are protected with great care and cannot be injured by anybody, and so we also cannot meet with any harm. This black daw is my life, that rook is your *Mama*, my son’s life, and this pea-hen is thy mother, the *Rani*’s.” The Prince then asked:—“*Nani*, where are the singing water and the *Vanaspati* rice?” The ogress then conducted him into another room and showed a bottle full of a very clear, limpid liquid, out of which there flowed a most enchanting music. “This,” she said, “is the singing water.” Then taking him to the garden she showed him a very tall tree and said, “that is the tree of *Vanaspati* rice.”

The Prince congratulated himself on thus learning these secrets of the dreadful castle. Then he was shown many other halls and rooms, some of them full of gems, diamonds, gold and precious stones. He also saw the room in which were stored the bones of those persons who had been devoured by the *Rákshases*. Then being on the wait one day when the *Rákshases* and the *Rákshasis* had both gone out of the castle to a marriage

feast of the ogres, the Prince finding the time very opportune, entered the hall of life and taking hold of one at a time began to kill the birds by pulling out their legs, wings, and wringing their necks. The Prince spared the life of the pea-hen alone. The corpses of the *Rākshasis* and *Rakshases* made a mountain before the castle gate. Then the Prince taking the bottle of the singing water and a branch of the tree of the *Vanaspati* rice, and tying up all the bones of the dead persons eaten by the ogres in a bundle issued out of the castle and came to the hut of the *Yogi*.

The Prince presented the spoils of the *Rākshas* castle to the hermit. The holy person taking together the bones of all the victims sprinkled the singing water on them, and behold they all came back to life; and amongst them were the six goldsmiths. As soon as the goldsmiths saw the *Yogi*, they recognised in him their comrade and great was their happiness. The *Yogi*-goldsmith then related to them how he had escaped from the clutches of the *Rākshases* and how he had performed austerities and devotion for the sake of his friends and the ruin of the cruel *Rākshases*.

Then the *Yogi* also revealed to the Prince the true history of the Rani, saying:—"O Prince, know that you are the son of the Raja on whose service you undertook this dangerous journey. The Rani who has sent you so far is the cause of all the misfortunes which you and your mother and step-mothers have suffered. But now her days are numbered. Let us all accompany you to the Raja's court and expose her." The Prince dismissed all the rest of the company, but taking with him the seven goldsmiths, the singing water, the *Vanaspati* rice, and the pea-hen, entered the forest. He again paid visits to his Uncle Lion, Uncle Wolf, Uncle Tiger, Uncle Cobra, Uncle Elephant and others of the forest. They were much pleased to see him, and every one of them presented one of their young

cubs, &c., to the Prince. The Prince accompanied by this delectable company issued out of the forest. There on the entrance he found his wooden horse, and riding on it he went towards the city followed by the curious train of birds, beasts and other animals. He appeared in this array like a show-man carrying a moving menagerie.

When he came to the out-skirts of the city he changed his dress, and assuming the garb of a juggler, he and the seven goldsmiths went to the Darbar and announced that they would perform the wonderful magic-play called the *Rākshas* unveiled. The Raja called together a great assembly to witness the performance. Then the Prince began his show. The spectators raised loud cheers when they saw him moving fearlessly among his strange collection of wild animals. Then he struck the flute, and at once the animals began to dance in a wonderful circle round and round the Prince. He then planted the branch of the *Vanaspati* rice, and it at once grew up into a tall tree, and cooked rice of sweet flavour rained in copious showers before the spectators and all who tasted declared never had they eaten anything equal to it. Then he dug a large tank and threw the bottle of the singing water into it and at once the whole tank was filled and a delightful music filled the whole palace. The performance lasted for seven days, and on the last and seventh day the Prince said:—"Now we are going to show you our last and most wonderful show:—The dance of the pea-hen." Then he brought the pea-hen, and ordered her to dance. The bird began to dance and at once the *Rākshasi* Rani came out of the palace and began to dance before the whole assembly. The Raja was horrified at this, but held his peace. Then the Prince broke one leg of the pea-hen, and behold! one leg of the Rani became broken too. But still the pea-hen went on dancing on one leg, and the Rani also danced on one leg. The Prince

then pulled out one wing of the bird and the Rani lost one arm, but still the dance went on. At last the Prince broke the neck of the bird, and the Rani uttering a loud scream, and resuming her original shape of a large forty-yard long *Rākshasi* fell dead on the spot. Then the whole assembly cried out with one voice:—"What is this, whom have we here?"

Then the Prince stepping forward addressed the assembly:—"Here you see the *Rākshasi* who has been the ruin of this fair kingdom." Then the Prince went out for a short time.

The next scene was still more wonderful.

There came out seven goldsmiths, each leading a Rani by the hand, and followed by seven Princes. Addressing the Raja they said:—"Here are the most injured ladies, your Ranis, and here are the seven Princes, your sons. Take them and embrace them." Then the *Yogi* goldsmith related the whole story:—how the Ranis were forced to eat their sons, and how they had been revived by the singing water, and all the adventures of the younger Prince.

The joy of the Raja and the whole Kingdom knew no bounds. Even the favourite horse the dog and the Prince were revived.

THE FIGHTING RACES AND CASTES OF INDIA

IN every civilized country of the world, any man if physically fit, can enter the army. But such is not the case in India. Here physical fitness for military service is a secondary consideration. The qualifications which are considered essential for one who is ambitious to follow the profession of arms; are not only his physical fitness or moral character but also whether he belongs to one of those religious sects, castes or races, the members of which alone are eligible to furnish recruits to the Indian Army. They are the following:—

1. The Sikhs; 2. The Pathans; 3. The Gurkhas; 4. The Dogras; 5. The Musalmans (not all Indian Musalmans, but Punjabi, Hindustani, Rajput and Deccani); 6. Rajputs; 7. Jāts; 8. Tamils; 9. Marathas; 10. Baluchis, and a few other frontier tribes, such as Hazaras, &c.; 11. Certain classes of Brahmans of the United Provinces; 12. Garhwālis; and 13. Parias and Indian Christians of Madras.

Thus it will be seen that all the races, religious sects and castes of India are not represented in the Native Indian Army. The provisions of the well-known Parliamentary Act of 1833 and the Queen's Proclamation of 1858—according to which no native of India is debarred from entering any department of public service—(which of course includes military as well as civil) the duties of which he is able to perform—are deliberately ignored as far as the question of the recruitment of the ranks of the Native Army is concerned. Hereditary proclivity or rather appetite for fighting will be urged in favor of the present system of recruiting the ranks of the native army from the favoured classes. Even assuming for the sake of argument that heredity plays no inconsiderable part in making the children of fighting men born soldiers, the question naturally arises if the ranks of the native army are recruited from all the known

fighting races and castes of the country? If so, what about the Maratha Brahmans—descendants of the Peishwas and their comrades who fought bravely against the English? Why are they not now enlisted in the army?

The descendants of those with whose help Olive, Coote, Lawrence, Cornwallis, Wellesley and Lake fought the battles which laid the foundation of British supremacy in India, are now systematically excluded from the army. The natives of Madras and of Lower Bengal—the much maligned and abused Bengalis—formed the main contingent of Olive's army. But now they are not allowed to furnish recruits to the Indian army.*

For our own part, we do not believe in anything like hereditary fighting castes. The followers of the mild and meek Guru Nanak—now known as Sikhs—were not originally a fighting people. Take the case of the Japanese. Half a century ago, they were not known for their proficiency and dexterity in the hand-

* Bishop Heber wrote in chapter IV of his *Indian Journal*:—"I have, indeed, understood from many quarters, that the Bengalees are regarded as the greatest cowards in India; and that partly owing to this reputation, and partly to their inferior size, the sepoy regiments are always recruited from Bahar and the upper provinces. Yet that little army with which Lord Clive did such wonders, was raised chiefly from Bengal. So much are all men the creatures of circumstance and training." *Ed.*, 1873, Vol. I, p. 53.

Walter Hamilton wrote in his work entitled *A Geographical, Statistical and Historical Description of Hindostan and Adjacent Countries*:—"The native Bengalees are generally stigmatised as pusillanimous and cowardly, but it should not be forgotten that at an early period of our military history in India, they almost entirely formed several of our battalions, and distinguished themselves as brave and active soldiers." *Ed.*, 1820, Vol. I, p. 95.

As to the "inferior size" of the Bengalis referred to by Bishop Heber, the following extract from a letter written by Lord Minto, ancestor of the present Lord Minto, from Calcutta on September 20th, 1807, to the Honourable A. M. Elliott, after visiting Barrackpore, will show what the Bengali was in those days:—

"The men themselves are still more ornamental. I never saw so handsome a race. They are much superior to the Madras people, whose forms I admired also. Those were slender. These are tall, muscular, athletic figures, perfectly shaped and with the finest possible cast of countenance and features. Their features are of the most classical European models with great variety at the same time, but the females seem still as hideous as at Madras, and one cannot

ling of military weapons. They were not a martial race. We read in Chambers's *Encyclopædia* that they "are deficient in moral earnestness and courage," and also

".....the nation divides itself into two portions, the governing and the governed. The former, representatives of the military class and numbering some 4,000 families, are high-spirited and masterful; the rest of the nation are submissive and timid." (*Ed.* 1890, Vol. VI, pp. 285-86).

But within the last forty years they have developed their military qualities to such an extent, that all the civilized nations of the world are at present afraid to cross swords with them. What man has done, man can do. Any race or caste of India, even the Bengalis, whom Englishmen pretend to despise—can be transformed into brave soldiers, if encouraged and properly given military discipline. The iron Duke of Wellington used to say that man is naturally a coward, it is discipline which makes him brave. This

conceive that they should be the mothers of such handsome sons." *Lord Minto in India* by the Countess Minto.

That the Bengalis can become in the future what they were in the past was the opinion of so competent an authority as Sir W. W. Hunter. Says he:—

"The ruin of Tamruk as a seat of maritime commerce affords an explanation of how the Bengalis ceased to be a sea-going people. In the Buddhist era they sent warlike fleets to the east and the west and colonised the islands of the archipelago. Even Manu in his inland centre of Brahmanism at the far north-west, while forbidding such enterprises betrays the fact of their existence. He makes a difference in the hire of river boats and sea-going ships, and admits that the advice of merchants experienced in making voyages on the sea, and in observing different countries, may be of use to priests and kings. But such voyages were associated chiefly with the Buddhist era, and became alike hateful to the Brahmans and impracticable to a deltaic people whose harbours were left high and dry by the land-making rivers and the receding sea. Religious prejudices combined with the changes of nature to make the Bengalis unenterprising upon the ocean. But what they have been, they may under a higher civilization again become. The unwarlike Armenians whom Lucullus and Pompey blushed to conquer, supplied seven centuries later the heroic troops who annihilated the Persian monarchy in the height of its power. To any one acquainted with the revolutions of races, it must seem mere impertinence ever to despair of a people; and in maritime courage, as in other national virtues, I firmly believe that the inhabitants of Bengal have a new career before them under British rule." *Orissa*, p. p. 314-315.

observation of Wellington is true to the very letter.* The Christian nations of Europe have not turned their swords into ploughshares. They are disciplining their men in the profession of arms by the systems of conscription, militia and volunteering. But what do we see in India? Here the exclusive policy of the State has gone so far as to enact the Arms Act, the effect of which is visibly felt everywhere on the *physique* and morale of the people of the country. Races known and feared once for their military prowess, have now so far deteriorated, that they are afraid to handle any military weapon. And indirectly this has enhanced the difficulties of getting suitable recruits for the army. During the last Budget Debate in the Viceregal Council, the Ticca Saheb of Nabha drew pointed attention to the subject of the deterioration of the physique of the warlike races of India.

It is now seriously proposed by many a Military Officer, through not officially, to get recruits to fill the ranks of the Native Army from outside India. The whole continent of India is not large enough for them for recruiting. They must get Afghans and Tartars and Arabs and Malays to fill the ranks of her army. Why should this be so? This question can be answered only in one of

* General John Jacob wrote :—

"The attending to, acknowledging at all, in any way, any distinctions of race, tribe, caste, etc., as giving any rights or implying any merits, appears to me to be a very great error.

Men should be enlisted with reference to individual qualifications only. Any race, tribe, or caste, the individuals of which possessed high personal qualifications, would necessarily predominate over the others, but not by reason of race, tribe or caste, but simply on account of their personal and individual qualifications. This cannot, I think, be too much insisted on, or too frequently kept in view." P. 78 of *Papers connected with the Reorganization of the Army in India*, presented to both houses of Parliament by command of Her Majesty, 1860.

two ways. Either the inhabitants of British India have become so emasculated as to be totally unfit for military life, or that in the opinion of Britons no confidence can be placed in their loyalty, and so they are not to be trusted with arms. For our own part we believe there is truth in both these views. There can be no question as to the people of India being day by day emasculated. And it is equally true that the loyalty of the Indian people—especially of the intelligent and educated, and, therefore, patriotic portion of them—is suspected. It is on this hypothesis alone that the exclusion of the Maratha Erahmans from the army can be explained.

Incidentally, we may mention here that it is not only the people of India themselves, but the Christian Government of India also, which is doing all that lies in its power to perpetuate the caste system. This is evident to all who have their eyes open and see the preference that is given to men belonging to certain castes in the public services—more especially in the military service. But then, did not a Christian British Officer say that "*Divide et impera* should be the motto for our Indian administration, whether political, civil, or military?"

Again, he wrote :—

The practice of recognizing differences of tribe, caste, &c., as implying merit or demerit, or in any way affecting a man's position as a soldier, is most faulty. Men should be enlisted as soldiers, and their merits estimated according to their power and willingness to perform their duties as soldiers. Caste, &c., should never be alluded to or recognized in any way. If any man's peculiarities of caste, &c., be found to interfere with the performance of his duties as a soldier, these peculiarities should be treated exactly as would be bodily defects or infirmities, and the man so defective or infirm should not be enlisted, or his services should be dispensed with as soon as such defects become apparent. Peculiarities of belief or of practice which interfere with military duty should be considered and treated not as conferring privileges, but as signs of weakness, just as would be physical disorders." *Ibid*, p. 82.

The world has no room for cowards. We must all be ready somehow to toil, to suffer, to die. And yours is not the less noble because no drum beats before you when you go out into your daily battlefields, and

no crowds shout about your coming when you return from your daily victory or defeat.—Robert Louis Stevenson.

NARRATIVE

OF THE INCIDENTS OF MY EARLY LIFE

I

INTRODUCTION

WHEN you asked me, Mr. Editor, to contribute a short biographical sketch of mine for your illustrated Bengali Magazine, the *Pravasi*, the question that I put to myself was:—Had not I had a life of incidents and adventure? I thought it over and over and re-counting the troubles that I had, unwittingly, with the civilized man, to serve whom I had often risked my life, I saw the possibility of a sketch of it. In my life I have come into close contact with two classes of men—the cultured European and Indian—and the Chinese and the Tibetans, whom the former call half-civilized men. The lesson that I have learnt from my experiences with these two, is that the latter are simple and sincere. The so-called model of perfection sheds a lustre, the glare of which, like the sun on snow, blinds us, his artifices being successfully concealed beneath unquestionable honesty of intention.

I lived among the Chinese and the Tibetans, and trusted them. I opened my heart to them. I had, hardly, any occasion for regret in doing so. During my residence in Tibet I did not lose a single rupee. On my return to India, the first Indian whom I trusted, cheated me of one hundred rupees.

It was chiefly with the help of the Lamaic Government that I travelled in Tibet. What ups and downs I had with my own Government, how unwilling some officers were to believe that I had at all visited Tibet, I shall narrate later on. The bulk of my countrymen can hardly conceive the troubles of exploration in wild and inhospitable regions, because

they seldom venture out of home. They are, therefore, unable to appreciate the humble services that I have rendered to geography and science.

My relations with the Government, whom I have served with continued and unswerving fidelity, for a period of thirty-three years, are and have been such, for some years, that I derive solace from the following lines of the famous Persian Poet:—

صبر کن حافظ بسختی روز و شب
عاقبت روزی دیایی کام را

"Oh Hafez, have patience, when in difficulties, day and night,

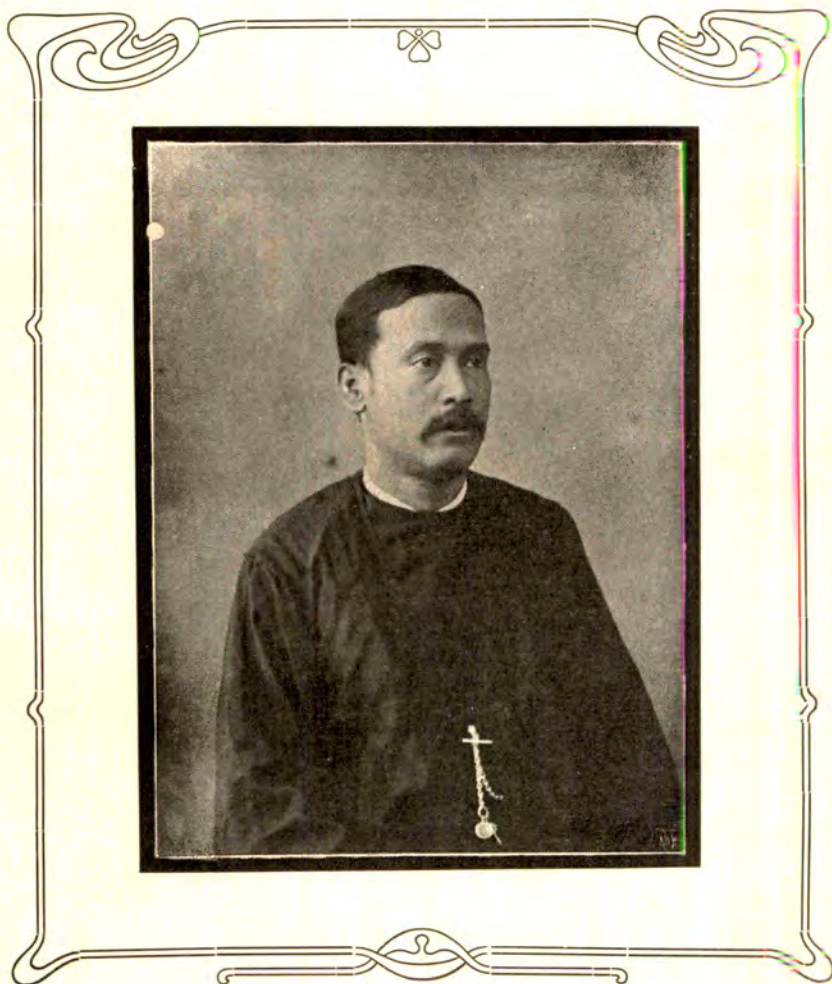
In the long run, you will attain your object, some day.

Hafez ! day and night, be patient in adversity :

So that, in the end, thou mayest, one day, gain thy desire."

As both light and shade are essential to create a picture, so success and failure make a life eventful. The delineation of the career of my early years would appear uninteresting but the vicissitudes which checkered my later life, should make it rather instructive.

Dr. Paul Carus, that eminent student of Buddhism, in whom a Lama would have seen the spirit of the founder of the Mahayana incarnate, if his "Gospel of Buddha" and other contributions to Buddhist philosophy were written in Tibetan, while noticing some works of my brother Nabinchandra, the well-known translator of "Raghuvansa," namely, "Legends and Miracles of Buddha" and the "Ancient Geography of Asia," made a passing allusion to me. He put our names under what



BABU NABINCHANDRA DAS, M.A., B.L.

he thought was our family name--'Chandra Das,' it occurring in the two names.*

In Christian Europe an individual is called by his surname i.e., the name which is over and above his Christian name. In polytheistic India it has been the custom from *Pauranic* times, to name an infant after some divinity, earthly or celestial. The name Kali Das, by which India's great poet is known, signifies "servant of (the goddess) Kali." That was certainly not his family name. As a Brahman he must have borne some surname like *Upadhyaya* (Professor), *Dvivedi* or *Trivedi* (Professor of two or three Vedas). The name Ramachandra by which the great hero of the

* DR. PAUL CARUS IN THE OPEN COURT, U. S. A., WRITES :

"Among the native scholars of India there are two brothers, Sarat Chandra Das and Nobin Chandra Das, well-known for their extraordinary success and unusual diligence. Sri Sarat Chandra Das is the editor of the *Journal of the Buddhist Text Society of India*, a publication which is very valuable to the students of Buddhism. It publishes English translations of selected chapters from the Buddhist scriptures, articles on Buddhist philosophy and rituals and notes of general interest in the line of comparative religion. Nobin Chandra Das, his brother, is engaged in the Bengal Provincial Service, but his professional duties do not prevent him from devoting much of his time to studies similar to those of his scholarly brother. We notice among other publications of his a translation in Bengali verse, of the *Raghuramsa* one of the great poems of Kali Dasa, the story which depicts the munificence and heroism of Raghu and the love of Aja for his fair consort Indumati, whom he lost in the very bloom of her youth.

"Nobin Chandra Das has just published a booklet entitled *Legends and Miracles of Buddha, Sakya Sinha*, which are four cantos of a larger work entitled *Avadana Kalpa-lata* by Kshemendra, the great Sanskrit poet of Kashmir. When Buddhism disappeared from India, almost all the Buddhist literature was destroyed, and there are only fragmentary remnants which survived the ravages of the time and the bigotry of the various foreign conquerors. Happily Sarat Chandra Das recovered in his search for old Buddhistic Sanskrit literature the great work of Kshemendra in a monastery in Tibet. He visited the ancient libraries of Sakya, Samye, and Lhasa. It was in Sakya that the monumental work of the Sanskrit poet was translated into Tibetan verse by the order of Phagspa, the patriarch who converted the emperor Khublai to Buddhism. In Lhasa he finally obtained Kshemendra's work which was thought to be lost. It consists of 108 legends of the Bodhisattvas written in classic Sanskrit verse, 107 of which were written by himself and one by his son Squendra. Nobin Chandra Das selected four of the 108 cantos and presents them to the English-reading public as samples of the whole work.

"The first of these four cantos is entitled *Eka Sringa*, which describes the romance of a youth, a Bodhisattva, brought up by his

Epic Ramayana is known, means 'delightful-moon.' On account of his Kshatriya origin his family might have borne some designation of that warrior caste signifying *heroism*. In like manner, the names Vikramaditya and Pratapaditya, by which the two great personages of Malwa and Bengal are known, signify 'powerful (like the) sun.' We know the family name of the latter was 'Ray' meaning 'lord.' So it is clear from these instances that in India the surname has always been an unimportant factor in the system of naming individuals. Occidental- therefore, ought to know that we Indians should be called by our real names and not

father in his hermitage of a forest, and in utter ignorance of the flesh. But owing to the innate disposition produced by the habits of former lives, love springs up in his soul at the sight of a black-eyed maiden, the daughter of a king. The main charm of the poem consists in the unconsciousness of the boy concerning his own sentiments, as he imagines that all human beings are hermits. When his father asks him : "Son, what ails thee ?" he replies :—

'Father, I saw in yonder grove
By Ganga's side, a hermit sure ;
Whose face was like a spotless moon.
Whose eyes became my cynosure.
'His neck and hands and waist were green
With beads reflecting rainbow hues.
Why, father, is it that I lack
Such ornaments that grace infuse ?

'The music of his loving voice
Still vibrates in my inmost heart ;
The hum of bees or cuckoo-note
Compares not with his artless art.

'The bark that round his graceful form
He wore, was white as Ganga's foam ;
My bark covering now doth seem
Compared with it as black as loam.

'He pressed my cheek to his lotus-face
And in his arms he me embraced,
His tender lips spoke passioned prayers
As I in his sweet clasp was laced.

'And ever since I've had no peace,
Nor shall, till I see him again ;
Sweet balmy sleep from me repelled
By thoughts of him I seek in vain.

'For day and night nought else I see
But the outline of his face divine ;
Nor can I think of sacred rites
While for his absent form I pine.'

by our family names, which are generally indicative of caste and profession. My name is Saratchandra and that of my brother is Nobinchandra—these were given to us by our parents during the *Namakaran* (naming) ceremony which was solemnly held in the first month of our birth.

We were born in a respectable Vaidya* family, which came from *Radha* (West Bengal) and settled in an obscure village of *Pergannah Chaksala* in Chittagong, shortly after its conquest by the Moguls. Though our first

"The poem ends in the marriage of the hermit youth with the princess.

"The second canto, written in the style of the Jatakas, illustrates the principle of self-sacrifice with a view to relieving the distress, and saving the life, of others.

"The third story describes the miraculous birth of a Buddhist saint, Jyotishka, and his renunciation of the world. The fourth canto narrates how Sri-Gupta at the instigation of an enemy of Buddhism laid a plot to poison the Buddha whom he invited to a feast, but he was converted by the calm forgiveness and mercy of the Enlightened One.

'The Lord saved Sri-Gupta from spite and crime
And shewed how mercy conquers e'en a foe;
And thus he taught forgiveness' rule sublime
To free his followers from the world and woe.'

Dr. Paul Carus writes in another issue of "The Open Court," thus on the Geography of Valmiki-Ramayana:—

"Sri Nobin Chandra Das, of Chittagong, Bengal, is a prominent Sanskrit scholar, and brother of Sarat Chandra Das, of Darjeeling, the only traveller who has been in the interior of Tibet. The present pamphlet and map are an important contribution to the literature of the Ramayana, the ancient epic of the Aryan Hindus. Mr. Das has located all the geographical sites, and thus renders it possible for us to have a better comprehension of Rama's wanderings in search of his faithful wife Sita, who has been captured by the island King Ravana.

"We need not call attention to the Ramayana, which to the Hindu, even to-day, is scarcely less than the *Illiad* and the *Odyssey* were to the Greek, or the *Nibelungen saga* and *Gudran* to the Teutons. Says Mr. Das: "The names of Rama and his faithful Sita are still by-words for the model king and the model wife, the two most important factors in the social and domestic life of a nation throughout the length and breadth of this country." (*Preface*, vii.)

"Mr. Das accepts (against Professor Weber) Signor Gorresio's opinion that the Ramayana is based upon historical facts; and he may be right, for there are reasons to believe that both the Greek and Teutonic sagas, too, are based upon real events which once took place in prehistoric times. But the more remarkable are the

ancestor Gopalchandra bore the surname of Ray, yet our family on account of its isolation from West Bengal, some how came to be called *Das Gupta*—a designation signifying Vaidya observing religious ceremonies of the Bharadwaja clan.

This introduction would be incomplete if I did not attach to it the result of our first and earliest adventure in the Sikkim Himalayas. It was written by Nobinchandra. Nobinchandra thus describes our Excursion in Sikkim in February, 1877.

similarities among the ancient legends of the three nations. Sita (like Gudran) is abducted and Rama (like Herasig) pursues the robber and regains his faithful wife. In his search Rama (like Odysseus) wanders about and visits almost all the places known to the poet. Like Helena, Sita is well treated by her abductor while Rama wages war for her recovery. The allies of Rama are enumerated as minutely in the Ramayana as the allies of Menelaus in Homer; and there are several other noteworthy similarities which caused Professor Weber to think that Valmiki, author of the best version of the Ramayana, must have been familiar with the epics of Homer—a view which is not very probable. The problem of these coincidences has not as yet found its solution, but we believe, that the epics of all the nations are a mixture of myth and history. There are events which actually happen again and again. An Indian chief sent the same reply to the President of the United States that Aristovus sent to Cesar. Both declared, "If I want something of you, I will go to you, but as you want something of me, you may please come to me!" Must we conclude that the American Indian had read Cesar? In an early stage of civilisation the abduction of wives was probably an event that happened in the North, in Greece and in India and the search for a lost wife was probably compared to the wanderings of the Sun over the whole earth by more than one poet.

"But we cannot discuss the subject in a book review, and conclude our remarks by mentioning that Nobin Chandra Das endeavours to explain the mythological elements of the story, the *vanar* or monkey chiefs, "the dwellers of the forest," who assist Rama in his warfare as the aboriginal non-Aryan tribes, whom the Aryans, call *va-nara* (*va* like; and *nara*—man) i. e., those creatures who are only similar to, but not of, the kind and race of the real men or Aryans."

* In Bengal the Vaidya or the medical caste occupies a position which is second only to the Brahman who enjoys the monopoly of the study of the four *Vedas* and the priestly cult founded on them. The fifth *Veda* which was delivered by Shiva treating of the healing art and the Science of medicine or *Ayur-Veda*, for the good of all living beings, was given to the most advanced and cultured section of the Vaishya, or the trading caste. These following the profession or trade of medicine, in Bengal, came to be known under the designation of Vaidya.

We left Darjeeling on the afternoon of the 27th January, 1877, and walked down hill continually till we were overtaken by night. We passed the night at a place near Badamtam under the open sky. Here we met a somewhat warmer climate; a screen set up on bamboos protected us from the inclemency of the wind that blew chill from the higher regions. Several Bhuteas who were on their way to Darjeeling stopped also by our side and became our temporary neighbours. At day-break we were roused by the warbling of birds and the murmur of mountain rills. These rills are the sources on which the natives depend for the supply of water. They generally mark the sites of villages. Every village has in or near it, one or more of these streams of water, so necessary for the support of human life. Their passage invariably lies through pebbles and masses of stones worn out by the continuous flow of water. In many rills the force of the current is so strong that nothing can withstand it. They cut their way through solid rocks; stupendous masses of stone and huge trunks of trees are carried away in their onward course. In some places the water flows gently down a slope: elsewhere it falls from a height of several hundred feet with a noise with which the valleys resound, proclaiming to a distance of several miles its bountiful career, covering the irregular projection of rocks and detached stones in the way, with a coating of foam which rises and boils for ever and ever. The air is charmed with the everlasting music of these dancing and playful rivulets, as the sight is gratified with their wild grandeur, while the cooling effect is almost indescribable. They are the sources of the rivers which wash and fertilize the plains. We saw many of the streams which combining with others have swelled into the furious rivulets, the Rungeet and the Teesta, of which the latter has its origin among the snows of the grey-headed Kanchanjunga as the holy Ganga is said in the Puranas to have descended from the clotted hair of Siva's head, too true to be mythic, if the snow-clad peaks of the Himalaya were meant to be a symbol of the god. It is true that many of the rills are melted snow dripping directly down the slopes of the hills; but some of those we saw issued directly from the sides of the hills in which the water has been absorbed. Here the water falls from a projected rock, there a piece of bamboo has been fitted for an easy flow,

elsewhere the water is collected in open cavities of the rock to which a bamboo tube is applied for the purpose of drinking.

In this exquisite way has Providence provided an easy supply of water to the natives of the hill, with respect to which the scarcity of water is the first idea which strikes a man of the plains. But in this respect the native of the plain may know that the hillman is placed in a better position than he is. He has to dig ponds, or construct wells for the purpose; while the hillman is under no such necessity; he has simply to open his mouth under the flow of a rill or also to apply his little tube, or to fill his large bamboo, 3 to 4 feet long, no other water-pot made of earth or metal, large or small, is either necessary or convenient to him. We ought to remember with a sense of gratitude that the children of the hills first drink the bounty of nature; that the excess after they have satisfied their want unlimited as is the supply, is the source of our rivers and with them of our civilisation.

We went on our way downwards and at 8 A. M. reached the great Rungeet which marks the boundary between English possessions and those of the State of Sikkim. Over the Rungeet for the first time I saw the cane bridge so much heard of; the bridge appeared to be very old and not much used except during the rainy season. We crossed the rivulet by a boat which was a hollowed trunk of a tree. We stopped for a few hours on the Sikkim bank of the Rungeet and set out on our journey at noon. We rode up the hills for the rest of the day and just reached the first Bhutia monastery in the hill of Namchi when the shades of evening closed fast around us. There is a solid pile of stones of an oblong form, the sides being about 2 feet by 10 feet, and the height about 6 feet. On all sides of this rough pile there are small niches, the inner walls being smooth slabs of stone, on each of which is painted the image of Buddha in his various postures, the image of Rudra or Mahakal or the mysterious Padma, and on which are engraved the sacred characters. On the exterior side of each stone of the walls are engraved the names of the deities or mantras in Tibetan. In front of, and behind the phantastic 'stupa' are posted reeds bearing flags written all over in Tibetan letters in a beautiful form, resembling a fresco. The flags are peculiar in their

shape—a long piece of cloth, generally silk, about half a yard wide is attached by its long end to the pole. When it flutters in the wind, the appearance is like a blade of knife, placed in the direction of the wind. Similar flags are also set up in front of every Bhutea village, fixed on tall bamboos, the object being to drive off, according to popular belief, evil spirits. Scraps of inscribed paper are seen fastened to branches of trees for a like purpose.

As we approached the monastery, several Bhuteas, both young and old, gathered round us—a strange people with strange faces. The Lama or the head of the monastery who was distinguished from the rest by his age and venerable appearance, received us with some regard.

The Gompa, or the monastery at Namchi is a new one. The capitals of the wooden pillars are tastefully ornamented in the Buddhist style and are very beautiful to look at. After dinner we drowned the day's weariness in sound sleep.

In the morning we mounted our ponies and wended our way up hill. The hills of Sikkim are not like those of the plains of Bengal, they are hills overtopping hills. As soon as we ascend up one, a new height presents itself to the sight, with a vaporous top, as far as the eye can reach; while looking behind, we find the hill we struggled to climb up, to wear the aspect of a plain.

It was noon when we reached a vast forest of oak trees. As far as the eye could reach on either side of the way, I saw nothing but an infinitude of oaks, young and old, standing erect in their sylvan majesty in such a thick body that a deer can hardly run through it without hinderance. Most of the trees count their age by centuries. Their trunks are straight like flag-poles to the height of 3 or 4 hundred feet, above which spread the branches in the likeness of umbrellas. It struck me with a feeling of awe to look up at their tops. The trees are, without exception, covered with green moss, several inches thick, giving them an appearance of wild grandeur almost unspeakable. I was reminded of the Hindu sage, a hair of whose body is said to drop by the lapse of an age,—“yuga.” The moss looks just like green velvet, and serves to protect the body of the trees from the effect of snowfall to which they are forever exposed. Innumerable creepers, hundreds of feet

long, wrapped up with the moss, hang down like rods in the firm grasp of hoary age. Many of the creepers hung in splendid festoons over our heads, connecting the oaks on either side of the way. The height, the magnitude, the position and the wear of ages visible on the ancient Himalayan oaks cannot fail to impress a poet with the idea that they are pillars posted on the heights of the Himalaya to support the vault of heaven. At noon we experienced the gloom of evening, while we passed through the forest. We could hardly see things at a distance of 20 yards, and I had to call my brother Babu Sarat chandra to lead me, whenever I lost sight of him on account of the misty gloom. The fact was, we passed through a cloud which had enveloped the forest.* Our clothes were all wet with dews or rather dense vapours. The extreme cold penetrated through the lined robe of Bhutea blanket I wore. My hands and legs were almost benumbed, and it was with difficulty that I could hold the reins of my Bhutea pony.

After crossing the forest we threaded our way down a difficult descent. Our troubles were increased by rain which rendered the whole path slippery and extremely dangerous. We were often obliged to dismount as the ponies could with difficulty carry their own body down the perilous path. At every step the foot tended to slip, and I was in fear of falling headlong into the abyss thousands of feet deep. It was despair of life which gave me strength and patience to struggle with the faithless path. Our Bhutea servants and coolies felt no such difficulty as we did. With them the steep and slippery path seemed to be a genial element. The descent took us three hours and just when the gloom of night spread like a pall over the face of nature, we took shelter in a Bhutea house in the village of Timi. The house was a homely one. The four slopes of the roof were thatched with twisted bamboo-pieces instead of long grass, but exactly by the same method. The bamboo thatching, though not so even and good looking as that made of grass, is yet more lasting than the latter. The floor, consisted of planks resting on wooden pillars about

* “Dear to the sylphs are the cool shadows thrown

By dark clouds wandering round the mountain's zone,

• Still frightened by the storm and rain they seek

Eternal sunshine on each loftier peak.”

(Griffith's KUMARA SAMBHARA)

4 feet above the ground. The lower story under the floor is reserved for swine and goats. There are two apartments in the house. In the front room is the hearth, round which the family circle is formed for enjoying the genial warmth. The fire place is paved with stone and clay. The hinder apartment is very spacious and is the parlour and common bedroom. Over this there is an inner roof made of close packed bamboos, on which provisions are stored. From this roof is hung in beautiful rows the maize or the Indian corn presenting to the eye uniform

globules of pearl and ruby. The walls are made of bamboos. The only thing which shocks a Hindu is meat hung in a part of the room with the ribs open, sickening to the sight. Close to the hindmost wall of the room there is a large wooden structure in the form of an almyrah. This frame is decorated according to the means of the family to serve the purpose of a chapel. On the shelves are placed little figures of Sakya Muni and his disciples. A lamp is allowed to burn all night in front of the images.

((To be continued).)

SHAKESPEARE AND NATIONALITY

IT is a commonplace that Shakespeare is for all time and for every age. But it is not as often noticed that he reached his maturity through sharing in one of the greatest national movements in history, and that he built up the masterwork of his great tragedies out of the strong self-discipline which he underwent in the school of national drama. India to-day is passing through the same great training school of national development, and as Shakespeare is loved and studied by the whole Indian educated community, it will be of interest to consider the lessons which may be learnt from the poet's work during the time that he was writing his historical plays.

To understand in a living way the crisis through which England passed in Shakespeare's earlier days, we may bring to mind the remarkable parallel with which we ourselves are acquainted—the critical situation of Japan during the closing years of the nineteenth century. All through the time of Shakespeare's youth an impending struggle was before England. Spain, the greatest of all the Continental Powers, had marked her for a prey. A few miles away across the Channel the military tyranny of Alva and

Parma in the Netherlands showed what fate was in store for England if once she were conquered. Spanish armies were collected for the coming invasion and the great Armada was slowly prepared. In the hour of danger English loyalty rose to its greatest height: religious divisions were forgotten and the whole nation became as one man. The great Armada sailed and was defeated. The growing manhood of Shakespeare witnessed the triumph of English nationality over Spanish imperialism.

The dramatic issue of this famous contest has had its counterpart in our own day. The parallel indeed is not complete. Japan's triumph was on land as well as by sea. Korea—the Netherlands of the modern struggle—was the scene of even greater victories than the straits of Tshushima. But in the main outline the analogy holds good. There has been the same impending danger from an advancing Continental Power, the same rallying of a tiny island kingdom round its sovereign, the same fervour of newly awakened loyalty and patriotism, the same final crushing defeat of the invaders. We in India, sharing by the powers of ardent sympathy in

the achievements of Japan, and experiencing ourselves a kindred awakening of national endeavour, are in a position to understand, if we allow scope to our imagination, the powerful effect which the national movement of the sixteenth century had on Shakespeare's development.

The time was ripe when Shakespeare appeared upon the scene. All England was stirring. The history of the nation had become alive with new interest. Yet there were immense difficulties to be overcome before a true national drama could be built up. The field was new and almost untraversed by explorers. The first attempts of Marlowe and others had been unsuccessful. There was the further difficulty of giving a dramatic unity to a series of events and portraying truthfully a long succession of characters. Yet public enthusiasm was running strong, and under the stress of its impulse Shakespeare set himself strenuously to the task. The stubborn granite of hard historic fact was made to take shape and form under the blows of the great sculptor. The bed-rock of human character was quarried in the rough, to be used afterwards in the marvellous structure of the later plays. Now and again the poet turned to lighter themes, as a relief from the high seriousness of the histories; sometimes within the histories themselves, as in the Falstaff scenes, his delight in humour almost carries him away; once he takes up, in *Romeo and Juliet*, a story of universal human passion. But his chief tragedies were written when the historical series was complete.

The position taken up in this essay is borne out by modern critical study. It becomes more and more clear that the historical plays were Shakespeare's training ground. Till the national passion awoke in him the poet's powers were immature, wayward and unsettled. But in the great days that followed the defeat of Spain, the national spirit gained a strong hold upon his imagination and com-

manded his highest efforts. A great motive, which was neither subjective nor individual, began to rule him. We note throughout this period the iron self-discipline with which he engaged in the work. The very verse in which he writes becomes chastened and restrained; the rhyming couplet is abandoned and the metre becomes stern in its massive regularity. We have only to compare the Shakespeare of *Love's Labour Lost* and *Venus and Adonis* with the Shakespeare of *King John* and *Richard III* to see what a change has been effected. The earlier work is beautiful, but there is an artificiality suggesting that the poet is playing upon the surface of emotion and has not reached to settled, serious conviction; there is a haunting melody and æsthetic charm, but as yet little discipline of exuberant powers, little touch with the fundamental facts of human life, little sounding of the depths of moral character and purpose. In the stern school of historic drama all this is changed. The subjects themselves place limitations and restraints. The poet is compelled to deal with solid, concrete facts. Character, its rise and triumph, its decline and fall, becomes now the supreme dramatic interest. Each character in turn is weighed in the unerring scales of history and its place determined. The test of character is not the poet's individual judgment but history itself. Failure in character brings shame to England. Nobility of character brings victory to England. In *King John* and *Richard II* we see with awe-inspiring clearness the evil consequences of criminal weakness and self-indulgence. In the latter play John of Gaunt cries out in bitterness concerning Richard

This land of such dear souls, this dear, dear land,
Dear for her reputation through the world,
Is now leased out (I die pronouncing it)
Like to a tenement or pelting farm.
England, bound in with the triumphant sea,
Whose rocky shore beats back the envious siege
Of watery Neptune, is now bound in with shame,
With inky blots and rotten parchment bonds.

On the other hand the strong, sane, healthy, mainly vigour of King Henry V, as he appeals to the love of country among his soldiers in the hour of danger, can transform an untrained, enfeebled, sickly host into an army of heroes—

On, on you noblest English
Whose blood is fet from fathers of war proof,—
Fathers that like so many Alexanders
Have in these parts from morn till even fought,
And sheathed their swords for lack of argument.

And you, good yeomen,
Whose limbs were made in England, shew us here
The mettle of your pasture : let us swear
That you are worth your breeding, which I doubt not,
For there is none of you so mean and base
That hath not noble lustre in your eyes.
I see you stand like grey hounds in the leash
Straining upon the start : the game's afoot :
Cry—God for Harry, England and Saint George !

Such words as these, breathing a high and lofty patriotism, such a character as King Harry's, representing the ideal of action, show the change that was wrought in Shakespeare during these great formative years. Dealing with objective events rather than subjective feeling, he learnt himself the secret of that robustness of judgment which appears later.

We can learn still further from Shakespeare's two earliest tragedies the dangers which he himself regarded as critical. The dangers were on the one hand excess of weakening emotion leading to unbalanced action, and on the other hand excess of brooding speculation leading to paralysis of action. These temperaments are conspicuous in the Sonnets which give us a near approach to the poet's inner nature. But the two earliest tragedies, *Romeo and Juliet* and *Hamlet*, work out the twofold danger in detail. In *Romeo and Juliet* we see a noble nature given over to excess of emotion, and therefore acting wildly and rashly when the crisis comes—

What to ourselves in passion we propose,
The passion ending doth the purpose lose.
The violence of either grief or joy,
Their own enactures, with themselves, destroy.

In *Hamlet* we see a noble nature given over to brooding thought and speculation, and in consequence equally incapable of strong and vigorous action when the crisis comes—

That we would do,
We should do when we would ; for this 'would' changes
And hath abatements and delays as many
As there are tongues, are hands, are accidents ;
And then this 'should' is like a spendthrift sigh,
That hurts by easing.

Such are the weaknesses of a high, intellectual and emotional nature, if it has not come under the discipline of the hard facts of life, and learnt the wholesome strength of action. When these faults have been corrected, we have a balanced character—

Thou hast been
As one in suffering all that suffers nothing;
A man that fortune's buffets and rewards
Hast ta'en with equal thanks : and blessed are those,
Whose blood and judgment are so well commingled,
That they are not a pipe for fortune's finger
To play what stop she please. Give me that man
That is not passion's slave and I will wear him
In my heart's core, ay, in my heart of hearts,
As I do thee.

It was no cold and impassive nature at which Shakespeare aimed, but a mingling of 'blood,' i. e., the emotional side of life, with 'judgment,' i. e., the will in action. Through this commingling of blood and judgment man reaches his highest spiritual strength and becomes master of events. Shakespeare claims, therefore, from men of intellect and emotion a balance of thought and a discipline of passion, which is only to be won by entering into the larger life of the nation and the world. Weakness of will and irresolution of character are the fatal results of self-absorbing introspection and emotion.

We have seen how, in his own life, Shakespeare gained this objectivity of vision and robustness of character ; how through breathing the bracing air of national enthusiasm, through entering into the throbbing activity of national endeavour, through facing the stern problems of national history, he gained

that balance and control of all his powers, which raised him to higher spiritual heights. It is my own strong hope, that a like powerful effect will be produced upon the mind and character of educated India by the stirring events, which go to make up the present Indian National Movement. I have a great hope that by the very stress of the practical problems now to be faced, by the impelling necessity of the work now to be accomplished, by the very difficulties and failures of nation-building, the higher life of India will come forth strengthened, disciplined, uplifted. It is my earnest hope that what was too dreamy and speculative in the past will give place to the concrete and the real; and that, through the school of sacrifice and suffering for the nation, the powers of intellect and spirit, with which India is so richly endowed, will not lose their vitality, but become purified and deepened.

I have little fear, as some have, that India is neglecting her own peculiar, spiritual func-

tion, by absorbing her energies at the present time in the achievement of nationality. Spiritual life of a certain type, it is true, may flourish and has flourished under conditions of dependence and tutelage; but nationality, when it touches the heart of a great people, is itself a spiritual thing, and the pages of history show clearly that, when a nation as a whole moves forward into higher freedom and self-consciousness, new spiritual powers are awakened and a new environment is fashioned, wherein the highest literature and art may flourish. The channels along which the religious life of the nation flows grow broader and deeper.

The future is always dark and predictions are proverbially perilous, but India has been ever a land of surprises, and it is not impossible that, out of the travail pangs of the present age, a new birth of spirit and thought may come, which will transform the East.

C. F. ANDREWS.

SOME PROBLEMS FOR INDIAN RESEARCH*

I

	A.D.		A.D.
Chandra Gupta I of Magadha claimed suzerainty at Pataliputra	320	Defeated by Pushyamitras who are subsequently defeated by Prince Skanda Gupta	450
Died	326	First Hun invasion and death of Kumara	455
Samudra Gupta, "an Indian Napoleon," whose panegyric is to be seen on the pillar in Allahabad Fort	326	Skanda Gupta, inflicts a crushing defeat on the Huns before	457
End of military campaigns—Revival of <i>aswamedh</i> , and Ajodhya made occasional seat of Government	340	Second Hun invasion	465
Death	375	Death of Skanda Gupta	480
Chandra Gupta II, "Vikramaditya of Ujjain"	375	The break-up of the Gupta Empire, in spite of local continuance of dynasty in Magadha, onwards from	480
Conquest of Ujjain—about	388	India harassed by White Huns and Pataliputra destroyed	500 to 528
Death	413	Defeat of Mihiragula the Hun and temporary delivery of India by the Indian princes under the Gupta King of Magadha	528
Kumara Gupta I, in whose reign was probably another <i>aswamedh</i>	413		

*Early History of India—By VINCENT SMITH.

*The Editor will welcome correspondence on questions raised in these papers.

One of the first tasks before the Indian People is the re-writing of their own history. And this, in accordance with the tacit rule of modern learning, will have to be carried out, not by one, but by a combination of individuals; in other words, by an Indian learned society. It is a strange but incontrovertible truth, that none of us knows himself, unless he also know whence he arose. To recognise the geographical unity and extent of the great whole we call "India," is not enough: it is imperative also to understand how it came to be.

Fortunately we are now in possession of a small, but unspeakably precious volume—"The Early History of India" by Vincent Smith—of which it may roughly be said that it embodies the main results of the work concerning India done during the last century by the Royal Asiatic Society. The faults of this work are many and obvious, yet they are relatively of little importance, since a perfect history of India, written by any but an Indian hand, would be a wrong, rather than otherwise, done to the Nation of the coming days. In the meantime, we must be grateful for so handy a compendium summarising for and opening to the Indian worker, the results achieved by the European organisation of research, as nothing else could have done, save that personal intercourse with great scholars which is at present beyond his reach. Vincent Smith's work may seem to some of us, considering its scope and subject, to be curiously unspiritual. Yet is it the veritable handing on, to a new generation of scholars, of the torch of the spirit. Many and many a forgotten page of history is here turned and opened. And though the author never seems to suspect that the people who made the history of which he writes are still a living race, still, with all their old power lying dormant in them, walking the streets of Indian cities, yet who, after all, could have expected such recognition? These assertions are for India

herself by her own act and deed to make and prove.

Nothing, surely, in all the story here told of early India, is more inspiring than that of the Guptas of Magadha, and the empire which they, from their ancient seat of Pataliputra established over the whole of India. The central fact about this great Gupta Empire as it will seem to Indian readers, is the identification of Vikramaditya, who is now seen to have been "of Ujjain" merely in the familiar modern sense of the title added to the name of the conqueror. 'Vikramaditya of Ujjain.

then, was no other than Chandra Gupta II of Pataliputra, who reigned from 375 to 415 A. D.

If this was so, we might take the year 400 A. D. as a sort of crest of the water-parting, in the history of the development of Modern India. The desire becomes irresistible to know how far the Puranic Age was then developed and established; to what extent and under what form, Buddhism was still remembered; what was the political outlook of a Hindu of the period; and, amongst the most important of the questions to be answered, what were the great cities that made up the Indian idea of India, and what the associations of each? The answer to the last of these queries, if discoverable at all, would be of vastly greater significance than all the facts as to sovereigns and kingdoms about which the modern system of learning makes us so unduly curious.

It is already a commonplace amongst historians that Hinduism, together with Sanskrit learning and literature, underwent, under the Guptas what is regarded as a great revival. According to Vincent Smith, most of the Puranas were during this period re-edited, and brought into their present shape. Statements of this kind are at present somewhat vague, but accepting what has already been done as our basis, it will, I believe, prove possible to introduce a definiteness and precision into the history of the Evolution of

Hindu culture, which has not hitherto been dreamt of as practicable.

We shall soon be able to follow step by step, dating our progress as we go, the introduction of one idea after another into the Hindu system, building up again the world which surrounded the makers of the Puranic age.

In Vincent Smith's pages, we can see the great tradition of Gupta learning beginning in the person of the gifted and accomplished *Samudra Gupta* (326 to 375 A. D.), father of *Vikramaditya*, and a sovereign of such military ability as to be described as "an Indian Napoleon," while he himself had the fine ambition to be remembered rather for his love of music and poetry, than for his success in war. In the reign of such a king, and in the personal influence of such a father, must have lain the seed of more achievements and events which were to make his son *Vikramaditya* the darling of Indian tradition through subsequent ages.

It takes many lives, sometimes, to carry out a single great task and we can only guess whether or not *Samudra Gupta* began the undertakings whose completion was to make his son illustrious.

In my own opinion, the very head and front of these must have been the final recensions of the *Mahabharata* at some time within the famous reign, say at or about the year 400 A. D. It is difficult to resist the conclusion that certain of the Puranas, notably the *Vishnu* and *Bhagavata*, were edited, exactly as the *Bhagavata* claims, immediately after the *Mahabharata*, by scholars who found cause for regret in the fact that that work had not given them the scope required for all the details they were eager to give, regarding the life of "the Lord." I do not remember even to have seen any note on the social functions of the Puranas. But the *Vishnu Purana* strongly suggests a state curriculum of education. In the ages before printing, literature must, for the mass of people, in all countries, have

tended to take the form of a single volume, witness the name *biblos* or Bible, the book containing elements of history and geography; a certain amount of general information; some current fiction; and above all, an authoritative rendering of theology and morals in combination. History of course would be reduced to little more than an indication of the origin of the reigning dynasty, or a sketch of the epoch regarded at the time of writing as 'modern.' Geography would consist of an account of the chief pilgrimages and sacred rivers. And in the *Vishnu Purana* in the stories of *Dhruva* and *Prahlad*, when compared with the infinitely superior popular versions, we have a key to the treatment which fiction and folklore would receive. As the theological exposition proceeds, one can almost see the Brahmin teaching at the temple-door, while the shades of evening gather, and ignoring every other consideration in his desire to put the highest philosophy into the mouth of *Prahlad*, or to pin a religious meaning to the astronomical picture of the child *Dhruva* pointed onwards by the Seven Rishis.

It would be clearly impossible for every village in the Gupta Empire to possess either a scholar learned in, or a copy of, the *Mahabharata*. But the scheme of culture comprised in the knowledge of the work known as the *Vishnu Purana* was not equally unattainable; and it is difficult to resist the conclusion that the book was planned or edited as a standard of common culture. If there be anything in this suggestion, a new importance will be conceded to the question of the province or district in which each separate Purana was produced. A single touch in the *Vishnu Purana* is sufficient to indicate its composition in the neighbourhood of an imperial capital, such as *Pataliputra* must have been. This is found in the story of *Hiranyakasipu* when he takes his little son on his knee, when he had been under tuition for some time, and puts him through his catechism. One of the questions

in this catechism is extremely suggestive. "How should one deal with an enemy by whom one is vastly outnumbered?" asks the father. "Divide and attack them one by one," answers the son evidently from his book. Verily, this was not the schooling of a subject race! In Hindu literature there is no second work which can be called "national" in the same sense as the Mahabharata. The foreign reader, taking it up as sympathetic reader merely, and not as scholar, is at once struck by two features; in the first place, its combination of unity and complexity, and in the second, its constant effort to impress on its hearers the idea of a single centralised India, with a heroic tradition of her own as formative and uniting impulse. It is, in good sooth, a monarch's dream of an imperial race. The Gupta Emperor of Pataliputra who commissioned the last recension of the great work was as conscious as Asoka before him or Akbar after, of making to his people the magic statement, "India is one."

As regards the unity of the work itself, this, in the case of the Mahabharata, is extraordinary. That a composition so ancient in subject-matter and so evidently complex in its derivation, should be handed down to us as one single undisputed whole, is historical evidence of the highest importance for its original promulgation in this form by some central power with ability and prestige to give it authoritative publication. The origins of the poem are hoary with antiquity. Its sources are of an infinite variety. But the Mahabharata was certainly wrought to its present shape in the shadow of a throne, and that imperial. So much is clear, on the face of it, to one who meets with the book for the first time in mature life.

One would naturally have expected it to have existed in fragments, or at best to be current in many different versions. Indeed it is clear enough, on the reading, that it has, at some far past time, so existed. Every

here and there the end of one chapter, or canto, will tell a tale in one way, and the beginning of the next repeat it or some part of it, from an utterly different point of view, as might rival narrators of a single incident. But the work of collating and examining, of assigning their definite values to each separate story, and weaving all into a single co-ordinated whole, has been done by some one great mind, some mighty hand, that went over the ground long long ago, and made the path that we of to-day must follow still. The minute differences of reading, between the Bombay and Benares texts, only serve to emphasise this single and uncontested character of one immortal rendering of the great work. All through Maharashtra and the Punjab, and Bengal and *Dravida desh*, the Mahabharata is the same. In every part of India, and even amongst the Mohammedans in Bengal, it plays one part, social, educational, man-making, and nation-building. No great man could be made in India without its influence upon his childhood. And the hero-making poem is one throughout every province of the land.

Socially, the first point that strikes one, as one reads, is the curious position held by the Brahmin. It is very evident that this is as yet by no means fixed. No duty with which an audience was already familiar would be so harped upon, as is that of gifts to and respect for the Brahmins, here. We notice, too, that the caste is not yet even fixed, for Draupadi is represented, at her *swayambara*, as following the five brothers, when she and everyone else imagine them to be Brahmins. Nor is this a detail which requires explanation or apology, as does the marriage of one woman to five men. No, at the date of the last recension of the Mahabharata, a marriage between Brahmin and Kshatriya is well within the understanding and sympathy of an audience. It is, however, fairly clear that the promulgation of the

work is bound up with the success of the Brahmins in impressing themselves and it on the public mind. It was entrusted to them perhaps, by royal warrant,—even as, in the story of Damayanti, another story is given to them of his father's capital to carry!—to spread far and wide, depending on the alms of the faithful for payment. And we are constrained, at this point, to ask, what, up to this moment, had been the characteristic work of the Brahmins as a caste?

But there are notable exceptions to this constant commendation of the Brahmins to the consideration and charity of their hearers. On looking closer, we find that there are many passages, of no inconsiderable size, in which the Brahmins are never mentioned. And this feature gradually establishes itself in our minds as a very good *differentia* of the more modern additions. It would appear that in its earlier versions the poem contained no forced mention of this particular caste, and that, in making the final recension, some care was observed to maintain the purity of the ancient texts, even while incorporating with them new matter, and new comments.

The most important question of all, however, is one on which a new reader will find it hard to imagine himself mistaken. This is the question as to who is the hero of the last recension. Undoubtedly, the Mahabharata as we have it, is the story of Krishna. It is difficult to understand how the theory could have been put forward that the final editing had been Saivite. On the contrary, Mahadeva is represented as speaking the praises of Krishna, while, so far as I am aware, the reverse never happens. This could only mean that Hinduism as it stood was here, in the person of Siva, incorporating a new element, which had to be ratified and accepted by all that was already holy and authoritative. The Krishna of the national story is indeed Partha-Sarathi, the Charioteer of Arjuna,—most probably an earlier hero of Dwaraka and the

war-ballads—but every effort is made, by calling him Keshava, and the slayer of Putana, to identify him with that other Krishna, hero of the Jumna, who appears to have been worshipped by the cowherds, a people still half-nomadic as it would seem, who must have been established peacefully in India, some centuries before his time.

Was Krishna Partha-Sarathi, then, the deliberate preaching of the Gupta dynasty to the (at that time half-Hinduised) peoples of the south side of the Jumna? Was he a hope held out to the democracy, a place made in the National Faith for newly imperialised populations? Was it at this period that the play of the Mahabharata was deliberately established as an annual *Pandava-lila* in the villages of the south, while to Krishna Partha-Sarathi especially,—temples were built in *Dravida desh*? In any case, there is abundant evidence, half a century later, when we pass to the reign of Skanda Gupta, the grandson of Vikramaditya, of the hold which the Krishna of the Jumna had obtained over the hearts of the imperial house of Pataliputra at Bhitari.* In the district of Ghazipur to the west of Benares, is still standing a pillar which was raised by the young king on his return from victory over the Huns in 455 A.D. He hastened to his mother, says the inscription, 'just as Krishna, when he had slain his enemies, betook himself to his mother Devaki.' The pillar was erected to the memory of his father—it may have marked the completion of the requiem ceremonies, postponed by war—and in commemoration of the victory just gained by the protection of the gods. It was surmounted, finally, by a statue of the god Vishnu. This statue has now disappeared, but we may safely infer that it was of the form still common in the south of India as that of Narayana. It was probably made in low relief on a rounded panel, and depicted a beautiful youth with a lotus in his hand. In the following

* Vincent Smith. Early History of India, pp. 267-8.

year 456, a great piece of engineering, so far west as the Girnar Hill, was completed and consecrated by the building of a temple of Vishnu.

Seven hundred and fifty years earlier, in the year 300 B. C., Megasthenes had noted amongst Indian religious ideas that "Herakles is worshipped at Mathura and Oisobothra." Was this latter the Hellenic pronunciation of 'Klisopura,' Krisopura, Krishnapura? And is it to be identified with Dwaraka, persistently identified with Krishna throughout the Mahabharata, without any very satisfactory reason being stated—or with some other town near Mathura, since destroyed?

Now this same 'Herakles' is a figure of wonderful interest. We must remember, with regard to the period of which we are now thinking, that Greece was but the remotest province of the Central Asiatic world, and in that world, the youngest child of history. Her myths and religious systems had chiefly a central Asiatic origin, and Herakles, of Mediterranean fame, was doubtless, pre-eminently of this order. There are not wanting those who trace the Christian story itself, to some subtle commingling, in the regions between Tyre on the East and Cadiz on the West, of Herakles and Bacchus. Probably but little ever finds its way into literature of the human significance to human souls of any given religious system, or more particularly of the ideas connected with an ancient god or hero. We may depend upon it that Herakles of Hellas, when he was worshipped by the common folk, had more in him of the Christ who saves, more of the Krishna, lover of man, than any of us now could easily imagine.

It may be that Krishna slaying the tyrant of Mathura forms but another echo of some immeasurably ancient tale, held by future nations in common, ere the Asian tablelands or the Arctic home, had poured down new-born breeds of man, on the coasts of Greece and river-banks of India. So at least must

it have seemed to Megasthenes making up his despatches for Seleukos Nikator. And seven hundred years go by, it appears, before a Gupta emperor who has just annexed Western India, with its capital of Ujjain, commissioned the editing anew of the national epic of the north, causing it to teach that this Oiso—Kriso—Krishna of the Jumna is no other than a certain Partha-Sarathi, known this long while to Northern and Vedic India as the exponent to his disciples of all the secrets of the Upanishads. Are we to take it that the Aryan teacher cries, "Whom ye ignorantly worship, Him declare I unto you?" to the tribes whom he fain would Hinduise?

Readers of the *Bhagavata Purana* will note that the Jumna-life, that is to say, the Heraklian element, in the story of Krishna, is crowded into his first twelve years, and that after this, he is represented as *leaving* to learn the Vedas. That is to say, it is at this point that he is Hinduised, as the Incarnation of Vishnu. Obviously, after this had been done, many of the incidents of his childhood might have a Hindu interpretation reflected back upon them.

How great is the beauty of that Divine childhood! How warm and throbbing the sense of personality that speaks in every line of the Mahabharata! In spite of the clumsy English dress, how wonderful the power and passion with which both Epic and Purana tell the tale of Krishna! How rude, yet grand, this ancient world, out of which, in its unsuspecting simplicity, in its worship of strength and heroism, comes the story of the Lord slaying demon upon demon, elephant, wrestler, tyrant, all. Centuries, may be millenniums, will go by, before the tender Hinduising interpretation will be added to each incident, "and then, offering salutation at the feet of Krishna, the soul of that evil one went forth unto bright places, for ever the torch of the Lord brought salvation, even unto those whom He appeared to slay."

Like children long ago on the Greek islands, and children and men in German Scandinavian forests, or like the peasants of to-day in Icelandic long-houses, so have the Indian people all down these centuries listened to wonder-tales of a hero who was vulnerable at no point save on the sole of his feet; of mortals who went armed with divine weapons; of that strong one who could gulp down the forest-fire like water; of the woman who peeped and saw between her eyelids; of madness sent by the gods upon whole peoples whom they would slay; of dooms and destinies and strange heroic whispers from the twilight of the world.

But nowhere does it seem to me that the enthusiasm of the story carries us so completely away, as when we read, at last, of the ascension of Krishna into heaven. Here we

are dealing with nothing pre-historic. Here we have the genius of a great Hindu poet in full flight. All that the ecclesiasticism of the West has done in fifteen centuries to place the like incident in the Christian story in an exquisite mystical light, half veiled by its own glory, was here anticipated by some unnamed writer of the Gupta era in India, in or before the year 400 A. D., ending the story of the Incarnation in a note of mingled love and triumph.

"And He the Lord, passing through the midst of Heaven, ascended up unto His own inconceivable region. Then did all the immortals join together to sing His praises. The gods and the rishis likewise offered salutation. And Indra also, the king of Heaven, hymned Him most joyfully."

BRITISH INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA

THE subject of the treatment of our fellow-countrymen in South Africa by the various colonial Governments of that part of His Majesty's empire, particularly by the Governments of the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony, while attracting considerable attention in England, has curiously enough received very scant and fitful consideration from the leading politicians of India.

That we have got our own grievances to look after and get redressed is no excuse, in this case at least, for sitting with folded hands and looking on inactively at the harsh, oppressive, unjust, and, above all, degrading measures, imposed and sought to be imposed by both the legislative and the administrative authorities of the Transvaal and Orange River Colonies, and, to a lesser extent, of

Natal, on our fellow-countrymen resident in those regions.

It is a subject vitally affecting not only our merest elementary rights as free subjects of the British Empire, but also our self-respect as a nation. Our countrymen in South Africa have for years been subjected to indignities which the British colonists would not dare to impose on a subject of any of the great European Powers, though he may be a loafer or a jail-bird.

Indians had been groaning under severe disabilities and slights and restrictions for years under Boer Rule, but some of the harsher measures passed had remained inoperative, owing to the strong representations of the British consuls made on our countrymen's behalf to the heads of the Boer Republics. With the alarm of war between Boer and

British, was sounded, it was vainly hoped, the death-knell of the state of semi-slavery in which Indians were suffered to exist in Boer territories.

Hope reigned high in the breasts of the down-trodden Indians that the subjugation and incorporation of the Boers into the freedom-loving and justly-governed British empire would be followed by the introduction of a régime of good will, tolerance, and justice to themselves and their successors.

That these hopes had a foundation in fact is apparent from the whole course of the history of British conquests of foreign dominions, and especially from the speeches delivered by leading British politicians before the late war. Therein we find that the grievances of our countrymen in South Africa are dwelt upon at great length as being important considerations for coercing the Boers even at the risk of war. Indians were subjects of a common empire and they should be protected. Nay, the treatment of the Indians was actually made a *casus belli*, as witness below what Lord Lansdowne, Secretary of State for War in those days, said in November, 1899, in a speech delivered in Sheffield:—

"India had had a special interest in the Transvaal. A considerable number of the Queen's Indian subjects are to be found in the Transvaal, and among the many misdeeds of the South African republic I do not know that any fills me with more indignation than its treatment of these Indians. And the harm is not confined to the sufferers on the spot; for what do you imagine would be the effect produced in India when these poor people return to their country to report to their friends that the Government of the Empress, so mighty and irresistible in India, with its population of three-hundred millions, is powerless to secure redress at the hands of a small South African State."

The British Press, both liberal and conservative, at least the Anti-Boer section which formed the great majority, condemned in equally indignant terms the Boer treatment of the Indians whom they called their "fellow-subjects."

Our countrymen had, therefore just cause to rejoice in the war in which they saw the termination of their existence as mere tolerated nuisances only suffered to ply their various avocations through dread of the British Lion. Visions arose before their minds of unchallenged and unrestricted entry into the about-to-be British territories—British success being a dead certainty—of trading without licenses, of free enjoyment of the rights of property, and of the right to reside where they chose, to walk on the footpaths without being pushed off or warned off by the police, to ride in tramcars by the side of a white man without being insulted or expelled, and of such other ordinary rights of a civilized human being as all civilized States assume as every man's birthright. Accustomed as they were in the land of their birth to see white man and brown and black having equal elementary rights, they naturally welcomed the war and believed that on the acquisition of the Boer territories by the conquering British, their shackles of semi-slavery would be simultaneously broken.

The war raged—unexpectedly longer than everybody was prepared for—perils—and took its toll of Boer and British and even Indian lives, for had not the Indians in South Africa supplied ambulance corps, whose services rendered in positions of danger and difficulty and amidst hardships, even the Anti-Indian Colonial newspapers recognized and recorded? It resulted in the passing of the Boer territories into British hands. But what have the Indians gained? The Indians are still suffering. Their disabilities and degradation continue, for British occupation of so many years has not resulted either in the abrogation of the oppressive legislative and administrative measures, or even in their suspension. The laws remain on the statute book, and are enforced. Laws which had been inoperative under Boer régime have been set into operation by the British administrators

of the whilom Boer republics. It seems the British Ægis is really more powerful than the British flag, for while before the War, in February, 1899, the South African Republic had, on the representation of the Government of the United Kingdom, suspended the notice for the removal of Asiatics to Locations, *after the War*, in April, 1903, and under a British administration directly responsible to the Supreme Government, the same Location Law was revised, by the notification of 8th April of that year, intimating that the law should now

"be enforced with due regard to the vested interests of those Asiatics who were trading outside bazaars at the commencement of the late hostilities," and announcing that the Government would "take immediate steps to have bazaars in every town set apart in which alone Asiatics may reside and trade."

That this measure was not directed only against the coolies, but also against the traders is evident from the fact that exemption therefrom was conditional on the ability to read and write English or any European language. For most of the traders, as everybody knows, are ignorant of the English language, and more so of European languages.

Limits of space prevent the discussion of the arguments advanced by the colonial administrations in support of such measures. I would refer my readers to the Parliamentary Blue Book of August, 1904, entitled "Correspondence relating to the position of British Indians in the Transvaal," wherein Sir M. M. Bohnaggee in a letter to Mr. Chamberlain has torn to shreds the what could hardly be called arguments of Viscount Milner and others in justification of the Location Law, and immigration restrictions.

But the cup of misery of our fellow-countrymen is not full yet. To drive them out of the new British land with a view to kill competition in trade, a new method has been recently devised. British Indians had to be

registered, paying a registration-fee. But now mere registration is held insufficient for purposes of identification. Every Indian, be he trader, or coolie, will have now to submit to have his finger-prints recorded in Government registers for purposes of identification. Surely no level of degradation can be lower than this for honest law-abiding people whose only crime is that they have a brown skin, and are frugal and economical in their mode of living. And all these injuries and insults are heaped upon them not under a foreign Government, but under a Government directly responsible to His Majesty's Secretary of State for the colonies.

That our countrymen's position in the land of their adoption is worse now under British rule than it ever used to be under the old Boer regime is shown at a glance in the following statement which I transcribe bodily from the Blue Book above referred to :

Before the War.

Unrestricted entry to any Indian permitted in any part of the Republics.

No registration fee.

Trading without license or against nominal tender of license money.

Residence permitted in any part of the Republic.

Landed property could be held in the name of Europeans.

Indians held 99 years' leases for property in the Johannesburg location.

Freedom to travel in the Republic.

And generally many harsh legislative restrictions allowed to remain inoperative, owing largely to British intervention.

Under British Rule.

Only *bona fide* refugees who left on the eve of war permitted, and only gradually.

Annual fee £3; penalty of non-payment, £100, or 6 months' rigorous imprisonment.

Trading only in locations with few exceptions. Many licenses granted by the Boer Government were annulled, and the right of transfer abrogated, thereby by implication confiscating the marketable rights of sale of business universally recognized in civilized countries.

Residence only in locations except in case of such Indians who managed to obtain exemption on educational test.

The law against Asiatic holding real property strictly enforced even in cases where land is required for religious buildings.

The owners of the leases expropriated under Insanitary Area Commissioners' Report, without receiving guarantee of receiving equal title elsewhere in Johannesburg in a suitable position.

Vexatious system of photographic passes established without warrant in law.

Inoperative Boer enactments brought into force, and rendered more stringent by ordinances or executive orders, and British Indians offensively classed in legislation with Kaffirs, savages, and semi-civilized races.

Thus it is easy to see that the balance of evil is on the side of the present British Administration of the new territories.

For the amelioration of our fellow-countrymen's position in South Africa strenuous efforts have been incessantly made in England by our English sympathisers, as well as by Indian gentlemen resident in England, the most active and irrepressible worker amongst them being Sir M. M. Bhownaggee, whose letter to Mr. Chamberlain puts the case of British Indians in South Africa in a lucid and convincing manner; and bears evidences of a close, conscientious, unremitting and masterly study of the question. We have fresh accessions to our cause in the now permanent South African Indian Committee, which numbers amongst its members men like Lord Reay and Lord Ampthill. But their efforts in the interests of our countrymen in South Africa cannot but gain substantial strength by the moral support the holding of mass meetings in India would give.

Surely we can not have lost all self-respect, that we should leave the work of securing reform eternally on the shoulders of a handful of noble-minded Englishmen, ourselves remaining indifferent to affairs which do not come immediately under our noses. True, we have not the power of extorting reforms from the Colonial Governments by force of arms, but we can surely articulate our demands in meeting assembled. Let the voice of India be raised and sent forth against the many disabilities and indignities that have been perpetuated in South Africa upon our fellow-countrymen even after the lapse of Boer rule.

Let us remind the Imperial Government of its pledges before the war, and let us make it clear that its prestige, as the Champion of Justice is at stake in this matter. For, we Indians have always associated with the British flag, equality of at least commercial opportunities for all, irrespective of race or

colour, and the liberty of entering, residing, and moving about unrestricted any territory over which the British flag floats.

Our motherland is commercially exploited by the Germans, French, Dutch, Italians, and Austrians unrestricted, without licenses, or registration fees, but members of these races in Johannesburg and other South African cities in combination with a few selfish Boers and Britishers have been gradually making it almost impossible for our countrymen in those regions to carry on trade, by measures which are as degrading to the oppressed as they must be demoralising to the oppressors.

Let us, failing redress, at least demand retaliatory measures against the colonials, should the Imperial Government fail to do its duty by us through fear of getting embroiled with its new colonies. The attitude of "non possumus" and the confronting of our South African Indians' demands whose justice and moderation is admitted, with the reply of "fait accompli" will only foster in the minds of Indians the thought that they are not members of the British Empire as Earl Meath would want them to believe, but political helots whose feelings and interests need not be considered in the administration thereof. It will strengthen the already widespread belief that considerations of absolute justice and fair-play no longer influence the decision of British statesmen; that the might of Britain is no longer exerted disinterestedly on behalf of the weak and oppressed, but only when there is a substantial gain within their reach. For Britain went to war with the Boer republics, pledged to deliver the British capitalists on whom the mining laws pressed heavily, and the British Indian subjects whose disabilities and wrongs under Boer rule were the subject of much outpouring of righteous indignation on the platform and in the press in England. Britain having taken Boer territory has redeemed its first pledge; viz., the deliverance of the mining capitalists

from the grip of Mr. Kruger; but has left unredeemed her second pledge. She has left the poor helpless unarmed British Indians, powerless to do harm electorally or territorially, in worse plight than they used to be under the old rule of Britain's enemies.

She has only sympathy to offer now because she says that having granted them autonomy she cannot coerce the newly acquired daughter countries into abrogating the anti-Indian laws and enactments, for which only a few years ago she had been ready to and actually did, shed the blood of her brave sons.

But why was the abrogation of these scandalous laws and regulations, and an equal and equitable treatment of British Indians not made a condition precedent to the granting of autonomy? That the Dutch would be in the majority in these newly-acquired territories could not have been lost sight of by the Imperial Government, nor was there a chance of their losing sight of this, with the conservative organs of opinion incessantly reminding them of the fact as an argument against the granting of autonomy.

But admitting that Government depended on the fairness of their new subjects when they granted them autonomy, the privilege of self-government does not carry with it the right to oppress British subjects of other parts of His Majesty's empire. In the admirable language of Sir M. M. Bhownagsee

"The grant of autonomy, to any portion of His Majesty's dominions does not carry with it the right to undermine the noblest traditions of the British Constitution, and the pledges of the Crown in respect to the rights and liberties of subjects of the King

belonging to other portions of his dominions. The legislation of self-governing colonies in so far as it affects any British subject, must be based on these traditions and pledges. The Imperial connection is dissolved into a mere figment if His Majesty's ministers are unable to protect Indian subjects in all parts of the British dominions, and especially in colonies controlled from Downing Street, from humiliation and injustice. India is the only portion of the Empire outside of the British Isles, which pays an adequate share towards the expense of conducting the affairs of the Empire as a whole."

Policy, therefore, as well as Justice demands that the Imperial Government should restrain the autonomous States of the Empire from persisting in their persecution of subjects of directly governed portions of the same Empire. Had India autonomy like the colonies, could the Imperial Government have prevented the Indian Government from retaliating upon these recalcitrant portions of the Empire to enforce an equal and equitable treatment of its own special subjects? But, perhaps under those circumstances the colonials would have thought better of their Indian fellow-subjects.

Would not the Imperial Government go to war with the German Colonies if they chose to imitate the ways of their neighbours? And if that is possible, has not the Imperial Government, in the last resort, the right to fall back upon Indian troops to vindicate the rights and liberties of Indian subjects against the oppression of the autonomous States of the British Empire? But such a stop is not at all necessary. A firm attitude on the part of the Imperial Government would at once bring the colonies to their senses.

J. N. BAHADURJI.

There is a compelling power in man that gives him no real happiness, no peace, no satisfaction, unless he is living up to his highest. Anything less than this breeds dissatisfaction. In other words, he must progress, must grow, must aspire, look onward and

upward, if he would preserve himself from a tedious flatness. And, no matter how high he may climb, other heights will still tower above him, unfulfilled ideals will ever beckon him on.—*William D. Little.*

RAJAGRIHA AND ITS ANTIQUITIES

I.—Origins of Rajgir.

RAJGIR is the representative of the ancient name of Rajagriha, the capital of ancient Magadh. It was the ancient capital of Jarasandh, and Kshatriya kings from the Basu dynasty to Bimbisara ruled ancient India from this place. This Rajagriha was first established at the confluence of the Ganges and the Sone by *Kusa-atmaj Basu* and the architect who planned it was Mahagovind. The other names of this old capital of Magadh are Giribbaj* (Girivraja) and Kusagarpur. This latter name comes from *kusa* (a kind of fragrant grass) which grew and still grows there in abundance. Ancient Rajagriha is surrounded by five hills and therefore the name Giribbaj ("hill-girt city") has been rightly applied to it—the old name of the capital of Jarasandh.

Giribbaj ceased to be the capital of the ancient kingdom of Magadh when Ajatasatru, the son of Bimbisara removed his capital to the new site now called Rajgir, north of the Baibhar and Vipul hills and east of the Saraswati river. It was first built by Bimbisara in 560 B. C. This new Rajagriha is an irregular pentagon of one long side and four nearly equal sides, the whole circuit being less than 3 miles. During and immediately after Buddha's time, the new capital was at the height of its prosperity. It was given over to the Brahmins by king Asoka, when he changed his capital to Pataliputra. They were the sole inhabitants in 637 A. D. Even now the Brahman class predominates. It is said that at a very ancient time he (Asoka) performed the *Asvamedha* sacrifice at Rajagriha. On that occasion he invited 7,500

Brahmins to present them with *dukshinas*. After the sacrifice he entrusted some leading Brahmins with the administration of Rajagriha. Even at the present time the number and influence of the Brahmins there predominate over those of other classes of people.

Giribbaj or Kusagarpur was in a very flourishing and prosperous condition during the time of Jarasandh. The natural appearance, too, was very beautiful, and impregnable forts defended the city.

Rajagriha in the Mahabharata.

In the Mahabharata, Basudeva describes the capital thus:—

"Behold, O Partha, the great capital of Magadh standing in all its beauty, filled with flocks, herds and its stock of water never exhausted; and adorned also with fine mansions, standing in excellent array, it is free from every kind of calamity. The five hills of Vaihara, Varaha, Vrishava, Rishigiri and the delightful *chaitya* all of high peaks and overgrown with tall trees of cool shade, connected with one another, seem to jointly protect the city of Girivraja. The breasts of the hills are concealed by forests of delightful and fragrant lodhras with ends of their branches covered with flowers. It was there that the illustrious Gautama of rigid vows begat upon the Sadra woman Ancinari (the daughter of Ucinara) Katsivet and other celebrated sons.....And O Arjuna, it was here that in olden times the mighty monarchs of Anga and Vanga and other countries coming to the abode of Gautama passed their days in joy and happiness. Behold, O Partha, those forests of delightful Pippalas and beautiful lodhras standing near the site of Gautama's abode. There dwelt of old the Nagas Arvada and Chakravapin, those persecutors of all enemies as also the Naga Swastika and other excellent Nagas called Mani. Manu himself had ordered the country of Magadha to be never afflicted with draught and Kaniskika and Manimat also have favoured the country. And owing to such a delightful

* The walls of Girivraja are 250 years older than Asoka. The external defences are 30 miles in circuit.

and impregnable city, Jarasandha is ever bent on seeking the fruition of his purposes unlike other monarchs. We shall, however, by slaying him to-day humble his pride."

Again, Vaisampayana describes the capital thus:—

"Thus saying, those brothers of abundant energy, viz., he of the Vrishni race and the two Pandavas entered the city of Magadh. They then approached towards the impregnable city of Girivraja that was full of cheerful and well-fed inhabitants belonging to all the four orders and where the festivities were perennial.....Meanwhile, O Bharata, the brothers unarmed, or rather with their bare arms as their only weapons, desirous of fighting with Jarasandha, entered the capital in the guise of Snataka Brahmins. And they beheld the exceeding beauty of the shops, full of various edibles and floral wreaths and swelling with every kind of wealth that man could desire. Those best of men, Krishna and Bhim and Dhananjay, beholding in those shops their affluence passed along the public road."

This Girivraja of hoary antiquity (2,500 years ago), once full of palaces and cheerful populations and the scene of manifold activities of life, is now a scene of deserted ruins! One visiting that site now cannot but feel his heart throbbing fast.

When the Chinese pilgrim Fa Hian visited this place in 400 A. D., all those palaces and forts had disappeared, and he found nothing but broken relics of ancient greatness. He describes the site thus:—The five hills encircle the town completely like the walls of a town. This is the site of the old town of king Bimbisara. 'From east to west it is about 5 or 6 *li*, from north to south seven or eight *li*. Here Sariputra and Maudgalyayana first met Asvajit. Here also Nirgrantha made a pit with fire in it and poisoned the food which he asked Buddha to eat. Here also is the spot where king Ajatasatru intoxicating a black elephant desired to destroy Buddha. To the north of the city, in a crooked defile, the physician Jivaka erected a Vihara in the garden of Ambupali and invited Buddha and his 1,250 disciples. The

ruins still exist within the city. All is desolate and without inhabitants.

This place is sacred to Hindus, Jainas, Buddhists, and Muhammadans alike. Each of these religious sects had a particular period of supremacy in old Rajagriha. So it is better to describe each period separately.

(1).—Jaina influence.

Jaina influence began to be felt from the time of Bimbisara, the devoted disciple of the last Tirthankar. This was the place where Mahavira flourished and it was, therefore, considered sacred by the Jainas. From the carved engravings at the foot of the Parsvanath image we learn that the Jainas predominated on the Vipula mountain till the 8th and 9th centuries. Afterwards on account of the Brahmanical supremacy and the oppression of the Muhammadans, the Jainas disappeared from this place. Up to the 17th century no trace of Jaina influence could be found here. When the Muhammadans lost their power, the five hills of Rajgir were again frequented by the Jainas, and Jaina temples began to be established and ancient Jaina relics preserved.

(2).—Buddhistic influence.

Simultaneously with the progress and influence of Jainism, Buddhism also flourished and made rapid progress in Rajagriha. King Bimbisara and the people of the neighbourhood in general constantly visited Buddha on the Baibhar hill to hear his religious discourses. Two Sangharamas were established in new Rajagriha on the south of the town half a mile off. Old Rajagriha was given over to the Brahmins by Asoka, and hence Brahmanical influence was predominant there. But the Brahmins came to lose their power when Asoka himself accepted Buddhism. After a few centuries, with the rise of the Sunga and Mitra lines of kings and the growth of Brahmanical influence at Pataliputra the Brahmins of Rajagriha attempted to establish the Puranic religion. From this time,

the ancient Buddhistic shrines began to fall into decay, and Hindu Tirthas were rapidly established. This latter change was much helped by the Brahmans being attached to the Gupta kings of Magadh. But the 6th century witnessed the fall of the Brahmans and the rise and progress of the Buddhists. During the middle of the 7th century no *Devalayas* of the Brahmans were visible. With the rise of Yasovarman at Kanauj (600 A.D.) and that of Adisur at Gaur, the Brahmans* recovered their power. The Buddhist Pal kings were friendly to the Tantriks and Brahmans, and, therefore, the images of gods and goddesses flourished, pilgrimages were made and *Devalayas* began to be established. In course of time, places and sites sacred in the eyes of Buddhists and Jainas came to be regarded as sacred by the Hindus too, and various Buddhistic relics were appropriated by the Hindus to form their own temples, gods and goddesses.

(3).—Massulman influence.

Just after the conquest of Behar by Muhammad Bakhtiyar Khilji, many Muhammadan saints came to old Rajagriha on account of the good climate and beautiful scenery of the place. Among these Pir Mukdum Shah, well known in Behar, lived at Rishvasringa-kund and was much respected by the people for his piety. This Rishvasringa-kund was situated at the foot of the Vipula mountain and came to be known as *Mukdum-kund* after the name of Pir Mukdum Shah. Mukdumkund is now a place of great attraction to the Mussalmans and to the Mussalman hermits especially. Many Buddhistic remains at Rajagriha are now covered by Muhammadan graves.

Caves.

Girivraja, "the hill-girt city", is surrounded by five hills, named Baibhar, Vipulagiri, Ratnagiri, Udayagiri and Sonagiri. The **Sattapanni cave** is situated on the Baibhar hill

and in front of it the first* Buddhist Eynod was held in 543 B.C. The actual position of this cave has given rise to much lively discussion and confusion. Cunningham has gone the length of identifying it with the *†* Son Baandar cave; while others are of opinion that these two caves are quite different and separate ones. In this Son-Bhandar cave Buddha used to sit in deep meditation after the mid-day meal. Without actually visiting the place and closely examining it, it is quite impossible to ascertain which opinion to hold. It is, therefore, safe only to *enumerate* the different views one by one, instead of holding any particular opinion without actual inspection. Let us first notice what the Chinese pilgrim Fa Hian, who visited this country in 400 A.D. or a little later and who may be considered as our guide at this time, says on this point:—

"Striking the southern hill and proceeding westwards 300 paces there is a stone cave called Pippolo cave where Buddha used to meditate after the mid-day meal. Still further west five or six there is a stone cave situated on the northern side of the mountain and called the Cheti cave. This is the place where 500 Arhats assembled after the Nirvana of Buddha to arrange the collection of sacred books," etc.

Next Hiuen Tsang, the Chinese pilgrim who visited India in 632 A.D., describes the place of the great convocation as a large "stone house"§ situated in the middle of the great bamboo forest, which occupied the north side of the southern mountain about 5 or 6 li to the south-west of the "venuvana." Before the large "stone house" there are to be seen an old foundation wall. This edifice was ascribed to king Ajatasatru, who made it for the accommodation of the Arhats assembled, to settle the Dharmapitaka.

* Convened by Kasyapa. In this council Binaya and Abhidharma were taught.

† *Sucarnabhandara* (treasury of gold).

‡ Cunningham identifies it with Jarasandha's *Baithak*.

§ Here the venerable Kasyapa with 999 great Arhats after Buddha's Nirvana called a convocation on three P.akas. The Sattapanni cave was the place of the first Buddhist council.

* This fact is based on the authority of "*Biswa kosh*." I could not find this out from any history.

Beglar's directions for the Sattapanni cave :—* Going to the west from the Pippolo cave at the entrance of the gorge which leads to Kusagarpur and then skirting the north foot of the Baibhar hill, he came across a series of fissures in the rock all facing to the West and forming a row of little chambers from 4 to 10 feet wide and equally shallow. The collection of rock fissures, which elsewhere is spoken of as "a large natural cavern" divided by fissures of rock into compartments was taken by Beglar to be the true Sattapani cave (derived from Saptaparna, the designation of a plant, but literally meaning sevenleaved).

But these directions are rejected by Stein who says that the site below the Adinath Temple has a claim for serious consideration in our search for the famous Sattapanni cave.

Beglar says that the Sattapanni cave is not the Buddha's cave, neither are there socket holes as described by Cunningham.

Beal gives the following directions :—

Son-Bhandar is on the southern face of the Baibhar mountain and Sattapanni on the northern face.

But Cunningham agrees with the Chinese pilgrims in determining the position of the Son-Bhandar cave. First, he followed their directions in finding out the Pippolo cave 40 feet in length and 30 feet in width. He also describes Jarasandha's *Baithak* as situated on the north-east slope of the Baibhar hill. It is a massive foundation of a stone house 85 feet square. Thus Cunningham proves that the Son-Bhandar cave is the same as the Sattapanni cave. The distance between the *Baithak* and the Son-Bhandar cave is 4,500 feet—descending the Baibhar hill to the bed of the stream and then again ascending the stream to the Son-Bhandar, where in 478 B. C. the first Synod was

held after the death of Buddha. There are rows of socket holes on the outside face of the Son-Bhandar, and on the same part of the smaller cave† (close to the former one in the east about $\frac{2}{3}$ rd of its size, $22\frac{1}{2}$ feet long and 17 feet broad). These socket holes prove that at some former period the cave had been extended towards the front. This explains the arrangement by which the cave was made to hold 500 persons. This hall was made by Raja Ajatasatru of Magadh at the mouth of the Sattapanni cave on the side of the Webhara (Baibhar) mountain. The length of the hall is 40 feet. The cave has one door and one window. The walls and roof are quite bare, and there are some scarcely legible inscriptions on the jambs of the doorway as well as on the out-side. One of the inscriptions, when deciphered, means "auspicious cave,"‡ because Buddha meditated there. This cave and the smaller one to the east of it had some stone building or verandah in front of them.

Jarasandha's *Baithak* is situated on the north-east slope of the Baibhar hill at a distance of 4,500 feet from the Sattapani cave. For this reason Cunningham raises the question—whether the cave is as old as the *Baithak*.

His answer§:—the cave is a rough excavation, and this must have been the quarry from which stones for the *Baithak* were derived, i. e., it was coeval with Buddha in B.C. 500, or perhaps older—a specimen of a stone building 250 years older than Asoka.

Before the Nirvana of Buddha the Sattapanni cave was known as the Nyagrodha (Eanyan tree) cave. So there must have been a banyan tree close by.

There is supposed|| to be an inaccessible cave on the side of Baibhargiri near the in existence before the death of Buddha and hence it is of the same age as the other.

|| I appeal to the members of the Patna College Archaeological Society to find these out, and I doubt not their patience and labours will be rewarded by the vast experience which they will thereby acquire.

* Mr. Beglar's theory is not correct as we recently found by personal investigations.

† This has been blown up by a Zemindar in search of treasure.

‡ So called because a certain Muni "Vaira Deva" attained liberation here. This inscription is dated 200 A. D.

§ It cannot be argued from this cave that the Hindus were unacquainted with the art of stone cutting, because Son-Bhandar was

source of the Northern Tributary which joins the Saraswati before it enters the inner city. A second smaller cave, equally inaccessible, exists further east also on the southern slope of Baibhargiri.

On Baibhargiri there are five modern Jaina temples and the ruins of an old Saiva Temple, of which 4 granite pillars are still standing and fifty small pillars lying confusedly about.

Deva Datta's cell on the slope of mount Vipula. This is not mentioned by Cunningham. Position (given by Fa Hian):—Leaving the old city and going north-east 3 li we arrived at the stone cell of Deva Datta fifty paces from which there is a great square black stone. Fa Hian says that a Bhikshu walked forward and backward on this stone meditating on the impermanency, the sorrow

and the vanity of his body (life). Thus realising the character of his impurity, loathing himself, he drew his knife and would have killed himself. But then he reflected that the Lord of the world had forbidden self-murder. But then again he thought: "Although that is so, yet I am simply anxious to destroy the three poisonous thieves (evil desire, hatred, and ignorance)." Then again he drew his knife and cut his throat. On the first gash he obtained the degree of Srotapana. When he had half done the work, he arrived at the condition of Augamin, and after completing the deed, he obtained the position of an Arhat and entered Nirvana.

There are some ruins of a lofty *stupa* on mount Vipula.

HARI PRASAD MAZUMDAR.

LONGFELLOW—1807-1907

NO American poet can by any possibility be other than an offspring of the Anglo-Saxon heritage. It is hardly an argument against this continuity to say that the line of succession failed, because there was a break in the early days of American colonization even for a period of 200 years, from 1620 (founding Plymouth colony of Pilgrims) to 1820 (first publication of poems by William Cullen Bryant)...The explanation is clearly a matter of environment...Let any one look into Parkman's series of early settlement histories, and amid the exciting activities, the wild adventure, the amazing march of geographical discovery, the ceaseless contest with the native races that would neither co-operate nor accept defeat, consider the impossibility of poetic production, then let the enquirer turn to Fiske's "Beginnings of New England" and contemplate the turmoil of feuds and disputes among the medley of immigrants

embarked upon the extraordinary enterprise of assimilating every conceivable individual eccentricity and creating therefrom an ideal government, "by the people, of the people, for the people." A literature was certain to follow such prodigious effort, while as certainly it could not be *then* created. It was Wordsworth who said "Poetry is emotion recollected in tranquillity;" there was no tranquillity in those days, the musket was ever bright in the barrel, the powder-horn hung dry and in sight in every homestead.

For two hundred years poetry was impossible. But not for one instant let it be admitted that there was any severance of the ties of kinship, blood, speech, thought and life. As one of their own seers has written:—

"O Englishmen! In hope and creed
In blood and tongue our brothers!
We too are heirs of Runnymede:
And Shakespeare's fame and Cromwell's dead
Are not alone our Mother's."

When, therefore, after some epic prose, after the meteor-like appearance of that defiant verse which caught, in an instant, the eye and heart of a struggling people, and in spite of grotesque platitude united them in admiration of their "Star-Spangled Banner," after Samuel Wordsworth wrote "The Old Oaken Bucket," and John Howard Payne actually made American the most popular song of its day in old England by writing "Mid pleasures and palaces though we may roam," after Philip Freneau showed real poetic genius in a handful of ballads,—we find the "Father of American poetry," William Cullen Bryant: it is not as the originator of any new literature, it is directly and naturally as a brother of Wordsworth.

The first edition of Bryant's "Poems" was published in 1832. Five years later Emerson delivered his amazing oration entitled "The American Scholar," and the old taunt could no longer with any justice be used that there was no American literature.

But the opportunity was rapidly ripening. Bryant was exceedingly limited in his range, he was grand in his elemental qualities, he opened out an impressive vista but he was greatly apart...He scarcely touched American life...Emerson was equally apart, though in a very different way. As Prof. John Churton Collins clearly says:—"In some respects Emerson is among the greatest of American poets, but it is not by virtue of his poetry"; meaning, I suppose, that even inspired philosophy and the highest intellectual exaltation are not enough to make the whole of what is essential in poetry. Emerson had, as it were, everything except what Juvenal meant by having "Bitten the laurel." He had not the sensitive taste which makes music. He had brains and inspiration enough to soar up and away into crystalline realms of spiritual apprehension, and told about it in marvellous language, but he did not sing. He did not enshrine his visions in magic simplicity of

artless words that could steal by their beauty into countless human hearts....

This was the atmosphere into which we turn to find the man born one hundred years ago, and whose name still stands as that of the most thoroughly representative poet of the American people—Henry Wadsworth Longfellow...Whatever criticisms we may feel justified in passing upon any part, or the whole category, of his attainments, our opinions will not in all probability seriously disturb the nervous serenity of those archangel scribes who preside over the recorded facts of our tiny human sphere, and we may remember that among those facts are these, that the words of no other man who wrote in the English tongue have been so often spoken in so many million homes, or so loved, or have so comforted,...and that born in an undistinguished corner of a quiet town in the rude State of Maine, at his death the popular esteem of high and low could find no less expression of its intensity than a memorial in England's most sacred shrine (Longfellow's bust was unveiled in Poet's Corner Westminster Abbey, March 2, 1884). His popularity was curiously illustrated to me the other day, in taking up a volume, "A Thousand and One Gems of English Poetry," published 1868, Routledge, London, by finding as a frontispiece to a book in which Shakespeare and Wordsworth, Scott and Keats, found fullest honour, a John Gilbert illustration of "The Wreck of the Hesperus."

Another rather interesting evidence is that two critics of such diverse nature as William D. Howells, and Walt Whitman, neither of whom appreciated the other, both have recorded emphatic praise of the highest possible sort to Longfellow...Howells writes in his "My Literary Passions" (page 147) "Longfellow...this divine poet I have never ceased to read." "Of American writers Longfellow has been most a passion with me." Whitman says: "I should have to think long if I were

asked to name a man who has done more, and in more valuable directions for America," than Longfellow....

Remembering these realities, we may rapidly review a few points of the individual career of the man, and consider the external as well as internal influences which surrounded the three periods of his life, early, middle and late.

In 1676 well-to-do Englishmen had already begun the graceful habit of expressing the high regard in which they held the young Colonial empire springing up under such a weight of difficulties beyond the sea, by dumping thither the family scapegoats. The pater would furnish the passage money, on the understanding that young boulder would stay on the other side and waste his wildness on the desert air, thus relieving the family from the repeated annoyance of his frequent lapses.

Such a father, a landowner in Yorkshire (Horsforth) sent out such a son in 1676.... In spite of waywardness, debts and a roving nature, this young man married a sister of one of the best known men in New England, Judge Sewall, and became the great, great, great, grandfather of Henry Wadsworth, through a straight genealogy of four Stephen Longfellowes.

Henry Wadsworth's father, like the other Stephens, distinguished himself as a trusted lawyer, married Zilpah Wadsworth, a descendant of Priscilla Alden, and enlarged the family estate as well as reputation in his native town of Portland, Maine.... All the respectability which the new world could in any manner be expected to furnish certainly was provided for the forthcoming poet. Stability of character had been well ingrained into the stock since the wild-oat period of that English great, great, great grandfather. Comfort, if not our modern luxury of surroundings, was his.... His earliest years were spent in what was then an exceedingly fine colonial mansion, the only brick-house in the town. Portland was hardly more than a

thriving village, Maine was only a province of the old Bay State of Massachusetts at the time of the poet's birth, being set off as a State in 1820. Portland had, however, many unusual attractions for a poetic boy, most picturesquely placed in the southern corner of Casco Bay, surrounded by foot hills that terrace away to the White Mountains behind, and fronted with a sparkling sea dotted with many wooded isles. The salt smell of the great Atlantic mingles with the balmy odors of primeval pines. Those who have visited the poet's birth-house must remember that in those days no mammoth mills, no din of ceaseless trains, no boisterous and confining confusion of many hustling competitive money-making machines, marred the soil beauty, the tranquil peace, the delicate charm of a forest village set in "The shen of the far surrounding seas." There was something that definitely set its mark upon the child.... But he was a book-boy, as afterwards and later, and always he was book-reading, book-fed.... While others in the native exhilaration of the open stalked moose, trapped possum, followed trails and scaled mountains, he found Ossian, Don Quixote, and Washington Irving's Sketch-book. He found also an allied charm in playing the flute. At fifteen he went to College, Bowdoin, not Harvard, for this was the new made State's new venture and here he made a lifelong friendship with Hawthorne.

While at college the natural question arose as to his future profession. His father urged the family hereditary one of law, Henry shuddered. And here we see that if greatness really consists in comprehending in youth what is attained in age, Longfellow proved his greatness by writing to his father, "I am almost confident in believing that if I can ever rise in the world, it must be in the wide field of literature."

There are perhaps few lives in which the early aim was more faithfully followed or more completely attained. But we do not

altogether associate that with any intense or heroic effort on the part of Longfellow, largely, I think, because the very stars in their places seemed to favour his desire, and all the environment of time, place, friends, means and opportunity to be co-operating in his behalf. His College established a special chair of modern languages and he was sent to Europe for three years that he might be well equipped for the position. After filling for five years this quiet Professorship, midway in which period he was married to Mary Storer Potter, he was asked to accept the Professorship of a similar chair at Harvard University. Another year of travel in Europe preceded his entering upon these new duties, and the first calamity of his life, the death of his wife, fell upon him while abroad. A sobered man, tinged with melancholy, he went back to his

native country and took up his position at Harvard, living in the famous old Craigie House, once Washington's headquarters during the campaign of the Revolution before the evacuation of Boston. Here Longfellow continued to live till his death, for 18 years as Professor and, after resigning that office, for 28 years more, as the unofficial poet-laureate of his country. Eight years after the death of his first wife, he had married Frances Elizabeth Appleton, and received from her all that sympathetic tenderness and ceaseless care which made the greatest achievements of his life possible. At her death, 1861, under tragic circumstances, the poet had virtually completed his literary life, in point at least of power of attainment, though he lived for twenty-one years more in the old Craigie House. He died in 1882.

FREDERICK BLOUNT MOTT.

NOTES

Repression and Protestations of "loyalty."

A wave of "loyalty" has been passing over parts of the country, keeping pace admirably with repression and coercion on the part of Government. It proves to demonstration that your rod is the best stimulant of "loyalty." If the bureaucracy be satisfied with this latest brand of the stuff, it does not concern us to criticise.

"A woman, a spaniel and a walnut tree,
The more you beat them, the better they be."

So runs a chivalrous English rime. It is, therefore, no wonder that English bureaucrats should ply the rod to improve the quality of the Indian political character. But what concerns us Indians is to enquire to which class named in the couplet we belong.

Good citizenship and protestation of innocence.

When a dacoity or a murder takes place in a neighborhood, is it the duty of the law-abiding citizens of the place to run to the nearest police station and declare solemnly on oath that they did not commit the crime? When in the opinion of Government there is sedition in the country, is it the bounden duty of good citizens to proclaim aloud from the housetops that they are not sedition-mongers? May they not keep quiet? Life in India is already burdensome enough. It is, therefore, that we note with a troubled spirit the foreshadowings of ominous additions to our duties,—additions, too, which jar with our notions of self-respect.

There is a proverbial story current in Bengal that a boy having once stolen some ripe



RIDING JOHN BULL IN EAST BENGAL.—A POPULAR VIEW.

plantains was eating them in secret in the family temple. Paterfamilias, hearing some sound coming from the temple, asked, "Who is there in the temple?" The guilty conscience of the boy made him whine out, "I did not eat the plantains."

Moral. The plantain-eater was not the only good boy in existence.

Of seditions and troubles.

Certain passages in Bacon's essay "Of seditions and troubles" should receive attention at the present juncture:—

"..... when Princes, that ought to be common parents, make themselves as a party, and lean to a side, it is as a boat that is overthrown by uneven weight on the one side; as was well seen in the time of Henry the Third of France: for first himself entered League for the extirpation of the Protestants; and presently after the same league was turned upon himself. For when the authority of Princes is made but an accessory to a cause, and that there be other bands that tie faster than the band of sovereignty, kings begin to be put almost out of possession."

"..... the surest way to prevent sedition, is to take away the matter of them. For if there be fuel prepared, it is hard to tell whence the spark shall come that shall set it on fire. The matter of seditions is of two kinds; much poverty and much discontentment."

"For the Rebellions of the Belly are the worst."

"The first remedy or prevention is to remove by all means possible that material cause of sedition whereof we spake, which is want and poverty in the estate."

"..... he that turneth the humors back and maketh the wound bleed inwards, endangereth malign ulcers and pernicious impostumations."

Mr. Morley's Reforms.

The reforms promised by Mr. Morley, according to Reuter's summary of his Budget speech, are three. (1) The establishment of an Advisory Council of Notables, which would elicit independent Indian opinion and diffuse information about Government's intentions; (2) substantial enlargement of the Viceroy's Legislative Council and of Provincial Councils, the official majority being maintained; (3) the nomination of one or two Indian members of the Council of India.

(1) We do not exactly understand what is meant by *eliciting* independent Indian opinion. Is the opinion of educated Indians as expressed in newspapers and periodicals, on the platform of Congresses and Conferences, in the Legislative Councils, in the memorials, representations and resolutions of public associations like the British Indian Association, the Bombay Presidency Association, &c., independent Indian opinion, or is it the opinion of the Mar in the Moon? No doubt, the bureaucratic theory has always been that educated Indians represent nobody but themselves, and that the bureaucrat alone knows the opinions and safeguards the interests of the masses. If so, if the bureaucrat is really omniscient, what is the need of this Advisory Council? Obviously to use this *elicited* (thanks for the word!) opinion as a counterblast against the opinion of educated India. For even a despot is constrained to make a show of respecting public opinion; and, therefore, he takes the trouble to *elicit* the kind of public opinion that will suit him best: "For the oracles will Philipise as long as Philip is the master." "Notables" of the stamp of the Maharaja of Kashmir and the Nawab Salimulla are expected to be the shining lights of this Council. We will not insult them by supposing that they or their fellows have heard of such obscure individuals as Helps and Rochefoucauld. These Indian notables, therefore, may be expected to treat with contempt what these European authors say of a certain "manner of asking for and giving advice." Helps says:

"There is a still greater insincerity in affecting to care about another's advice, when you lay the circumstances before him only for the chance of his sanctioning a course which you had previously resolved on."

Says Rochefoucauld:

"Nothing is less sincere than the manner of asking for and giving advice. The person who asks for advice appears to pay a respectful deference to the sentiments of his friend, while he is seeking to have his own plans approved of, and to obtain for

them his friend's sanction; and he who bestows advice appears to repay the confidence which is reposed in him with an ardent and disinterested zeal, although he most frequently is studying only his own interest or glory in the advice which he gives."

What do most of these notables know of the condition of the people in British India? What independence of character do they possess to be able to give the Government unpalatable advice? They cannot possess any independence, as they are mere puppets in the hands of the politicals. A street-beggar is more independent than they. On the other hand, most educated men are sprung from the people and in the course of their business come in frequent contact with the people. Many of them have also dared to incur the wrath of men in power. As advisers they are, therefore, to be preferred. But it may be reasonably said, Government needs supplementary advice. But are these notables in a position to give such advice? Their opinions cannot but be the echo of official opinion. For he who will not be a gramophone reproducing Government opinion will soon cease to be a notable.

And then how is information about Government's intention to be "diffused"? Will the Advisory Council possess a journalistic organ? Will the members turn journalists, or will they go on lecturing tours? If the organ be in English, how will this "information" reach the populace? If in the vernaculars, how many vernacular organs will there be? We are happy to think that at any rate there is going to be work provided for the Great Unemployed.

(2) - So long as the official majority is maintained, so long as unofficial members have only the thankless task of never-ending criticism without any the least control over the finances and administration of the country, enlarged legislative councils can only increase popular irritation and discontent. Government is not in the mood to pay heed to the

demands of our representatives. The treatment of their opinion with contempt can only irritate us. The larger their number, the more acute is likely to be our irritation. For people would say: "So many members made exactly the same demands or the same proposals; yet Government remained unmoved."

The opinions of so many representatives of the people, the thread-bare discussion of public measures by them, is, no doubt, bound to have some moral effect. But this will be counteracted by the opinion *elicited* from the Advisory Council.

Hitherto we have taken it for granted that the enlarged councils will consist of more representatives of the people. But after all who knows that the majority of the additional members will not be Government nominees? We note that there is to be no Indian in the Executive Councils, as demanded by the Congress. We are good only as talking machines:

(3) One or even two Indian members cannot do much good in the Council of the Secretary of State for India in the midst of such an overwhelming majority of Anglo-Indian fossils. But if properly chosen, he or they may do some good. But what is there to ensure such choice? Not even a sense of the ludicrous has prevented Government from sometimes nominating members of the Viceregal and Provincial Councils who were quite innocent of a knowledge of English. We want popular representation, popular control. In particular cases the people's nominee may even be worse than the Government nominee. But it is the principle that matters most, not this or that person. For in the long run right principles ensure more stable good government than even a few exceptionally good governors. At the present stage of our political evolution, if we were asked to choose between a popular representative constitution

and absolute government even by an Asoka, we should choose the former. Whatever depends on the mere good will and pleasure of an autocracy is no gain, however good it may be. Whatever a people acquires by its strength and wisdom is real and lasting good. Hence all bureaucrats including Mr. Morley, Lord Minto and some members of Parliament are anxious that, even when there is a "reform," Indians should not believe it to be the result of agitation. But whatever they may say, we know nations by themselves are made, not by bureaucratic favour.

Mr. Morley's Commission and Committee.

Mr. Morley said he was considering the appointment of a commission to enquire on the spot into the work of centralisation in India, and as to how the system and its mischief might be abated. This does not mean that some power was meant to be transferred to the people. It means that provincial governments were to be made more despotic and less responsible to the Government of India. Our point of view is that so long as our Government is an autocracy, the epithet "imperial" or "provincial" does not make a material difference. Mr. Morley has not even been able to imagine at what distance of time India may be fit for any but personal government. He is enamoured of the latter. "Mr. Morley quoted shrewd experienced officials as saying that the influence of European officers over the population had fallen. There was less sympathy between the Government and the people. The doctrine of administrative efficiency had been latterly overdone. Our administration would be much more popular if it were less efficient and more elastic,"—that is to say, more dependent on the will of individual European officers. Vain delusion! Nothing will permanently improve the government of India except popular control.

"Mr. Morley announced that a committee had been appointed which would begin work in the autumn upon the question of the proportion of charges borne by the War Office and India." We shall judge this tree by its fruits. The Welby Commission of a decade ago gave India the small relief of ₹50,000 or Rs. 37,50,000 per annum. But Indian Military Expenditure has grown as follows: 1884-85, Rs. 17.9 crores; 1888-89, Rs. 22.2 crores; 1902-03, Rs. 28.2 crores; 1906-07, Rs. 32.8 crores (budget). God save us from such relief! If the new committee transfers with the left hand one rupee from the shoulders of India to those of the War Office, means will surely be found to take five rupees from India with the right hand. We have had enough experience of the generosity of committees. We want to control our own finances. Nothing less will satisfy us.

Mr. Morley's Remarks.

Mr. Morley is reported to have said: "One of the most difficult experiments ever tried in human history, was the attempt to ascertain whether they could carry on personal Government along with free speech and free right of public meetings." That India must have a personal government is a settled fact. And, therefore, the experiment has begun with the muzzling of the critics of British rule.

Mr. Morely is not entirely wanting in candour. He has called the educated people of India or a certain section of it the "enemies" of England. Who are these persons? Has he flung the epithet, intending that the cap may be taken by whomsoever it may fit? But whoever these enemies of England may be, this open declaration of war has not come a day too soon. It has served to remove much misconception. Mr. Morley's epithet has been taken to refer to those educated Indians who want freedom for their country, and who does not?

"Oh! freedom is a glorious thing;
 Even so our gracious rulers say;
 And what they say, I sure may sing,
 In quite a legal proper way.
 They praise it up with all their might,
 And praise the men who seek it too,—
 Provided all the row and fight
 Are out in Poland;—Thiggin thu?"*

Mr. Morley has practically laid down the maxim that no one should be prosecuted for sedition, but deported without trial, "for prosecution would simply have advertised the propaganda." This is begging the question. Is the existence of a seditious propaganda to be taken for granted? It would, no doubt, be very economical and expeditious to abolish all legal tribunals and punish all without trial whom the executive thought guilty. But in the interests of justice the more serious the crime of which a man is supposed to be guilty, the greater is the need of a public trial.

Mr. Morley takes it for granted that British rule in India is "efficient." If it means, "mechanical," his assertion is true. In any other sense it is incorrect. An efficient administration is that under which the people are well fed, healthy and well educated. But famines are of frequent occurrence in India, semi-starvation is chronic, plague has assumed appalling proportions without there being any diminution in deaths from other causes, and our illiteracy is phenomenal.

Mr. Morley "emphasized the necessity of hearing the opinions of the Indians whose susceptibilities we were bound to respect, but he most vehemently and scathingly denounced people advocating our giving up India, which he declared would result in anarchy and bloody chaos."

Indian susceptibilities have certainly been respected in the Partition of Bengal. May we be saved from similar respect in future! As for the English giving up India, it is advocated only by a few Englishmen and a small section of educated Indians. All advocates of popular rights for India are not of

*By T. D. Sullivan. 'Thiggin thu' is an Erse phrase meaning "Do you understand?"

the same opinion. There are three kinds of government possible for India: autocracy such as exists at present; an increasing measure of popular control over the government, a beginning in this direction being made at once; and absolute autonomy for India. Evidently Mr. Morley is of opinion that the two extremes are the only alternatives, no middle course being possible. Of course he has not said so in so many words. But his repeated insistence on personal government, and his failure to give us the least measure of real self-government, are clear indications of his views. Regarding self-government Indians have been practically told, "you must take all, if you can; else you get nothing." This is an unwise attitude for an English statesman to take up. In Mr. Morley's declaration that the result of the English giving up India would be "anarchy and bloody chaos," there is the implication that England governs India for philanthropic reasons, mainly, if not entirely; which is simply not true. England does the work of the police, because it pays handsomely to do so. If England were merely under the influence of the philanthropic mania for preventing bloodshed and anarchy, there would be enough work for her nearer home; *e. g.*, in Russia. But unfortunately Russia would not stand any nonsense. We note, too, that Mr. Morley resembles most English politicians and historians in comparing British rule with only the worst periods of pre-British rule in India. But India has a pretty long history. Have we all along been doing nothing but indulging in the pleasant pastime of cutting one another's throats till the English came on the scene? Whatever Englishmen may believe or profess to believe, India has been better governed by some of her own monarchs in the past than she is at present.

It will be observed that Mr. Morley had but little to say on sanitation, and nothing on education and the feeding of the people, the

three greatest needs of a country, particularly of a country like India.

Making History.

The Indian Bureaucracy has been making history at a tremendous pace. The unnecessary, unrighteous and fatuous policy of repression and petty persecution pursued in many provinces is proving very injurious to the best interests of the country, diverting the minds of the people from the paths of peaceful progress. It is folly to exhaust the weapons of terrorism on a peaceful population. For whatever Englishmen in their panic may think, we know the country is not on the brink of a rebellion. The brave Englishman with his latest artillery may be afraid of the *lathi* of the Bengali school boy, but we know that an armed rebellion is out of the question. Why then badger the people? Why waste all this powder and shot? Laying aside all thoughts of prestige, let government remove the causes of discontent in all provinces as they have recently done in the Panjab to some extent. Then the country will be quiet; otherwise not. What if people think that in the Panjab Government have sustained a temporary defeat? Have the bureaucracy become on that account less powerful there than elsewhere? But it is useless to argue with the Anglo-Indian rulers of India. Let them choose their own path; we will choose ours. Let us resolve not to be diverted by repression and petty persecution from the pursuits that lead to true national greatness. Let us utilise even repression and persecution, making them the means of strengthening the fibres of our national character.

An Indian National College.

The scheme of an Indian National College formulated by the writer of the article on "Swadeshi in Education" is very important. Opinions will naturally differ regarding the details, but it is unquestionable that we are in urgent need of several such colleges, and

ought to make a beginning with one. That the writer would like to start the experiment at Poona, is not due to any personal reasons. He has no connection with the Poona Fergusson College. He has never even met either Mr. Gokhale or Mr. Paranjpye. As his authority to speak on educational matters is far superior to ours, we suggest a modification in the courses of study with diffidence. We think that as we cannot, to begin with, teach all subjects, it would be practically more useful in India to teach botany and mineralogy than biology. But if biology must be preferred, it should be studied with special reference to botany. We make this suggestion, as we must make vast improvements in agriculture and develop and utilise the vegetable and mineral resources of our country. We should like, if possible, to keep history, too, and secure the services of a specialist, as it has such important lessons to teach as to the processes and means of national growth and regeneration.

History in the Calcutta University.

In the Educational Despatch of 1854, the Hon'ble Court of Directors having desired that Universities should be established in India, seventeen gentlemen were selected by Government to act as a committee for the purpose of considering the whole plan. In the curricula of studies as originally drawn up, it was stated in the *Calcutta Review* for December, 1860,

"As in the Entrance Examination, so in that for the B. A. degree, the Calcutta University has no cause to fear comparison with London. In History, the Examination in the former is much more severe than in the latter, the Committee rightly judging that "its great importance, the ignorance that has so extensively prevailed in India respecting its real nature, character and worth, as well as the great benefits which native students are likely to derive from a careful study of its best portion, rendered it advisable to give it a prominent place in the Examination."

One may be curious to know what has happened in the meantime to make history so unimportant a subject as to justify its

practical exclusion from the Calcutta University. Have we learnt too much of it?

Youth, heroism and reverence.

"The history of heroism is the history of youth and the youth of a nation are the trustees of posterity." So writes Benjamin Disraeli. But what *is* heroism? Cannot one who has never seen a battle-field be a hero? Of course he can. Whoever struggles manfully in any field of human activity is a hero.

What we want as a people is divine discontent with self—never to feel that we know enough, never to feel that we can do enough, or be perfect enough. Thirst after perfection for the sake of others,—this is *tapasyā*,—*vairāgya*—nationality. Only if we put the spiritual inheritance of the *rishis* into it—strenuous, selfless—can our kingdom stand. Saints are the national possession of the past. Of them must spring the heroes of the future.

Says Theodore Parker:—

"Religion gives a man courage. I do not mean the courage which comes of tough muscles and rigid nerves,—of a stomach which never surrenders. That also is a good thing, the hardihood of the flesh; let me do it no injustice. But I mean the higher, moral courage, which can look danger and death in the face unawed and undismayed; the courage that can encounter loss of ease, of wealth, of friends, of your own good name: the courage that can face a world full of howling and of scorn,—ay, of loathing and of hate; can see all these with a smile, and, suffering it all, can still toil on, conscious of the result, yet fearless still. I do not mean the courage that hates, that smites, that kills, but the calm courage that loves and heals and blesses such as smite and hate and kill; the courage that dares resist evil, popular, powerful, anointed evil, yet does it with good, and knows it shall thereby overcome. That is not a common quality. I think it never comes without religion."

Hence our young people while feeling out after freedom must never forget reverence; because without this, all life becomes mean. All that is great is ours. But not we alone are great.

The "over-population" of India.

Some remarks in Sister Nivedita's "Glimpses" published in our May number have been subjected to friendly criticism in the *Oriental Review* of Bombay. The Sister has dealt with some points in her answer to Max. We shall make a few additional remarks by way of elucidating her position. Her remark that "Money is no substitute for rice" obviously means that "money in the hands of the peasant is no substitute for rice in the hands of the peasant"; and this is clear, since money (*e. g.* Rs 100) paid in 1905 when rice was at Rs. 3-8 per maund would only buy half as much rice in 1906 when rice was at Rs. 7 per maund. If added to this, there be no money in the hands of the peasant, then there must be famine.

"India is miserably underpopulated, as any railway survey shows. She has room and potentiality for many times her present population of food-growers."

Many a stranger who comes to India and crosses it by rail by any of the routes, asks in bewilderment, "Where are the teeming millions?" The thinness of population across wide stretches of country in India is only equalled by that of the United States of America. There the railway betrays the same vast, almost manless, solitudes. If only people would go to life, instead of to books, for their facts!

Even for those who go to books, however, it may be familiar knowledge that Chota Nagpur is but scantily populated, or that the Himalayas between Almora and Nepal, for instance, were, under Nepalese rule, many times more populous and more cultivated than now. Last year there was an outbreak of plague in Rajputana and whole fields stood in certain parts with ripe grain unreaped, because the villages had none to do the reaping.

These are slight indications by facts open to every one's personal observation that India might support more than she does. Look at the Central Provinces east of Nagpore in

what was famous long ago as the district of "the heaven-born engineer."

The Rev. J. T. Sunderland, an American missionary, pointed out in 1900 (quoted by Digby in 'Prosperous British India,' pp. 162-4) that the birthrate for India is 75 per 1000 less than the average birthrate of all Europe, and that if the agricultural possibilities of the country were properly developed, she could easily support a greatly increased population. "There are," writes Mr. Sunderland, "enormous areas of waste land that ought to be subdued and brought under cultivation." By this and the proper extension of irrigation all possible increase of population for a hundred years to come might easily be provided for.

The names of Sir William Hunter, Mr. A. O. Hume, Sir Auckland Colvin, Sir Charles Elliot, and Lord Cromer are amongst those whom Mr. Sunderland quotes as his authorities.

In all these statements we are dealing with the question of the population of India under present conditions. Under these conditions it has been shown that, difficult of access as are exact facts and figures on the subject, it is nevertheless the opinion of intelligent disinterested people that India ought to have a very much larger population than she actually has. When we come to the further question of *ideal conditions*, however, the force of this statement is multiplied many times.

We have, as scholars are agreed, very little conception of the possible productivity of the earth. One small piece of Europe—the country of Belgium—is cultivated up to something like a reasonable limit, and those who have travelled in that country, can tell us of its corn and fruit, its kitchen-gardens and farm yards, crowding up to the very steel of the railway lines. Does this remind anyone of India? Nay, we do not need to go to Belgium itself, we have only to read a list of the Roman Catholic Missions of the world to realise what that one little country is doing morally and intellectually for humanity.

The great bulk of the teaching Catholic priesthood in India would appear to be recruited from Belgium alone. Now what does this mean? It means that hard working families of decent farming people manage—in how many cases!—to educate one son thoroughly well, for an intellectual career of no mean order and that at the same time comfort is sufficient in the home, and culture sufficient in the small township to which the home belongs, for the highest ideals to permeate the whole of the society, so that this best educated son dreams of the priesthood, of self-sacrifice, as the goal of his powers!

This is a very different story from that of "the pressure of the population upon the means of subsistence." This last is a phrase—when we use it, do we always think exactly what it means? Or are we not misled by the high-sounding syllables? What does it mean? It means pressure of population against the quantity of food produced. That is to say, it means that the amount of food produced is with difficulty made to cover the area of consumers. This does not really vindicate the statement that rice is always to be had for it is an announcement in round terms that the amount is insufficient! Now when so little food-material is produced in a country, what is wanted? Does that country need a smaller population, in order that there shall be fewer to eat the given quantity? Not by any means. She wants a larger population of food-growers, in order to produce a larger quantity of food. It may be that under barbarism an added population costs more than it produces; though this obviously could only be true above a certain limit. But it is the distinctive glory of civilisation that, in increasing degree as civilisation increases, a man can produce more than he costs. Humanity possesses no asset so valuable as human beings. The larger a population, and the greater its productive ability and vigour, the larger, within limits, the additional population

that the country can support. Of course the phrase "within limits" is all important here. What is the limit to which the Indian population might safely be raised? We do not know. No man living is wise enough to answer that question. But a few facts bearing on it may be adduced.

In India, the population is largely massed in cities. Great areas of land remain, as Mr. Sunderland puts it, "unsubdued," other areas are falling out of cultivation. Other vast areas again together with the requisite labour are occupied with purely imperialistic crops, like jute, opium, tea, coffee, and materials which are exported raw and feed the industries of foreign countries. An undue amount of the food values actually produced, moreover, goes to maintain an expensive government and a useless standing army, and to pay interest on foreign loans (for India parts with *food*, it must be remembered, in order to do these things).

Now suppose all these abnormalities of the burden under which "the means of subsistence" at present labour, to be removed, which country ought to maintain a larger population, India or Belgium? Undoubtedly, considering the complexity and expense of life in temperate countries, and considering also the possible fertility to be induced in tropical areas, India should be able to maintain more, vastly more. Yet Belgium to-day has a population of 593 to the square mile, while India has only about 170!* "About a quarter of India is unculturable, and nearly a quarter (*i. e.* 450,000 square miles) is culturable, but at present uncultivated."* If reliable statistics could be obtained as to how many of the people of Belgium and India were non-agricultural in each case, forming to that extent (though not necessarily in a national sense) a burden upon the agriculturist, we should be in a still better position to estimate what the relative proportions ought to be.

* *Geography for Schools in India*. By W. H. Arden Wood, M. A., F. R. G. S. 1905.

This argument assumes that present conditions are the best that could be made. This is not, however, the opinion of those who know best. Indian agriculture is universally admitted to be capable of an indefinite degree of intensification. It was Sir James Caird, according to Mr. Sunderland, who pointed out to the government that an improvement of one bushel per acre in the present yield would mean food for twenty-two millions more people than at present. And a bushel an acre is said to be only the beginning of what might be done. Under these circumstances we think that Sister Nivedita's remark that India could easily maintain many times her present population of food-growers is amply supported by facts.

Bhishma's Resolve.

Satyavati was the foster-daughter of a fisher-chief named Dasharaj. Shantanu, king of Hastinapur, while out hunting, saw her and became so charmed with her beauty as to propose marriage to her guardian. The fisher-chief consented to give his charge to him in marriage on the condition that her son should be recognised as heir-apparent to the throne of Hastinapur. The king had a grown up son, Devavrata, and for fear of offending him, he could not accept the condition. After the king's return home, Devavrata found his father very pensive, and on enquiry came to know the cause. Devavrata interviewed the fisher-chief and took before him a solemn pledge to relinquish his claim to the throne. Thereupon the fisher-chief said that he might give up his right but why should his sons? Devavrata then declared that he would never marry. To please his father, Devavrata took these difficult pledges, and henceforth, therefore, he came to be known as Bhishma or the difficult-resolver.

In this picture Bhishma is depicted as taking the pledge. He has given away his coronet and sword to the fisher-chief as a token of relinquishment of his claim to his



BHISHMA'S RESOLVE.

From the original oil-painting by RAVI VARMA.

father's throne in favour of Satyavati's sons, and placing one hand in the hand of the fisher-chief and with another hand pointing towards heaven he gives his word not to marry in this life and to betake himself to *brahmacharya*.

In the background are painted Satyavati standing by the side of her foster-mother, a courtier companion of Bhishma, and far off a chariot to take Shantanu's fiancée away to the court.

This picture seems to us one of Ravi Varma's finest works.

C. B.

"The Tragedy of Jute."

With regard to Max's remarks in *Capital* on "The Tragedy of Jute" which formed a chapter in Sister Nivedita's "Glimpses of Famine and Flood in Eastern Bengal in 1906" published in our May number, the Sister writes to us as follows:—

".....the famine was in money, not in rice."

What does the expression '*a famine of money*' mean?

When I went on the *Khulna Steamer* from Khulna to Barisal, they gave us Rangoon rice at the midday meal, and apologised that the allowance for a party of three was so small, on the score that this rice was Rs. 6-8 a maund, while the rice of the country was Rs. 7-8 a maund. In ordinary years, the latter, would, I believe, have been Rs. 4 or 4-4 a maund. This was in the end of August. I paid the usual price for the meal, but my young companions, who were Indian, did not certainly get more than half the rice they should have had. Was this due to famine of money, or famine of rice?

"The truth is that the New Province has grown enormously rich through the high prices the cultivators and middlemen have been getting for the good crops of jute. Crores upon crores of rupees have gone into the Province as the profits on the sale of jute well-mixed with water."

Are we to take its enormous wealth, then, as the reason of the "famine in money" which is so freely admitted to have occurred, in "the New Province"?

"These enormous profits went into the pockets of the middle and upper strata of the people, and while in such circumstances the cost of living went up,....."

Is it then a universal fact that times of extraordinary prosperity are marked by an increase in the cost of living?

"..... the remuneration and wages of the lower orders did not increase in the same proportion."

Has MAX never met with a class of people who do not work for wages? Has he never seen peasants and peasant-farmers, living on their own land, growing their own crops, and depending on their own harvests and their own stores, for a living? Very likely he has not. For MAX is distinctly of the modern era, the era of Finance. It makes one shudder to think of the despair that would descend upon him were he the head of a small party of able-bodied men and women, cast like Robinson Crusoe on a desert island, in possession of limited stores and abundance of tools and seeds. Away from the bank, the factory, the large warehouse, and cut off from any supply of exploitable humanity what would, what could the genial Max do there?

Yet the whole of the inhabited earth, once annually in the moments between the reaping of the last harvests of one year, and the sowing of the first seed of the next, is such an island. The very stock exchange itself, is built upon the labour of the peasant in his distant fields. And if, in one awful hour of devastation, all the stored grain of the world were consumed by fire, and all the agricultural knowledge and tradition of humanity blotted out, without any other change whatsoever being made in our civilisation, we should all be brought to a position where we would admit easily, without a single dissentient voice being heard, that the peasant was by far the most important person in the nation. Yet the peasant ought not, in the normal course of things, to receive any personal remuneration or wages. He ought not, in a healthy common weal, to be obliged to sell himself or his labour at all to the non-peasant, but only his crops. Therefore, when those crops fail, he cannot fall back on remote labour-markets for wages, but has only his own reserve of grain, for food. And this is the right and natural state of things. If the agricultural and food-producing areas be so tampered with as to expose every farmer to the contiguity of the city-merchant, and give him his choice between growing the necessities of life and supplying the artificial wants of an unnatural civilization, the inevitable result—smilingly as MAX and his fellows may to-day regard that prophecy—must sooner or later be that the supply of food to the cities will run short and the exploiter will be buried with the exploited in a common starvation.

The use of the terms 'masters' and 'wages' is utterly out of place in dealing with the problem of famine as I have tried to set it forth, or in referring at all to the class of persons whom it affected last year in Eastern Bengal.

"There was plenty of rice to be had. It was the power to buy a sufficiency that was lacking."

This may seem to Max a little thing. But may I point out to him that if his own mother were left for three weeks without money or credit to buy food, without valuables of any sort to pawn, and without friends better off than herself, it would be small comfort to him that she had died of starvation in lodgings next door to a merchants' warehouse full of corn? He would at once, in that case, have understood the necessity of her having had, *at her personal command, the means which would have enabled her to buy food.* It is not enough that there should be rice,—if rice there be,—in existence, in a given place. It is also all important to each hungry human being that he should have personal command of means sufficient to make that rice accessible to him. And if the peasant be the important factor in humanity that I have stated, it follows that his personal access to food is of as great importance to the world as a whole, as to each one of us is that of our own bread-winner and bread-giver.

"Transport facilities also broke down and this added to the distress. There were thousands of tons lying rotting at Chittagong for want of freight accommodation to take the food to the hungry people."

Is this so? The fact adds a new demonstration to the case I have stated, of the folly and unrighteousness of allowing a population to become dependent for the necessities of life upon a distant source. Not only do we, in that case, depend upon the remote place for our supplies, but we are also exposed to the further accidents which may happen to our transport!

"If Sister Nivedita knew it the "tragedy" was not in the jute but lay in the cruel fact that the enormously rich and bloated jute merchants steeled their hearts and buttoned-up their purses and then whined to the Government to feed the lower orders, because the poor people had not sufficient wages to pay for their food."

All "the enormously rich and bloated jute-merchants," (the adjectives are from the pen of Max) whose names I know, are European. Amongst the few Indians who have dabbled in the trade, half a lakh or a lakh of rupees, is thought a great fortune!

These, I know, did *not* "whine to the Government to feed the lower orders." Every Indian who was himself placed above immediate want, turned, on the contrary, and did what he could to alleviate the miseries of famine. Was it, then, the European merchants who "whined"? If so, I am indeed glad to know that they cared so deeply. I think it rather to their credit.

"At present she seems to think that all land taken up with jute is so much land taken from rice cultivation."

Yes. This is my opinion. The main rice crop of the year is sown in July and reaped in December to January. Moreover, the jute crop takes practically the same land as is required for rice, that is to say, it requires that water should remain standing over it during the season of cultivation, to the depth of at least a few inches. As the value of jute depends on the length of the stem, and as the crop deteriorates on repetition, it tends to be given the best lands. After the reaping of the jute the fields in which it was grown must lie idle for a few months. They are then cleaned, and if very low may receive rice-seed for the *Aus* crop, to be reaped in August. But it is specially stated by all who are familiar with the country that this rice cannot grow to its full richness or ripeness. If the land be high, a crop of oil seed is sown after the cleaning. But again it is pointed out that jute, like indigo, exhausts the soil, that nothing will grow really well in succession to it for a full year, and for three or four years no grain. Not only is this the case, but if jute itself be repeatedly grown in the same fields, after three seasons, a whole year of idleness is required by the land, and even after this, the jute is never again of its original length.

In conclusion, may I remark that if the subject were less sad, I should much enjoy reading, not merely a few facetious lines, but a whole volume of the satirical finance-political economy which might be written by Max and his co-believers? His statements certainly do not fail of their ludicrous side. In one place he declares that there was no lack of rice: in another he points out that the people were hungry! And finally, he emphasises the fact that the famine was a famine in money, there being "money, money, everywhere and plenty of it." After this, which of us will have the strength of mind to remember that two and two do not make five? Nay, which of us need refuse to allow himself to be persuaded that two and two make six?

The Deportation of Lala Lajpat Rai.

The English press very rightly points out that on this matter, so far as public meetings are concerned, the country has been almost silent. But it is wrong, we think, in gathering from such silence any lesson of re-assurance for itself.

The fact is, such a blow strikes at the very root of Indian confidence in British rule, and it will be those who had most thoroughly believed in and idealised the British Constitution, who alone will be capable of making any outcry, it will be they alone who have anything to invoke, any disillusionment to undergo. Mr. Morley, Lord Minto, and Sir Denzil Ibbetson in carrying out such a measure ought first to have realised that its danger would not lie in provoking any immediate ebullition of resistance: it would lie rather in taking away from both parties any possible grounds of reconciliation and re-adjustment should violent resistance once begin. The combination of talk in the English papers about 'constitutional progress' and frank exultation at governmental disregard of the constitution, produces on our own minds a most ominous and disagreeable impression. Does any man in his senses imagine that one or other side of a common contract can stand alone in breaking the treaty, and that yet it can continue to receive love and confidence from the other, as the bulwork of their hope?

Such childishness on the one side is, however, fully equalled on the other, by the suggestion made by one prominent Indian paper, that at this crisis what is required is a new proclamation by Edward VII! Proclamations, seats in councils, promises by the bushel made on paper, how far away from the FACTS of life they are withdrawn who can think and feel in such a manner!

Galling and contemptible as a selfish and reckless panic must appear to all who stand outside it and suffer from it, there is one point in this Englishman's panic of 1907 that

is not without its humours. If it be true, as there seems every reason to believe, that the English themselves were led to the sudden deportation of Lajpat Rai out of their terror at the return of May 1901, then indeed are superstitions not confined to the "heathen." And rarely or never have we seen a superstition so calculated as this to bring about the evil it dreaded. To those who fear, we would, if we had known it, have addressed the caution offered by poets and moralists—'Tis not in mortals to command immunity. Do ye do more. Do merit it!' The crises of history are not so easily foreseen as our European chroniclers imagine. The cause is surely followed by the effect, but it is 'the day and hour that man thinketh not,' and not the half-century to the hour, that is fraught with catastrophe and big with fate. To-day, however, the false alarm has had its way, and a train of events has been set on foot, which can only serve to embitter past undoing the relations between the two parties who are involved.

To return to Lajpat Rai. We see that he is not a criminal, he is innocent, *he is our own*. Those of us who temporise do so through fear only. *He is our own*. In his deportation, our honour and safety are lost. Did the Government want to impress on us that our interests are not their interests? Was Lord Curzon a statesman or only an embittered and indiscreet man when he assured a certain prince at the end of his stay that he would one day have to choose between two causes—those of his own people and his people's rulers? The inference is that the two are opposed! To Indian ears this does not sound a politic note for the governing minority to insist on. The matter is one for themselves to decide. Even now they are at the parting of the ways.

Meanwhile, as Indians our duty is clear. Every place of worship, every temple and every household must be the centre of prayers

for the restoration of Lajpat Rai to liberty and his solacement in exile. Every child must pray for his well-being and that of the cause and the country, and the sacred words, "a prisoner for conscience' sake", must shine about his name like a radiant aura.

Shivaji and Afzal Khan.

"Historicus" writes to us:—

Professor Jadunath Sarkar, M. A., who has placed the Maratha nation under obligation by his researches into and the publication of documents bearing on the epoch of Shivaji, has been misled by Grant Duff, in changing the name of Afzal Khan's Brahmin counselor given in the chronicle he is translating. The chronicle is correct and the English historian of the Marathas is not. Krishnaji Bhaskar accompanied Afzal Khan from Bijapur and was employed by him in the negotiations with Shivaji. Dattaji Gopinath, whose name has been wrongly read as Pantaji owing to the very slight difference between the Modi characters (in which the old records are written) *pa* and *da*, was a respected adviser of Shivaji. He was popularly called "uncle." Now, is the name given in Mr. Sarkar's chronicle Pantaji or Dattaji?

Professor Sarkar's chronicle fully corroborates the information drawn from a contemporary ballad on the episode, some years ago, by Mr. S. V. Athalye, B. A., who has made an interesting and valuable collection of original papers and who himself is such a thorough student of Maratha History. The narrative of the ballad is ample, accurate and picturesque. It appears from it that the name of Shivaji's treacherous opponent was Abdalla Khan, as stated in the chronicle now being translated. He appears to have taken the title of Afzal Khan, meaning "God's First Favour," as was customary among Mahomedans, after he became an important personage in the state of Bijapur. He appears to have been a low-born man.

He was also a boastful man. When the Bijapur king was in a fix as to whom to send to subdue Shivaji, who had now become a successful rival to him, Afzal Khan volunteered to undertake the task. Shivaji did not obstruct his passage until he reached the lovely town of Wai on the Krishna, at the mouth of the valley leading to Pratapggarh, where Shivaji was residing at the time. On his way from Bijapur he did

many things offensive to Hindu feeling. This may have made Shivaji more cautious in his dealings with the Khan. When he left Wai and entered the valley, Shivaji's forces surrounded him from behind. Shivaji had at that time under him some 60,000 troops, placed in, out of and around the valley. Rightly judging it impossible under the circumstances, to effect his purpose of either capturing or killing Shivaji by force, he resorted to fraud. He relied on the characteristic of eastern nations of losing heart when the leader is either missing, captured or dead. The Khan assumed a mild attitude. He gave it out that he had simply come to make peace with Shivaji and to confirm him in his possessions on behalf of the Bijapur king. Such confirmation was often sought by rebellious subordinates and granted by moribund masters.

Shivaji took the Khan at his word and informed him that when the purpose was so peaceful, there was no necessity for the Khan to approach him with a large following. So he was obliged to part with his followers gradually, and when he reached the place of meeting, at the foot of the Fort of Partabgarh, there were left only a Mahomedan attendant and the Brahmin councillor, Krishnaji Bhaskar. According to the etiquette of the time the three had swords on them and the Khan also carried a short weapon, called *Katyar*.

The pandal, which was specially erected for the occasion and to which the Khan came first, at once excited his cupidity and admiration. Being informed of his arrival, Shivaji, accompanied by Tanaji Malusare, as an attendant, and Jiva Mahalya, as chamberlain, also entered the pandal. Shivaji did not carry a sword, but had in his left hand "tiger's claws" and another small weapon known as "bichwa." Under his cotton coat and head dress, he wore armour. His sword was carried by his attendant and the chamberlain had also one of his own.

The Khan received him standing and both exchanged salutes. Some bad words passed between them, as the Khan as a representative of the Bijapur king took to scolding Shivaji. In the end the Khan struck Shivaji with his *Katyar*, which had no effect on Shivaji's armour. Disgusted with his treachery, Shivaji thrust the weapons, which he held in his left hand, into the stomach of the Khan. He, in spite of the severe wound caused by Shivaji's weapons, drew out his sword and struck him with it with such force

that it cut through the armour and scratched Shivaji's skull. He also took his sword and cut the Khan into two pieces.

All this must have happened with such a suddenness that the attendants of both, who must have stood at some distance from their principals, in accordance with oriental etiquette, were taken aback. The Brahmin councillor of the Khan, who must have been comparatively nearer, attacked Shivaji with his sword. The latter refrained from returning the assault, saying that he would on no account kill a Brahmin, who also knowing his strength, retired before Shivaji's chamberlain, who instantly came to the rescue of his master. The Khan's Mahomedan attendant also joined the affray, but was soon killed. The escaped and weak-hearted Brahmin attempted to render a last service to his master by rescuing his corpse but his aim was discovered and frustrated.

By the bye, the learned Professor is labouring under a mistake in saying that Sabhasad's life of Shivaji has been translated in Forest's Selections, Vol. I. The extract in it is an abridged, perfunctory, mischievous and dishonest translation of a part of a Marathi chronicle known as "A Short History of the Maratha Empire." One instance of the nature of the translation ought to suffice. While in the original it is stated that it was the Khan who attacked Shivaji with his *Katyar* first, the translation attributes the first movement to Shivaji!

HISTORICAL.

Plague prevents overpopulation!

"Adverse critics are to be met with who view the ravages of plague as a blessing rather than as an evil to be overcome by every means possible, whose contention is that plagues are necessary and are Nature's methods of keeping down an enormous population that would otherwise perish of hunger. It is an easy-going doctrine and saves trouble to those unaffected."

So writes Dr. Simpson in his work on plague. One is curious to know who these "adverse critics" are. They are certainly not of Indian race, as Indians are not among the "unaffected." But they exist; else Dr. Simpson would not have referred to them. Considering the utterly inadequate efforts made by Government to check the ravages

of plague, one would not be wrong in imagining that among our highly placed bureaucrats there might possibly be many followers of this "easy-going" doctrine. These unknown persons are to a great extent indirectly responsible for the utterly baseless rumour believed in by the illiterate people that the *Sarkar* is spreading the plague by poisoning wells, tanks and rivers. But whoever the promulgators and supporters of this doctrine may be, the fact is the Indian Empire is not at all over-populated, as it contains only 170 persons to the square mile. No doubt, the density is not everywhere the same; but it is not impossible to tap the congested areas. The figures for the different provinces are: Bengal—400, United Provinces—433, Punjab—168, Madras—278, Bombay—125, Central Provinces—112, Central India—108, Assam—120. China proper has a population of 290 and Japan 370 to the square mile. The figures for England and Belgium are 550, and 593, respectively. It is clear, therefore, that the services of neither plague nor famine are required in the Indian Empire to keep down the population; as in the most densely populated European countries people are prosperous and happy without the help of these beneficent natural agents. We, too, can dispense with their services in India, and fill the vacancies by instituting agencies for promoting emigration to sparsely peopled tracts, for agricultural education and improvement and for technical education and promotion of industries.

Plague chiefly a disease of the poor.

Dr. Simpson says in his work on Plague:—

"The plague, now as formerly, is largely a disease of the poor, and perhaps falls proportionally more heavily than any other infection on the lower strata of society. At one time, it acquired the name of the beggars' disease, at another the poor plague, and at another *miseriae morbus*."

"Dr. Caliadis in contrasting the immunity of Kerkela with the prevalence of plague in Hillah attributes the difference to the prosperous condition of

the inhabitants of the former place, even the poorest class enjoying a meat diet, and to the spacious and well-aired houses, though the streets are narrow and crooked. He points out that Hillah is the very reverse of this; its houses are low, confined, and very imperfectly ventilated; they are, moreover, generally encumbered with a horse, with poultry, and with two or three buffaloes. These animals constitute the resources whence the lower classes of Hillah derive a livelihood by selling milk and eggs to the wealthier inhabitants, while they themselves limit their own nourishment, to barley bread, dates, and onions with sometimes fish in a putrescent state."

Bombay drainage system responsible for Plague.

Dr. Simpson says in his work on Plague:—

"The heavy rainfall, owing to an obstruction in the sewage outfall, flooded with sewage the low-lying portions of the city, through which the polluted streams rushed in swirling currents, leaving banks of mud and sludge behind to ferment or dry slowly, and although the monsoon practically ceased in August, the shady sides of the streets in crowded portions of the city remained damp long afterwards."

(The obstruction could not be removed on account of the heavy sea.) P. 141.

"The Sacred Steps" by Dhurandhar.

The picture before us is of undeniable power and imagination. It is composed in long sweeping curves, broken by the upright lines of human figures, of which the two in the foreground centre our attention. Both are of a striking grace and nobility. The lower of the two wears a wreath which, in certain lights, produces exactly the effect of a saintly halo. And the gracious and beautiful face beneath is fully worthy of its crown. The tall figure to the right is queenly in every line and full of self-forgetfulness. Unconscious beauty, nobility and freedom living and breathing before us,—this is the impression which the picture makes. We feel the awe and rapture with which the artist regards the womanhood of his motherland, and he fully convinces the beholder of their right to his worship.

The picture is not without its faults. The three figures to the front of the middle dis-

tance give us the feeling that they ought to be brought a step or two forward. The right foot of the chief figure troubles one, even while the need of a long dark line which the *sari* could not supply, is fully admitted. The line between river and shore,—which might have added another lovely curve to the composition—is practically omitted. The figures below the great stairway are shortened even more rapidly than those advancing down the steps. And—worst fault of all—the architecture is palpably imaginary and of the modern cabinet-maker type, where it ought to have been a literal revelation of the actual grandeur of some Indian city. And yet, one who has looked into the picture and understood it, cannot thereafter forget the glory of Indian womanhood, or its moral, intellectual and social greatness, as these have revealed themselves to one Indian wielder of the painter's brush.

One would like to put this picture of woman in a civic and architectural setting, side by side with some Italian painting of a similar subject, belonging to the fifteenth or sixteenth century. Crivelli's Annunciation would present points of useful comparison. In the Crivelli we should find that the two central personages—the Blessed Virgin and the Angel Gabriel—were more a part of the picture as a whole, than is here the case. Stairs, ornaments, and buildings are mellowed and harmonised in line and colour, to a greater extent in the famous Italian master-piece than here. But here, in the Indian picture, we have a bold outburst of nature. Conventionality and artifice are thrown to the winds. There is no bowed head or whispered prayer. Here we have youth and gentleness and purity standing fearless in hope, and in the knowledge of inborn power, before the world. And we feel that the artist is in truth priest and poet and prophet, revealing to us the innermost significance of scenes that a blind world passes daily by, unheeded and unknown.

N.

Supplement to "The Modern Review."



M. V. DHURANDHAR.

Corrections.

A correspondent points out with reference to Dr. Kirtikar's article in our last number that under the new regulations of the Allahabad University for the B. Sc. Degree,

biology is one of the subjects of study.

Some correspondents have pointed out that the portrait of Shivaji printed in our May number is not his but that of his step-brother Ekoji or Venkoji.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

ENGLISH.

Report of the Indian Industrial Exhibition, Calcutta, 1906-07.

We are glad to welcome the Report of the recent Calcutta Exhibition, published at the office of our contemporary, "*Industrial India*" of 5, Sukeas Street, Calcutta. The book contains besides the lists of Awards and Exhibitors, a plan of the Exhibition Buildings, several beautifully executed half-tone portraits of the prominent members of the Exhibition Committee, the principal views of the exhibition grounds and a critical review of the exhibits. The opening and closing speeches of the Hon. Secretary, Mr J. Chaudhuri, will give the readers a fair idea of the history of the evolution of the Congress Exhibitions. The lists of Awards and Exhibitors giving as they do full addresses of the manufacturers and the details of the articles manufactured will, we presume, be of considerable service to the business public at large. The Report will prove useful to those who either wish to study or deal in Swadeshi goods, and as a guide to indigenous products. We recommend the book to the general public, who, we hope, will not fail to see its merits and patronize the publisher.

Marriage Forms under Ancient Hindu Law. By Govardhanram Madhavram Tripathi, B.A., LL.B. N. M. Tripathi & Co., Bombay.

The history of Marriage Forms under Ancient Hindu Law has more an antiquarian than practical interest. Modern India—high caste Hindu India at least—knows only one form of marriage, call it by whatever name you like. But the text-writers of our Smriti

period enumerate eight forms—the well-known—1. Brahma, 2. Daiva, 3. Prajapatya, 4. Arsha, 5. Gandharva, 6. Asura, 7. Paisacha, and 8. Rakshasa.

The peculiarities of these forms are thus described in Asvalayana Grihya Sutras

1. If (a father) having decked a maiden (daughter) should give her (in marriage) preceded by water (i. e. having dropped water as the first ceremony committing him to make a gift of her), this is Brahma-marriage, 2. If having decked her, he should give her to a Ritr, priest in the Vitata sacrifice, this is Daiva (from of marriage). 3. As they two (i. e. bride and bridegroom) perform their duties jointly, it is Prajapatya (form of marriage). 4. If (a man) having given a pair of cows (to her father), should marry (her), this is Arsha (form). 5. If he should marry after having entered into a reciprocal stipulation (with her), this is Gandharva (form). 6. If he should marry after having gratified (her parents and others) with merriment, this is Asura (form). 7. If he should carry her away from the sleeping and the negligent (or intoxicated), this is Paisacha (marriage). 8. If he should carry her weeping from the weeping, after killing (people) and breaking (their) heads, this is Rakshasa (marriage).

It is extremely doubtful whether these forms were ever largely in vogue in India. The Aryan races, as a rule, had their own definite form of marriage. But the later system-makers seem to have fallen strangely in love with the figure four. With the four Vedas, four Varnas, the four Ashramas, the four Yugas, they seem to have invented the four ceremonial systems of marriage, namely, the Brahma, the Daiva, the Prajapatya and the Arsha. Out of the eight, these four are considered respectable as they are accompanied by ceremonies. They belong to the ceremonial group. The remaining four constitute a group which "is distinguished not only by the absence of any ceremonies, but also by the fact that the name of each form signifies the name of the one or the other of the non-Aryan tribes among or through

whom the Indo-Aryans may be presumed to have lived or passed in the course of their immigration into India or before it."

This is the proposition which our author has tried to establish in these pages. We doubt very much whether there were any human tribes actually living on this earth known as Pisachas, &c. If there lived such tribes in or on the borders of India the learned author might be partially right in his theory.

Indian thought cannot be understood properly and in its right perspective if we ignore the mystic side of Indian nature. To the mystic Indian—and all system-makers may be safely placed in this class—the universe consisted of fourteen planes or *lokas*—the seven heavens, and the seven *narakas*. The seven heavens—beginning with the earth (*Bhu*) and ending with the *Brahma loka*—represented the spiritual side of evolution in ascending scale. The seven *narakas*, beginning with *Patala* represented the material side of evolution in its descending scale. The seven higher planes may be practically divided into four, namely, *Bhu* or Physical plane or the plane of the *Rishis*; *Bhuvah*, or the emotional plane or the plane of the *Prajapati*; *Swah*, or the Intellectual plane or the plane of the *Devas*, and lastly *Maha*, *Janah*, *Tapah* and *Satyam* or the plane of *Brahma*. The four ceremonial systems of marriage represented the union of souls on these different planes. The highest form of marriage was *Brahma*, where the harmony between the souls was complete on all the seven planes. Hence the importance of *Saptapadi* or seven peregrinations in this form of marriage. This in its beginning was confined to the highest initiates or true *Brāhmanas* only. This was called pre-eminently *Vivaha* or literally "*fully bearing*" the yoke of duties in partnership. The pair journeyed together through *Sapta Achalas* or the seven hills symbolically by taking seven paces: each step represented the drawing nearer together of the soul, and when the seventh and the last step was taken, the full sevenfold harmony was established between the pair, and the full sevenfold chord was struck, and henceforth "friend" was the title, by which they knew each other through life and eternity. In such a marriage there could be no dissolution. The pair drawn together by affinity formed a single soul, and physical death could never put an end to this union. Polygamy was out of the question,

and so also the re-marriage of the widow or the widower.

The *Daiva* and *Prajapatya* were lower than the *Brahma*. But even "the *Prajapatya* form affords evidence of this higher trait of the Aryan mind: for one of the later writers on marriage ceremonies brings it to our notice that the *Prajapatya* form commanded a man neither to marry again, nor to renounce the world, in the lifetime of a *Prajapatya* wife."

The first three forms, therefore, may be called monogamous forms. In the *Brahma* form, neither the widow nor the widower could remarry on the death of the other partner. In the *Daiva* form, the widower could remarry as well as the widow. In the *Prajapatya* the widow could not remarry: though the widower could. All the three were monogamous strictly. There is no direct available testimony for the broad proposition laid down above, but analogy would lead to this conclusion. The *Arsha* or the *Patriarchal* form of marriage appears to be the only purely Aryan form that might have countenanced polygamy.

As the four original castes gave birth in course of time to many mixed castes: so these pure forms of marriage were compounded into mixed forms. Thus, the non-Aryan *Gandharva* was compounded with *Prajapatya*, as was the marriage of *Sakuntala* with *Dushyanta*. The marriage had taken place under the *Gandharva* form in the first place, but it was sanctified by ceremonies later. "It was in this sense that the adoptive father of *Sakuntala* was made to light the *Vitata* fires and pray for her purification by them after her *Gandharva* marriage was brought to his notice and before she started for her husband's roof. The Indo-Aryan father did not make a gift of his daughter to his son-in-law as if she were a chattel, but only gave a retrospective sanction to her free exit from his family blessing her and her husband *after* their reciprocal selection."

Another instance of a compound marriage is that of *Sri Krishna* with *Rukmini*. It is a compound of *Gandharva* and *Rakshasa*. The consent of the bride was absolutely necessary for the validity of marriage under the Aryan Law. Hence *Manu* has held the last three forms of marriage to be absolutely illegal, unless they are compounded with any one of the remaining five. For the *Rakshasa*, the *Paisacha* and the *Asura* had no reference to the consent of the bride, and

Manu absolutely prohibited them. "Child marriages, as known at present, were quite foreign to the sphere of these legal forms; and were only possible in the Asura form or in the two illegal forms,"

Manu allowed compound forms and made them legal. "He allowed a Kshatriya to enter into a legal marriage by adding the Gandharva to the Rakshasa, which, without the Gandharva, was absolutely illegal. Marriage by capture was according to this ordinance bad. But if the captured girl happened to have willingly entered into the Gandharva union with her captor, the marriage so compounded was legal. Such marriages would be marriages by capture of willing girls, wrested by their lovers from the control of parents." Such were the marriages of Rukmini and Subhadra.

This short book of one hundred pages raises many interesting points of controversy, and though one may differ, here and there, from the conclusions arrived at by the learned author, yet, on the whole, it can be safely said that the book is a valuable treatise on the subject of Ancient Aryan marriage forms, and will dispel many a preconceived notion on this perplexed topic.

S. C. V.

The Government of India, by Sir Courtenay Ilbert, K. C. S. I. Second Edition. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1907.

Between 1873 and 1876 a Bill to consolidate the enactments relating to the Government of India was under consideration, but the authorities ultimately decided to let the matter drop. Sir Courtenay Ilbert, after his retirement from India, turned his attention to this subject and revised and brought down to date the draft of 1873. But a British India Act was not yet to be. The measure was not introduced into Parliament, but it was suggested to the learned author that the draft might, if published as a digest of the existing law, be useful both to those who are practically concerned in Indian administration, and to students of Indian administrative law. Sir Courtenay Ilbert then set to work again on this draft, and in 1898 brought out his Digest of the Statute Law relating to the Government of India with Historical Introduction and Explanatory Matter. We have now to welcome

a second edition of this valuable work — we had almost said unique, for we do not know any other work of the same compass which either deals with the whole subject-matter of Sir Courtenay Ilbert's too or deals with any portion of it with such conspicuous ability. For it is not at all easy to present in an intelligible and interesting form the net result of legislation during a century and a quarter, to resolve doubts, to harmonise inconsistencies and to eliminate what is obsolete or dead.

The eminent author introduces his subject with a historical essay of over 100 pages. The history of constitutional development is here traced with the object of making the existing law intelligible. Then follows a summary of the existing law. The third chapter is a digest of the existing Parliamentary enactments relating to the Government of India. In 124 articles the author has summed up 'the process of absorption of the company's territories into the Empire' and the complex arrangements for rule and justice in this country made by the supreme legislature of the sovereign power. A schedule follows indicating the scope and present operation of all statutory enactments passed since 1770 which relate to India. The fourth chapter deals with the application of English law to natives of India. The workmanship of Indian codes "judged by European standards, is often rough" says Courtenay Ilbert, "but they are on the whole well adapted to the conditions which they were intended to meet," and the time has not yet arrived for codifying the personal laws of the Hindus and the Mahomedans. The last chapter treats of the legal relations between the Governments of British India and the Government of the Native States. The subject is at once interesting, important and difficult. The rules and usages which govern the relation between States and peoples of different degrees and kinds of civilisation are in a state of constant flux and rapid growth, and there are quicksands at every step, but the learned author has altogether steered a clear path through the misty conceptions of suzerainty, protectorate and spheres of influence.

There is no continuity of administrative tradition in India, says Sir Courtenay Ilbert. "The Law Member of Council, on whom the Governor-General is mainly dependent for advice as to the nature and extent of his powers, brings with him from England

either no knowledge or a scanty knowledge of Indian administration, and holds office only for a term of five years. The Members of the Civil Service who are posted at the head-quarters of the Central and Local Governments are engaged in climbing swiftly up the ladder of preferment, and rarely pause for many years on the same rung. Hence the risk of misconstruing administrative law, or overlooking some important restriction on administrative powers, is exceptionally great."

With his Indian experience, as a former Law Member of the Imperial Legislative Council, Sir Courtenay Ilbert has been able to grasp the situation as few others could and to meet it in his characteristic way. *The Government of India* is a piece of clear, careful and thoroughly sound work, and nobody in India interested in this subject of such immense constitutional and administrative importance—and who is not?—can afford to ignore or overlook this monograph. The second edition has been revised and brought down to date, it is handy and cheap and excellently got up. We, however, miss the collection of characters and original documents, which was such a valuable feature of the first edition. They may no doubt be found reprinted in some other and larger collections of Statutory Rules and Orders or Constitutional Documents. But these latter are not easily available either to the student or the general reader in India, and the omission of these documents from Sir C. Ilbert's book is much to be regretted. We understand that the work has been prescribed as a text-book for the LL.B. Examination by the University of Allahabad, and we have no doubt that it will appeal to a much larger public who will not treat it as part only of a course of professional studies.

SATISH C. BANERJI.

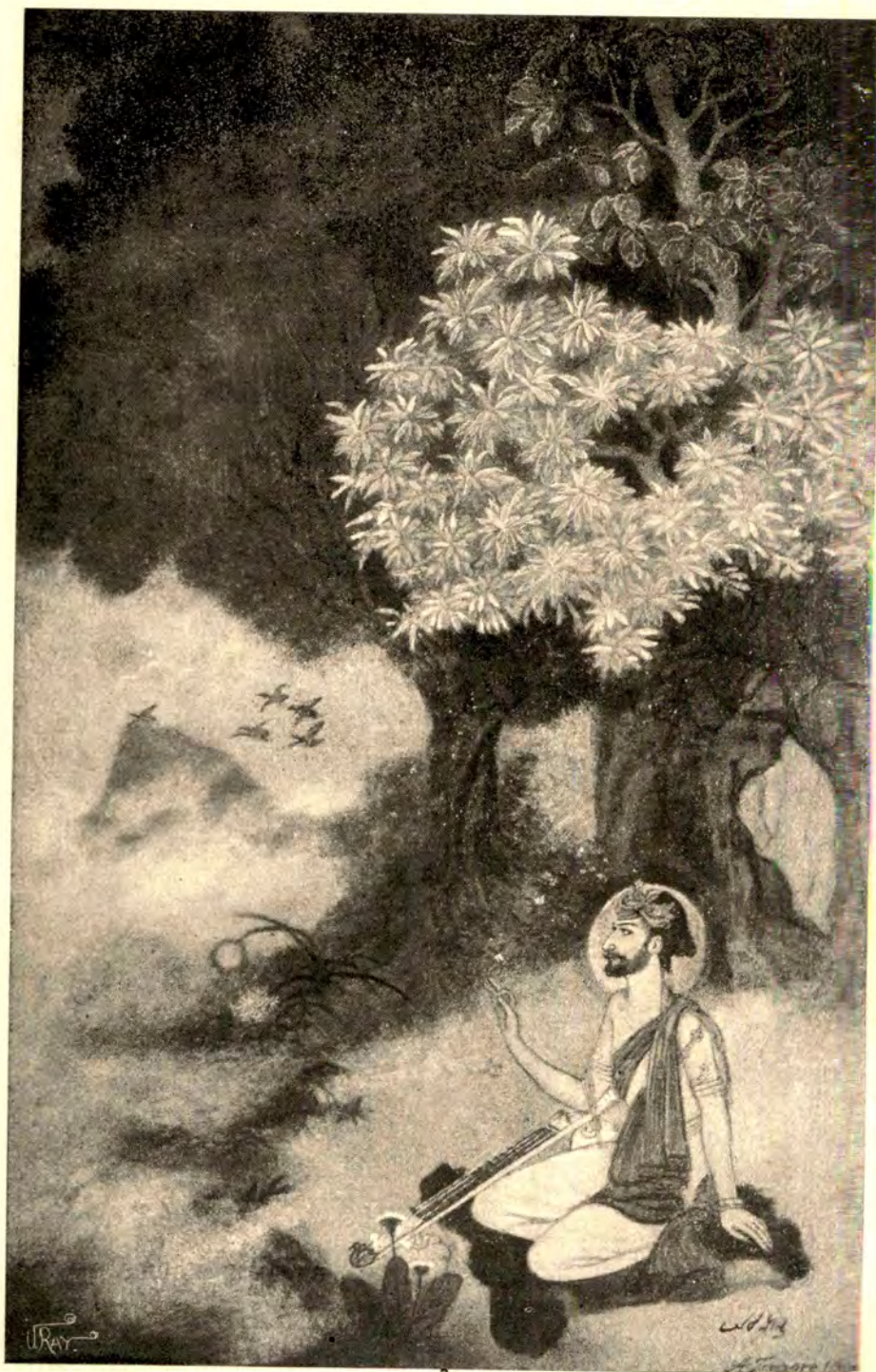
GUJARATI.

Sudhanasini, a social novel, translated by Mrs. Vidya Ramanbhai, B. A., and Mrs. Sharda Mehta, B. A.

Prajubandhu Printing Works, Ahmedabad. Pp. 225. Cloth bound. Price Rs. 1-4-0 (1906).

This is a translation of the well-known adaptation of *Sansar* into English by Mr. R. C. Dutt, as the *Lake of Palms*. It was undertaken at Mr. Dutt's request. The translators require no introduction to Gujarati readers. This pair of sisters furnishes a singular instance of collaboration. Having taken their Degree together, they have been working hand in hand in almost every public and social movement since then. We know of no other literature in India in which two sisters have worked so sympathetically. Their high education has fitted them only the better to discharge their domestic duties, and after leaving college in spite of the many calls on their time as mothers and wives, they have managed to be useful to their own countrymen. They are in evidence on many interesting questions, and they do their work with all the modesty and retiring disposition which is the special *forte* of Indian ladies. This translation, although practically a third hand affair, still has lost none of the beauties of the original Bengali, and Gujarati readers have been thoroughly made to comprehend the mode of life, the ways of talk and the peculiarities of their brethren and sisters of Bengal. They have done it in such simple language, too. Indeed the translation shows what an admirable command the sisters possess over their native language and idiom. We welcome such contributions on two grounds: the first has already been mentioned in some of the previous reviews in this Journal, *viz.*, that they serve to interpret the life of one part of India to another and the other is that such works set an example to the other ladies of the province, worth imitating in more ways than one. We are hopeful that both the sisters would keep on persevering in the path they have so well chosen, and continue to enrich Gujarati literature with their praiseworthy work in future also.

K. M. J.



THE BANISHED YAKSHA.

By Abanindranath Tagore.

INDIAN PRESS, ALLAHABAD.

By the courtesy of the artist.

THE MODERN REVIEW

VOL. II

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No. 2

THE PRESENT STATE OF INDIAN ART

I.—Painting and Sculpture.

I have been invited by the Editor to contribute one or more papers on Indian art; I shall, therefore, endeavour in two or three articles to review its present state and future prospects. The first deals particularly with the 'fine arts,' *i.e.*, painting and sculpture, not purely decorative in intention, though it must be understood that no real or hard line between fine and other art can or ought to be drawn. It will be necessary to go back a little in time, and briefly trace the history of Indian fine art.

Not long ago there existed at least two interesting and closely connected schools of painting in northern India, the Delhi or Lucknow portrait-painters, and the painters of the Kangra valley. They display not only a capacity for composition, perfect colouring and tender feeling, but also very often a wonderfully accurate knowledge of drawing; the best work is, in fact, of a very high order. The finest collection of historical portraits is to be found in the Lahore museum, where it has been brought together through the patient and appreciative efforts of Mr. Percy Brown, Principal of the Mayo School of Art.

The finest general collection is to be seen in the Calcutta School of Art, where its presence is due to the foresight and appreciation of the principal, Mr. E. B. Havell and of Mr. Abanindra Nath Tagore, the present Acting Principal. The Maharaja of Jaipur has also a fine collection, and doubtless there are other royal collections, although it must be remembered that Indian art is rarely appreciated by Indian princes! The portraits are mainly those of kings and saints. Those of the earlier kings must be more or less traditional, but those of later rulers are evidently authentic likenesses. The fact that so many replicas were made and the work so much appreciated, as was evidently the case, argues a centuries tradition and the possession of a large measure of the 'historical sense.'

The Delhi style of painting, which in the north has largely superseded a more formal late Hindu style, is not in India of great antiquity. It is of Persian origin; the Musalman rulers brought with them to India beautifully illuminated Persian manuscripts, and became the patrons of a like art in India. In spite of their Musalman puritanism they (and their

queens) were great collectors and lovers of beautiful manuscripts, and many of the Mogul Emperors were themselves skilled fair-writers. Akbar is reported to have said: "There are many that hate painting, but such men I dislike. It appears to me as if a painter had quite peculiar means of recognizing God; for in sketching anything that has life, and devising its limbs one after the other, he must feel that he cannot bestow individuality (*i.e.*, a soul) upon his work, and is forced to think of God, the only giver of life, and will thus increase his knowledge." No wonder that a great art flourished under such conditions: this much is certain, that Musalman puritanism did not injure the life of art in India as modern western civilization has injured it.

The Delhi pictures are painted in 'body colour,' *i.e.*, water colour mixed with white, making it solid and opaque; they are done on thin country-made paper, 'India paper,' in fact. The tiny paint brushes are made of squirrels' hair. The miniature paintings on ivory are similar in style, but apparently a later departure, the result of European influence; they are now produced on a commercial scale, with a corresponding lack of interest and feeling.

The painters of the Kangra valley dealt with a wider range of subjects; they are well represented in the Lahore museum gallery, in which collection should be noted the camel-string, a group of working goldsmiths, (full of close observation and curiously modern in effect) and the interior showing Radha cooking whilst observed by Krishna from a window; also some flower studies, particularly a mauve iris, drawn with a faithfulness and grace that recall a Ruskin flower or leaf study. Amongst religious subjects, besides Krishna pictures, must be mentioned those of Siva (three-eyed, with Ganga and crescent moon upon his brow), Ganesa and Parvati, with background of snowy hills and flowering forest. The Himalayas are holy land to all the Indian people, from north to farthest

south; they are the great cathedral where, in heart, worship all the people of the plains. Naturally the pictures are fulfilled with this emotion, a surrender of the soul at once to God and Nature.

[The Kangra paintings appear to represent a more definitely Hindu tradition, which elsewhere and especially in the south remained more formal and attained less technical perfection. Their technical attainment always suffices to convey at the least a suggestion of the felt emotion, and sometimes to do so with resistless force; yet they have certain limitations or conventions which may repel an unsympathetic observer; hence their delicate beauty make but small appeal to the few modern Indians who take any interest in art, and are captivated by the type of modern western art which exalts dexterity and imitation above imagination and tender feeling, 'seeing the outside, the mere rind and letting the great things escape.'

A more formal late Hindu style naturally predominates in the south where it still appears in a degraded form on temple walls; it is preserved in considerable purity in the 18th century Buddhist wall painting of Ceylon. Whether its stiffness represents the formalisation of a once freer art, or is a survival of an original severe conventionalism, it would seem that there lies in it little germ of growth, though it sufficiently attained its own aim, the decorative presentment of edifying matter.

The only other important Indian paintings which need be referred to here are the 5th century paintings on the walls of rock caves at Ajanta and Sigiri (Ceylon). They show wonderful power and knowledge, but hardly seem to come into the present tale, so little do they seem to fit into the historical sequence of Indian art, or to have influenced its later developments. There is much to be learnt from a sympathetic study of this early work however.

Turning now to the present day, we are brought suddenly face to face with the School of Art style. Much oil and water colour painting is done by the pupils of these schools, some quite clever, but quite indistinguishable (unless by a general weakness in the drawing) from ordinary European work of the same class. It has been questioned whether or no the whole decadence of Indian art in modern times is due to the influence of the schools of art. However this may have been in the past, the influence of schools such as those of Lahore and Calcutta at the present day cannot be other than good, for those in charge of them are in full sympathy with the best Indian art, and in Calcutta, at least, work of the utmost importance has been done; in both schools Indian aims and Indian methods find their due place.

It is otherwise in Bombay, which might be a London suburban drawing school translated wholesale to the East; every influence there is western and there is naturally little or nothing distinctively Indian in the work that has been produced by its students. It is the same at Jaipur, where in the class attached to the state Industrial school, drawing is taught from English natural history wall charts and drawing books. In Ceylon, again the teaching of drawing is carried out on the most antiquated South Kensington lines, and even the freehand student might get through the Cambridge Local drawing without knowing or appreciating any part of Eastern art whatever. If Indian art-feeling survives at all to-day, it is in spite of influences such as these.

The best known exponent of the school of art style has been the oil-painter Ravi Varma. His works are known throughout India, have often been reproduced and are still growing in popularity. This evidence of the present state of Indian taste is possibly natural but not the less regrettable. It is natural, because the Indian art I have referred to

above, although always sincere and decorative, and often spiritual and tender, was yet sometimes over-stiff or over-formal, and lacking in technical power; and so the untrained public, finding a painter who broke through these conventions and produced realistic pictures of familiar subjects, welcomed him with open arms. It has, indeed, been his reward for choosing Indian subjects, that he has thus become a true nationalizing influence to a certain degree; but had he been also a true artist, with the gift of great imagination, his influence must have been tenfold greater and deeper. He is the landmark of a great opportunity, not wholly missed, but ill availed of. Theatrical conceptions, want of imagination, and lack of Indian feeling in the treatment of sacred and epic Indian subjects, are Ravi Varma's fatal faults. No offence can be greater than the treatment of serious or epic subjects without dignity; and Ravi Varma's gods and heroes are men cast in a very common mould, who find themselves in situations for which they have not a proper capacity. Unforgivable, too, is the lack of a spontaneous expression of individual or national idiosyncrasy; for his pictures are such as any European student could paint after perusal of the necessary literature and a superficial study of Indian life. It was not for this that art was given to India; not that India might but hold a smoky mirror to the art of other men, but rather that she might open yet another window whence men may look out upon the foam of perilous seas and airy lands forlorn. Alas for the great chance gone by!

The greatest painting in Europe belongs to the period of growth that intervenes between Byzantine formalism and Renaissance science. But in India the golden moment has passed by without the appearance of its Botticelli. Unreasoning worship of 'correctness,' erudition, realism, have swept away at once all spontaneous beauty and emotion.

Yet there has been, even now is, at least one witness to show what might have been. I speak, of course, of Abanindra Nath Tagore, now Acting-Principal of the Calcutta School of Art, certainly by far the greatest of living Indian artists,* and a significant omen of what may be given to the world in this and other ways, if the Indian people once realize the duty which is theirs, not to borrow what they can from others, but themselves to give.

Amongst the greatest work Tagore has done, a series of Megha-duta pictures must be placed in the first rank; of these the most important are the 'Banished Yaksha'† and 'Siddhas of the Upper Air.'‡ Another picture of great importance is the 'Passing of Shah Jehan'§; the tenderness and grace and unapproachable Indianness of these delicate water colours is overwhelming. They are the perfect expression of Indian conceptions in an universal language. They reveal the soul of a people, not crudely or superficially, but utterly to those that have eyes to see and ears to hear; they have the mingled reticence and revelation that belongs to all great art. Such work, a true expression of the spirit of Indian nationality, is the perfect flowering of the old tradition; a flower that speaks not only of past loveliness, but is strong and vigorous with promise of abundant fruit. If in every culture-aspect India might thus be transfigured and re-born, then were wisdom justified of her children, and India mean and be again all and more than she has ever meant or been before.

Passing now from painting to speak of sculpture, we find again that a high level of

conception and attainment has been reached at various times. The history of Indian sculpture has yet to be written. At the present time money is available for the study of Indian archæology indeed, but not for that of Indian art.

First at Bharhut and afterwards in the 'Græco-Buddhist' work of the Gandhara school, in the sculptures of Ceylon, Gaya, Sarnath, and in lands like Java and Siam whose art is Indian, Buddhist sculpture rose triumphant. Surely it is with casts of the figures and with the fragments that survive as a wreckage from those great days that our school of art museums should be filled, not only with western classic art!

At a later period the Dravidian sculpture of the south reached a high development. It is no lack of power which meets us here, but rather the terrible clearness with which an almost demoniac and abundant life is revealed. There will always be those to whom certain aspects of this art does not appeal; but there has perhaps never been any sculpture at once so powerful and so patient.

Many South Indian bronzes have much grace and shapeliness; the dancing Siva (Nataraja) in the Madras museum is a miracle of swaying, measured and triumphant grace. All the controlled and resistless rhythm of Indian dancing is embodied in this beautiful bronze. The hands are especially noteworthy. Such images reveal new aspects of that divinity which the Egyptians shadowed forth in majesty and silence, Buddhism in utter peace, and the Mediæval West in the love and sweetness of ivory statuette or

* It is strange, indeed, that his work is better known and more thought of in England and by English artists, than in India and by Indians. It will not be always so. In the meanwhile one would like to ask those who will not exercise their own capacity for artistic judgment, to reflect on the significance of the appreciation given to Tagore in Europe, and the absolute indifference of European artists to the work of Ravi Varma.

† This and other of Tagore's works have been reproduced in the 'Studio' and the Bengali magazine *Prabasi*; many others have

appeared in the 'Modern Review.' 'Siddhas of the Upper Air' and some others are to be seen at the Calcutta School of Art.

‡ *Yaksha*—one of a class of demigods who are described as attendants of Kuvera, the god of riches, and employed in guarding his gardens and treasures. *Siddhas*—semi-divine beings supposed to be of great purity and holiness, and said to be particularly characterized by eight supernatural faculties called *Siddhis*.

§ Reproduced in the May number of the *Modern Review*.

Botticelli fresco. Equally beautiful but smaller bronzes of unknown age are sometimes met with in Ceylon. Old Indian ivory statuettes are rare; the most noteworthy appears to be the figure of Krishna from Orissa which was exhibited at the Delhi Exhibition.

Old Burmese wooden figures are sometimes exceedingly beautiful, with a special feeling for drapery reminding one of Gothic; but the modern alabaster figures which are in Ceylon and some parts of India replacing good local work, are weak and effeminate to the last degree. Perhaps the only really beautiful modern Buddhist work is to be found in Nepal, whence come bronze statues of surpassing charm and grace.

Of modern work from districts where western influence predominates there is little of any importance. The best known is that of Mr. G. K. Mhatre, so lavishly praised by Sir George Birdwood; but, as has been truly remarked, it smacks more of Paris than the East, which is not perhaps unnatural, considering the traditions of the Bombay School of Art. Much of the work that is done for temples in the south and elsewhere is weak and florid, lacking in invention and feeling. Much temple work nowadays is worse than weak, that is, vulgar and unseemly.

Thus, while there is in India ample inspiration for the Indian artist and abundant good example, there is on the whole an exceedingly small amount of great art forthcoming. For this there are many reasons; until lately art in India had been entirely in the hands of hereditary craftsmen forming a close corporation, with very definite traditions. Whatever of sculpture or painting originated thus, was accepted unquestionably by the public, just as the public of the Mediæval west accepted the Gothic art that was the work of guildsmen there. A very large element of enduring beauty and greatness was in such traditional work; but some forms of it were limited in certain ways and so severely

conventional, (and the really very great work was often very local or forgotten) that as soon as modern western art appeared, its form and realism were irresistible to the untrained public; and at the same time the decay of the guild tradition made it possible both for individuals outside the hereditary artistic corporations to practise art, and for the public at large to have a voice in determining the sort of art to be produced. Such a period of artistic upheaval corresponds rather closely with the 'Renaissance' of Europe, but without the few great masters that veiled there the true inwardness of what was happening.

At this very time the influence of the Anglicists in India was strongest. Estimates of Indian art prevailed, analogous in prejudice and ignorance to Macaulay's notion of Oriental literature. Certain schools of art were established, wherein the idea prevailed that Indian art deserved no serious study, and students were taught to study western art and western methods, and that they must express such western conceptions as they could assimilate in western art language. Such analocism, so to say, produced the natural result of barrenness of thought and feeling. The study was often moreover brief and superficial, so that the attempt to show more knowledge than was really possessed lead to frequent disaster. Also the secular and materialistic tendency in popular thought made possible a less idealistic treatment of sacred and epic subjects, with the result that trivial and even sensual art became acceptable. Therewith a certain cleverness and realism captivated the public eye and set the new fashion firmly on its legs.

In those days the idea of Indian nationality was scarcely born. Art cannot flower in barren soil; the imitative tendency and lack of self-expression and self-development which marked every aspect of Indian life, could not but be reflected in its art. There are signs

that it may be otherwise in days to come; we have adopted an ideal of Nationalism, not merely as a birth-right, but as a duty that we owe to other nations; we are again alive and growing. With the growth of this new life, will come the regeneration of Indian art. Men of transcendent genius must be always few; but the existence of even one such painter as Tagore is an earnest of what Indian art may some day be, losing nothing of its past greatness and having a

new richness and power. It is no vainglorious pride that realises self-development and self-expression to be more essential now than any further wholesale assimilation; the shock and the lesson of the western impact were, it may be, needed to arouse the dreamer from his dream; but now it is his to work and give. It will be more blessed to give than to receive.

ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY.

Broad Campden, England, June 1907.

THE EFFICIENCY OF THE NATIVE INDIAN ARMY

AFTER the Indian Mutiny of 1857 when the Indian army was about to be reorganized, the Indian Government asked its distinguished civil and military officers to answer the following question:—

"Is it desirable that the native troops should acquire a spirit of confidence and self-reliance, or be systematically trained to act in dependence upon European support, and which sentiment would be fostered by the system of auxiliary native battalions in permanent association with European Corps?"

There were officers, and they formed the majority, who were opposed to the native troops acquiring any spirit of confidence and self-reliance. But there were a few who considered that native troops would be a burden if they did not acquire a spirit of confidence and self-reliance.

The question was answered by Sir John Lawrence, Brigadier-General Neville Chamberlain and Colonel H. B. Edwardes as follows:—

"Under the former system, in which the native army so greatly overbalanced the European one, it was not desirable to develop the native military talent and self-reliance. It was politic, under such circumstances, for instance, to promote sepoy by seniority and not by merit, and to keep the command

of companies in the hands of European officers. But if the re-adjustments and reforms in the Indian army which we have advocated be carried out, we need not any longer be under the lamentable necessity of debilitating our native troops. We can then strive to make them vigorous and effective, contenting ourselves with the reservation of the artillery and latest improvements in the rifle for the European troops, and the certainty that whenever a native regiment, however efficient, mutinously separates itself from its European officers, it will find that it has lost its most vital principle."

Sir Bartle Frere in answering the question said:—

"The spirit of entire confidence and self-reliance seems to me essential to the idea of a soldier of any kind, and without it he must become not merely a useless but a most mischievous encumbrance to the State. To train the native soldier to act in habitual dependence on European support seems to me to be equivalent to emasculating him, and an army of such soldiers must be far worse than none at all. It is because I think that the plan of auxiliary native battalions, in permanent association with European corps, is not calculated to promote such habits of self-confidence and reliance, that I doubt its working for the good of the native portion of the army."

• Sir Bartle Frere was opposed to keeping the native troops inefficient.

"Better arms and superior organization in the natives retained in our service would still further aid us to reduce the numbers who must be kept on foot. It is as much as a man's reputation for sanity is worth to urge this truth at a time when it seems an almost universal opinion that natives are never to be trusted with any but inferior weapons. Yet, I think, it would not be difficult to show the unsoundness of this prevalent belief, not merely because the argument, if good for anything, would require us to restrict our sepoys to bows and arrows or staves; but by the plain reason that if there is a certain work to be done, and it is desirable to employ no more men than are really wanted to do it, it is obviously the wisest plan to give them the best tools they can use. If there are, as all admit, duties for which a native soldier is more useful to his European comrade than another European would be, why employ two sepoys with flint muskets, or three with clubs, when one man, with a good rifle, could do the work better? The expense in direct pay, as well as in carriage, commissariat, and all incidental expenses, is greater for the larger and less efficient body, and there are three men to be taught and kept to their duty instead of one. If the native soldier be, as some [most unjustly and untruly, I believe,] assert, incurably untrustworthy, why employ three traitors, each of whom has a certain amount of physical force independent of you, and which you cannot take away from him, when one traitor with good tools will do the work equally well, and be more manageable?"

"In a financial point of view the difference is enormous. I once calculated that fully three-fourths of a million might at once have been saved in the arm of the native cavalry alone by adopting the best equipment and organization we know, while the efficiency of the arm would be fully doubled."

But unhappily for India, the authorities did not pay any heed to Sir Bartle's opinion.

Brigadier-General John Jacob also did not favour the idea of emasculating the native troops. He wrote:—

"It is certain that all soldiers should be trained to habits of self-reliance as much as possible, and it is quite clear to me that, with a proper organization, our native Indian army may be made as powerful, as completely trustworthy as any Europeans on earth. Nothing has failed us now except our own foolish work. We have persisted for a long series of years in opposing every law of nature in our treatment of

our Asiatic soldiers, and, having systematically destroyed health and living force throughout our army, we need not be surprised that it has fallen to pieces.

"Had we striven to cultivate and to develop living power, instead of crushing it under blind regulation, all would have been sound, healthy, and strong.

"All would soon become so now if true principles were adopted."

Major-General Sir Sydney Cotton declared:—

"A spirit of confidence or self-reliance on the part of the native troops would be, in my opinion fraught with danger to the State; every effort should, therefore, be made to check the growth of such a feeling, and nothing would do this more effectually than by keeping a smaller proportion of natives than that of Europeans in each mixed regiment."

It was his opinion that the native troops

"should be armed with firelocks and two-grooved rifles, but the Enfield rifle should never be trusted to them."

Colonel K. Young, Judge Advocate-General, gave it as his opinion:—

"I think that in reorganizing the native army the object should be to avoid as much as possible any thing likely to instil an independent spirit of self-reliance in the sepoy, and that we should foster in him a feeling of dependence upon his European comrade."

Major-General J. B. Hearsey wrote that the native troops were

"to be trained systematically, always to act in dependence or leaning on European support, never to be permitted to lead an assault or to make the first attack, always to follow, and to be made to look up to Europeans, as much, very much superior to them in personal gallantry and in endurance in 'solidarity.' * * They should feel convinced of the really great superiority of British troops."

Colonel Melvill said:—

"Native troops are, I consider, incapable of acquiring a spirit of self-reliance independent of the support of Europeans; and if trained as they must be, to act with Europeans, it follows of necessity that they must be trained to act in dependence on European support."

Brigadier Hill wrote:—

"I do not think it desirable, nor do I think it possible they could acquire such a spirit of confidence

and self-reliance as to enable the native troops to act without European support. * * * * I think this spirit of dependence upon Europeans should be encouraged."

Unfortunately the counsels of those who wanted to keep Indian soldiers in perpetual dependence prevailed with the Indian authorities and steps were taken which have kept the Native Indian Army inefficient. No attention was paid to the statesmanlike opinions of Sir Bartle Frere or Brigadier-General John Jacob.

Some persons are under the impression that whatever might have been the case in the past, at present British and all Indian soldiers in India are armed with exactly the same rifles. This is not quite true. Those who hold the contrary view may be safely asked to state the whole truth. No doubt, the Sepoy is better armed than before. But we hope he will ere long be as well armed as any soldier in the world.

Modern conditions of warfare are superior to those prevalent in former ages in nothing more than in artillery. Let us, therefore, see how the sepoy fares in this respect.

Before the occurrence of the Mutiny of 1857, there were many regiments of artillery solely manned by the natives of this country. But after that event they were all excluded from that arm of the military service. It is necessary to know the arguments which were made use of for their exclusion.

In their letter to the Governor-General of India, dated Murree, June 24, 1858, Sir John Lawrence, Brigadier-General Neville Chamberlain and Colonel H. B. Edwardes wrote:—

"Profiting by the experience of the past year, it is proposed to transfer the mass of the artillery from the hands of native to those of European gunners. The value of artillery is perhaps greater in Asia than in any other part of the world. Guns are an object of intense fear to the natives of India, and for that reason become objects of attachment and worship to the Indian gunner. A small European force with a powerful artillery should be irresistible, and no

mutiny of a native army without guns could hope to be successful. Many officers would, for these reasons, object to any artillery at all being left in the hands of the natives, * *."

In another paper, the above-named officers wrote:—

"One traitor can paralyze the power of a battery for a time by spiking the guns. After witnessing on one occasion, at Dersummund in Meranzye, the effect on the Pathan soldiers of a religious appeal, it appeared to Brigadier-General Chamberlain imperative to close this branch of the service to such a risk."

General John Jacob also gave it as his opinion that the whole of the artillery in India should be European.

Major-General Sir Sydney Cotton, commanding Peshawar Division, wrote:—

"I utterly condemn the system of employing the natives of the country with guns, either in the capacity of gunners or drivers, for in both positions they can do the Government incalculable mischief. * * *

"I say, therefore, abolish all native artillery. Not only should no guns be again entrusted to natives, but every means should be taken to discourage, and to prevent them from acquiring a knowledge of the use of them.

"Some officers argue that natives make efficient artillery men and excellent drivers, and, therefore, recommend the continuance of the native artillery; but I maintain that their great efficiency is the very source of danger to be guarded against, and it forms, therefore, the most cogent reason for discontinuing the employment of natives with guns.

"I earnestly trust that the Government will take warning from the past, and bear in mind that every gun in the hands of natives forms a rallying point for mutiny and a source of danger. A retrospect of the mutiny clearly shows that no native force is actually formidable, unless supported by artillery. Had the mutineers not been armed with a powerful artillery, well manned by native golundazes, there is every reason to believe the mutiny would have been crushed in the beginning; for the mutineers, however numerous, have never stood in the field unless backed up by guns."

Major-General J. B. Hearsey said:—

"I am decidedly of opinion there ought to be no natives, Hindustanees, or of any other tribes in the artillery, not even syce drivers, certainly no golundauze

or lascars. The defeat at Chiniut (near Lucknow) of the late lamented Sir Henry Lawrence was mainly caused by the treachery and defection of his syce gun drivers. If Europeans cannot do these duties, they ought to be done by Christian Africans or even Hindoostanee Christians."

All the British officers, whether civil or military, were unanimous in their declaration that natives of India should be excluded from serving in the artillery. Unfortunately, the Government acted on their advice and thus deprived Indians of a right and privilege which they had enjoyed for many centuries.

But in excluding Indians from the artillery, the Government went against the Act of 1833 which declared :—

"That no native of the said territories, * * shall be by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent,

color, or any of them, be disabled from holding any place, office, or employment under the said company."

We note, too, with pain that almost at the time when the Indians were being excluded from the artillery, was issued the proclamation of Her Majesty Queen Victoria, declaring that the natives of India were eligible for all the posts under the Crown, the duties of which they were able to discharge. As the sepoy is admittedly fit for artillery service and nothing is mightier than righteousness, we hope he will yet be employed with guns. This will add to the strength of the army, promote economy and increase contentment.

All the extracts in this article are taken from "*Papers connected with the Reorganization of the Army in India*, presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of Her Majesty, 1859."

NARRATIVE

OF THE INCIDENTS OF MY EARLY LIFE

II.

In narrating the incidents of my early life, I should hardly omit mentioning what part my brother had at its inception.

In March 1874, when I was preparing to graduate myself in Civil Engineering, at the Presidency College, Calcutta, I fell ill of malarial fever. About this time, the offer of an appointment as Head master of the proposed Bhutea Boarding School at Darjeeling, came to me from Prof. C.B. Clarke, M.A., the great Botanist, who then happened to be Inspector of Schools in the Rajshahi Division. At first I declined the offer. When I spoke of it to Nabinchandra, he said, "Brother, you ought to have accepted the appointment. In refusing it you have lost an opportunity of recruit-

ing your health by residence at Darjeeling, during the approaching summer." He begged me to see Prof. Clarke immediately which I did, and secured the appointment.

Mr. (afterwards Sir John) Edgar, the then Deputy Commissioner of Darjeeling, having approved of my appointment, I set out for Darjeeling on the fourth of April. At Sahabgunge, on the E. I. Ry., I took the ferry steamer to Karagola Ghat where I engaged a bullock cart to take me to Silliguri in the Purnea town, Krisnagunge and Titalia in the Purnea district. From Silliguri I walked to Kalabari on the old pony-road to Kurseong. While clambering up the hill above Kalabari, I saw a *paharia* woman with a child in her lap, riding

on a pony. On reaching Kurseong I hired a pony and rode to Darjeeling. This was my first venture on horse back. I reported my arrival to the Deputy Commissioner on the 10th of April, 1874.

I was now in the 25th year of my age. Mr. Edgar told me that it was the intention of Government to establish a Boarding School for giving English education to the Kumar (now His Highness the Maharaja) of Independent Sikkim and to the sons of the chiefs and *Kazis** who would accompany him, and also to train up some interpreters. He had previously secured the services of a young Lama named Ugyen Gya-tsho† from the monastery of Pema-yang-tse, in Sikkim, to assist me in the school work. I wrote to the late Maharaja Kusho Sridkyong Namgyal to send his son the Kumar—and also to the chief *Kazis* of Sikkim to send their sons for education under my care. I also collected a few Bhutea lads from the neighbourhood of Darjeeling and started the Boarding School. Not being acquainted with the Bhutea dialect, we had, at the outset, to speak by signs. In the course of a few weeks I picked up a little of the Bhutea colloquial. The boys, also, learnt a few Hindustani words of common use. I then commenced my study of the Tibetan language, of which the Bhutea spoken at Darjeeling and in Sikkim was a dialect, the Lama reading both Tibetan and English with me.

In the month of August, Sir James Herschel accompanied by Mr. Edgar, visited the school and noted the progress the teacher and the scholars had made in the acquisition of Tibetan and English within four months of its establishment. So pleased was he with the humble beginning we had made that he wrote an official memorandum on the working of the

school from which I quote the following passages :—

“1. I have just inspected the Tibetan Boarding school established by Mr. Edgar at Darjeeling. It is intended to train a few Tibetan lads for the purpose of facilitating intercourse in future with that country. It was commenced only four months ago when the master arrived from the plain and the results already obtained are very remarkable. There are 14 boys in the house, of ages between apparently 10 and 15... One boy is the son of Chebu Lama, the largest land-owner in Darjeeling. He was being educated at the Pema-yang-tse monastery in Sikkim. Mr. Edgar has obtained his transfer. Of these boys 6 are Lamas. Their parents are not so, but they have been made Lamas in order to prevent their early marriage. One of the boys who is not a Lama is in fact already married.

2. The appearance of the boys is quite a pleasant sight. They have been taught to bathe twice a week instead of twice a year, and the master hopes to get them to bathe thrice. They wash every day. Their hair is nicely cut. Their black or scarlet *corties* (a good deal like Blue-coat boys) are clean and the contrast between them and ordinary hill boys was striking in consequence. They were full of animation and interest in their work, and the progress they had made was most unusual. All of them could read a good many sentences in printed English. Most of them could write known sentences from dictation. Three or four of them wrote very good or thoroughly excellent hand, with a rapidity and grace (due to chalk and a board) which would have been satisfactory in a finished clerk. They would all write Tibetan in the formal and fluent hand. This they had mostly learnt before.”

3. Their comprehension of English has been very rapid. The master understood not a word of Tibetan when he arrived four months ago; the boys no word of English. They have had no go-between except a vocabulary in Tibetan and English. The Lama teacher is trying to learn English, but the two parties have absolutely no common language, and depend on their wits and study to understand each other. Yet the boys could spell a large number of words of the

officers of Purneah and Dinajpur. Afterwards any Sikkim zamindar came to be designated by the title of Kazi.

* Formerly, i. e., during Mahomedan supremacy in Bengal, the Sikkim Raja's possessions extended down to Titalia and Silliguria in the Purneah district. The Maharaja used to send Bhutea officers from among the landholders of his hill territories to administer justice, &c. These officers were called *Kazis* after the Mahomedan

† This name signifies *Udyana Sindhu*, i. e., the Indus of Udyana—the ancient name of the northern part of modern Kabul, Swat valley and part of the modern Punjab.

meaning of which they had no conception; and had mastered the meaning of a small vocabulary; a beginning even has been made in grammar.

4. They had made good progress, too, in Arithmetic and worked simple sums in the Board with ease. Besides this they have commenced to learn carpentry and have made the benches and map-stands that they use, and had just turned out a round table top. They are delighted with the work. They are taught to be handy in gardening* and laying out the paths, and are soon to begin gymnastics.

5. The master Saratchandra Das deserves warm praise for his energetic devotion to the work.

About this time the old Maharaja of Sikkim died and the Kumar named Thutob Namgyal, who was to have come to my school, succeeded to the *Guddee*. Five fine looking young-men (sons of Kabi, Karmi, Laso, Yangthang, Ringyon *Kazis*) took their admission in the school. I now applied myself assiduously to the study of the Tibetan language.†

In the following year the school was visited by His Excellency the Viceroy (Lord Northbrook), Lady Baring and the Hon'ble Major Baring (now Lord Cromer). They were so pleased with our work that the former sent his portrait from England as a memento of the visit, to the school. Sir Richard Temple, who came to present the portrait at the special request of the Viceroy, made a short but impressive speech. In it he pointed out the great work of exploration in an unknown country which was before us and also foreshadowed the work of Research that was in store for me particularly.

* One morning, when I was turning some sods with a spade, along with some of my pupils, Mr. Edgar happened to come to the spot. On seeing him I ran to my house to wash my hands. He approved of my teaching gardening to the boys.

† I learnt the meaning of the following names:—Darjeeling—(a purely Tibetan name formed of two words, *Dorje*, meaning thunder or *Vajra*; and *ling*, land or *Bhumi*) signifying 'the thunder land or *Vajra Bhumi*.' In the Buddhist *Tantrik* terminology the word *Vajra* signifies 'holy.' So Darjeeling also signifies 'holyland.' There was a *Tantrik* monastery on the Observatory Hill named Darjeeling. Hence the place came to be known by the name of Darjeeling.

Kanchanjunga—the name of the snowy mountain seen from Darjeeling is formed of four words:—*Kang* snow, *chan*, full; *Ju*, repository and *nga*, five; and means "the five snowfull repositories."

When I began to enter deeper in the study of the written language I was really struck with the richness of its literature and the regularity of its structure which was wholly based upon Sanskrit. The names of places and individuals in Sikkim, Tibet and Bhutan were Indian in signification. For instance the very common names of individuals such as *Dorji* means *Vajra*; *Tamdin*:—*Hayagribaz*; *Dolma*:—*Tara*; *Norbu*:—*Ratna*; *Dondab*:—*Siddhartha*; *Nima*—*Surya* or sun; *Dro* *Chandra* or moon; *Yangchan*:—*Sarasvati*; *Lhamo*:—*Devi*; *Samdub-phug*:—*Siddha ka'pa Guha*, etc.

The Tibetans, in early times, had translated almost all the *Mahayana* Sanskrit works in their language. Those that were attributed to Buddha and called *Buddha-Vachana* were collected together in 108 volumes, which formed the Scriptural Cyclopædia of the *Kahgyur*.

The translation of the *Shastras* comprising the commentaries and other original works of Sanskrit authors, both Buddhist and Brahmanical, formed the second Cyclopædia called the *Tangyur*.

I give a few passages from the *Kahgyur*, Do Vol. II, in English translation:

Priests! like as gold is tried by burning, cutting and filing, the learned must examine my commandments (doctrine) and receive them accordingly, and not out of respect (for me).

Who is the True Protector?:—(Brahmanism versus Buddhism). "Brahma, Vishnu, and Mahadeva etc.,—the Naga, Yaksha and Kabandha; the sun, the moon

Sikkim—name of the mountainous tract lying between Nepal and Bhutan and overhung by the snowy ranges that skirt Tibet. It is derived from the Tibetan word *Sikyong* (*Srid-kyong*) signifying—ruler—the Maharaja of Sikkim is a Tibetan prince. The Tibetans call him *Danjong Sikyong* or *Raja* of the rice-growing country. No rice grows in Tibet, the altitude of which is 10 to 15 thousand feet above the sea-level. Sikkim was a dependency of Tibet till the year 1888 when it was brought under British protection. Sikkim is the land of *Guhyakas*.

Bhutea—the Indian name of Tibet was *Bhote*; a native of *Bhote* was called *Bhotea*—Hence Tibetans in Tibet, Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan are *Bhoteas* or *Bhuteas*. *Bhote* is the land of the Lamas or *Siddhas*.

and the planets; any mountain, lake and green tree; any rock and the hill-gods;—all these are no protections. The two kinds of moral instruction (dogmatic and argumentative), and the collective body of priests are no permanent refuge."

Who is the supreme of all with whom refuge may be taken?—"Who is void of all defects, and who possesses all good attributes—perfections, who is all-knowing and merciful, to Him will I fly for protection."

Who is the Supreme of all?—Gautama Buddha said to a Brahman named Padma Garbha:—*Homa* (burnt offerings) is the chief of all sacrifices. The prince of Poetry is the God of the sun (Apollo). The chief of men is, the king. The Ocean is the chief of all waters. The moon is the principal of the stars. The sun is the principal of all luminous bodies. Whatever moving beings are in this world, above, below, and round about us, including all the gods, the Lord of them all is, the all-perfect Buddha."

The last and not the least interesting of all the passages which I had then noticed, in Alexander Csoma's Tibetan grammar, was the following:—

"Thams chad chosni myan-par bya,
Thos-nas rab-tu gzung-bya ste;
Gang-shig bdag-nyid mi hdod-pa,
De-dag gshan-la mi bya ho."

Translation: "Hear ye all this maxim, and having heard it keep it well. "Whatever is displeasing to yourself, never do to another."

The phrase that expresses this moral maxim, both in Latin and French, agrees very closely with the Tibetan text; thus in Latin: "Quod tu tibi nonvis, alteri non-feceris;" in French: "Ne faites pas á au truíce quevous ne vendriez pas qu'on voxes fit." The same maxim is found in the Gospel of St. Matthew, ch. vii, verse 12: "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them."

Such were the temptations the then accessible Tibetan text had placed before me, inducing me to attempt a deeper diving into the Buddhist lore of Tibet.

In January 1876 I went to Sikkim with my school boys on a holiday excursion and visited some of its important monasteries including

Pema-yang-tse from which Lama Ugyan-Gyatsho had come.

The elaborate ceremonials, religious rites and grave recitation of the Buddhist scriptures by the Lamas, produced in my mind a keen interest in Tantrik Buddhism, which prevailed in Sikkim. I learnt from the Lamas and also Tibetan books that Indian Pandits had been reverentially received in Tibet in early times. We enjoyed the trip, gaining both pleasure and health. On my return to Darjeeling when I gave a short account of my visits to the monasteries to Mr. Edgar, he very kindly gave me his copy of Dr. Emil Schlaginweit's Manual of Buddhism to read, that I might know more of Tibetan Buddhism. At a subsequent interview he gave me three more books including Markham's Mission of George Bogle and Thomas Manning to Tibet in 1776 and 1841. I read the last book over and over again. It kindled in my mind a burning desire for visiting Tibet and for exploring its unknown tracts. About this time Mr. Edgar told me that one of the objects of the Government, in establishing the school, was to train up some intelligent Bhutea lads in surveying so that they might be sent to explore the Trans-Himalayan regions and it was for that particular purpose that I had been brought from the Engineering College. I now commenced giving lessons in surveying to the higher class boys.

In February 1877, I paid a second visit to Sikkim. This time Lama Ugyen-Gyatsho, the sons of Sikkim chiefs and my younger brother Nabinchandra accompanied me. We visited Yangang, Tashiding and Sangnagchoiling, and Pema-yang-tse monasteries. In nearing the monastery of Pema-yang-tse we were overtaken by a fall of snow which was a novel sight to my brother. We were everywhere very hospitably received. The rich and the poor welcomed us. We found the Lamas good-natured and kind. They were remarkably polite, learned in their *Shastras*

and well disposed to the Indians. In the monasteries my reception was warm and respectful. The Lamas of Pema-yang-tse presented me with a rich orange-colour silk robe and a piebald Tibetan pony. My brother and I were guests at Yangthang Kaze's residence near Pema-yang-tse. His wife, the *chomo*, who read and wrote Tibetan and also recited many elegant sayings in the course of her conversation with us, impressed us with her good nature and culture. My brother, who had passed the M.A. Examination in English in the previous year, enjoyed this pleasure trip very much and wrote a short account of it, which being the first account of our excursion in the Sikkim Himalayas I have preserved in my little book called "Indian Pandits in the land of Snow".

I now vigorously applied myself to Tibetan studies. Having made sufficient progress in the colloquials of Sikkim named Bhutea and Lepcha dialects, I applied to government for leave to present myself for examination in either of them. My application having been recommended both by the Deputy Commissioner and the Director of Public Instruction, the Government of Bengal in their letter No. 5962A, Appointment Department, 28th December 1877, para 2, said:—

"In reply I am to say that the Examination referred to, is not open to officers of the Subordinate Educational service and that to extend the Rules to any Officer of that Service would require the sanction of the Government of India..... But the Lieutenant Governor understands that Babu Sarat chandra Das has been put to some expense by visiting Sikkim to study the Tibetan language and he is of opinion that the Babu deserves great credit for the exertion he has made to qualify himself in a language which will be of much use to him in the appointment he fills. His Honor is, therefore, pleased to sanction the grant of a reward of Rs. 300 to Babu Sarat chandra Das."

(Sd.) C. MACAULAY,
Under Secretary.

In January, 1878, I communicated to Lam Ugyen Gya-tsho what was so long uppermost in my mind i.e., a desire to visit Tibet, if possible in that year.

In February Major Herbert Lewin was appointed Deputy Commissioner of Darjeeling. About this time Sir Frederick Haines accompanied by his private secretary Major (now Lord) Roberts, visited the school. He praised our work and particularly me and my assistance for our attainments both in the written and colloquial language of Tibet, which, he said, would be of much use to Government when relations were opened with that country. The expression of the Commander-in-chief's opinion, induced Major Lewin to take up the study of Tibetan in right earnest. At his wish both Lama and I used to read Tibetan with him. When a month had passed in its study and we found our official chief ready to exchange thoughts with us, one morning I ventured to place in his hand a letter in which I simply asked that permission might be granted me for crossing the Tibetan frontier to enable me to visit Tibet which I much wished to do at my own risk. I explained to him the object I had in view for visiting Tibet. They were—first, to complete my Tibetan studies and then to make some work of Geographical exploration in the manner of Dr. Livingstone. Major Lewin simply smiled and quietly returned the letter to me. The next time that I came to read Tibetan with him, I again put the letter before him. This time he seemed to think that I was rather in earnest about the project. Taking the letter in his hand he grimly observed: "Here is an absurd request", and threw the application on the floor. When I picked it up, he was on saying:—"It has been a great achievement for you—a native of Chittagong to come to such a place of difficult access as Darjeeling and then to visit Sikkim, which is within British influence. Tibet is a wild country and its people are determined not to have anything

to do with us. Is it not preposterous on your part, being a Bengali, to think you could cross the eternal snows and enter Tibet to explore it as Livingstone of African fame? Europeans—Russians, Germans, not to speak of us, have all failed to penetrate into Tibet. Recently General Prejewalsky, Governor-General of Siberia, was turned out from within a hundred miles of Lhasa by the hostile Tibetans. So please do not come again to me with such an absurd proposal, I cannot grant it. Even if I recommended it, the Governor would not let you go where you would be immediately killed." He then related to me some of his adventures among the savage and naked *Lushai* tribes of Kooki-land—and particularly how a *Shendu* chief had pierced his knee by flinging at him a poisoned arrow. This unexpected refusal produced in my mind a keener desire for doing the impossible. Returning home, I thought over the matter again and at last formed the determination to visit Tibet at any risk. I asked my assistant, if he could go to Tibet *i. e.*, Lhasa and Tashilhunpo where he had once before been, with presents from the Pema-yang-tse monastery. He readily agreed to go if I gave him leave and money for his expenses. The Lama had, by this time, earned three months privilege leave, and I became very hopeful of success, having the prospect of his assistance.

In the beginning of March Mr. (afterwards Sir Alfred) Croft, then officiating Director of Public Instruction, came to Darjeeling and inspected my school for the second time. In a private interview, I refreshed his memory about my having been a pupil of his at the Presidency College. He remembered me and observed how glad he was to notice in a pupil of his so great an aptitude for linguistic attainments. I now availed myself of the opportunity of asking his powerful help in my project of visiting Tibet for studying its language and literature. I also mentioned to him the arrangements I had made to obtain a passport

from Tashilhunpo and the manner in which Major Lewin had lately disposed of my application for leave to cross the frontier.

He, however, plainly told me that unless I explained to Government the kind of service that I intended to render to Government by studying Tibetan in Tibet, the Government would hardly be inclined to entertain my proposal. About the middle of March of that year I wrote to Mr. Croft to say that I had read in the '*Times of London*' that a convention had been signed at Chefoo in which Sir Thomas Wade, the British Minister at Peking, had secured for Her Britannic Majesty's Government a concession; the Chinese Government agreeing to the despatch of a Mission to Lhasa by the Indian Government. As there was no European or Indian, at the time, who knew Tibetan, I thought I should qualify myself for the post of Secretary to the proposed mission by visiting Tibet. The Lama informed me that he would set out on his journey to Tibet to obtain for me sanction from the Tibetan authorities to travel to Lhasa or Tashilhunpo as soon as I had arranged for his leave. Mr. Croft in reply to these wrote me the following letter:—

"Office of the Director of Public Instruction, Calcutta, the 17th March, 1878.

My dear Sarat Chandra,

Your letter, and the Lama's, reached me on my return to Calcutta. If I understand you rightly, you wish for two things:—

(1) To be appointed, at some future time, Secretary to any embassy that may be sent to Lhasa under the Chefoo convention, when ratified. But in order to fit yourself for the duties of this post you ask—

(2) To be assisted by Government (in money and other ways) in your project of visiting Tibet this year if possible.

The first proposal may stand over for the present. If you carry out your present intention of visiting Tibet, you would probably be the most eligible person to accompany the expedition as Secretary, if such an expedition should ever be made.

But as regards the second proposal, (namely, visiting Tibet this year) it appears that you are not yet

clear how this is to be accomplished:—whether openly, as an Indian Pandit, and by consent of the Tashilhunpo authorities, or secretly, in the disguise of a Nepalese merchant, in case permission is refused. Now until this is settled (and I learn that it cannot be settled until May, when you expect the answer from Tashilhunpo), it is impossible for me to make any proposals, or to ask for any definite assistance for you. I will, however, let your intention be known in proper quarters, and I will find out whether, and how far, it is possible to assist you (1) with money for the necessary expenses, (2) with scientific and other instruments. If you had to go in disguise, the number of instruments you could carry would, I suppose, be very limited.

The example of Pandit Nain Sing (who was often in peril of his life, even though disguised) makes me doubtful whether you would get permission from Tashilhunpo.

Let me know what instruments you would wish (and be able) to take with you.

Yours truly,
(Sd.) A. Croft.

Shortly after receiving Mr. Croft's letter I commenced taking lessons from a Mongolian monk of Tashilhunpo who had come to Darjeeling for visiting Nepal. I was told that the Mongols of Urga on the Amour River were in high favour with the Tashi Lama, and that they were better Buddhists than the Tibetans. I picked up a good knowledge of the Mongolian from Lama Tenzing.

In October, Sir Ashley Eden informed me that he had obtained Lord Lytton's sanction to my crossing the frontier for visiting Tibet for the purpose of prosecuting my Tibetan studies in the monastery of Tashilhunpo. Mr. Croft told me that he had induced the Bengal Government to create the post of Deputy Inspector of Sikkim with a view to afford me opportunities to travel in the neighbourhood.

I was relieved of my appointment as Head master in the middle of December, by Mr. John Durham, when I proceeded home on leave. In the middle of January, 1879, I received the following letter of appointment, the concluding sentence of which enabled me

to travel beyond the boundary of the British Government:—*

"Government Order—Education No. 11, January 3, 1879 Para 2.

In reply I am to say that Sikkim being foreign territory, the Government cannot appoint a Deputy Inspector for that State chargeable to the revenue of Bengal. The Lieutenant-Governor, however, has been pleased to sanction the appointment, with effect from the 18th December, 1878, of Babu Sarat Chandra Das, Head Master of the Bhutea Boarding School at Darjeeling to be Deputy Inspector of Schools for

* This was all the help that after so much trouble I could obtain from the British Government, yet there remained a defect in the appointment letter which I pointed out to the Director of Public Instruction after my return from Tibet. Both Sikkim and Tibet being foreign territories, a British Officer was not entitled to any travelling allowance for journeying in them. I was only entitled to travelling allowance for journeys in the Darjeeling district. The Government did not after all contribute a single rupee to the cost of my travelling to and from Tibet—which I did at my own cost. On my representing this defect in the arrangement under which I travelled in Tibet, the Director of Public Instruction recommended a fixed travelling allowance of Rs. fifty for me, but the Government of Bengal reduced it to Rs. 30 a month. * So all that I was in receipt of was Rs. 180 for six months, the sum which I had given to the guide Phurchung whose services we had secured at Kanbachan—a Nepalese Bhutea village, situated immediately below the Kangchen Junga snowy mountains; Lama Ugyen Gya-tse, my faithful companion, also did not get anything for travelling. So slender was the help which the Government had given to the first Indian-student traveller who had penetrated to the heart of Tibet, at a time, when both the Government and the people of Tibet were most hostile to Europeans and particularly to the British and the British Indians.

* Para 2, Government order, Edn. No. 116, February 1, 1879.

"The Lieutenant Governor has recently sanctioned the appointment of a Deputy Inspector of Schools for British Sikkim on a salary of £150 per mensem, besides the usual travelling allowance prescribed for officers of his class when moving on duty.

3. The Director of Public Instruction states that owing to the difficulty of determining distances accurately in British Sikkim and its neighbourhood, it will be more convenient to give the Deputy Inspector fixed travelling allowance of Rs. 50 per mensem during the time he may be absent from the Head quarters, on duty.

4. The Lieutenant-Governor, while concurring with the Director as to the necessity of a consolidated travelling allowance, is of opinion that an allowance of Rs. 30 (the upkeep of a pony) per mensem would meet the requirements of the case; and I am directed to request the sanction of His Excellency the Governor-General in Council to this arrangement, in accordance to the orders of the Financial Department No. 2916. Dated 15th December, 1878.

(Sd.) C. W. DOLTON.
Under Secretary.

British Sikkim, that is, for the Darjeeling district. He will devote special attention to the Monastic schools there, and there is no objection to his getting information regarding any similar schools in the neighbourhood.

(Sd.) A. MACKENZIE.

Secretary to the Govt. of Bengal."

About a month after the distribution of prizes, Lama Ugyen Gya-tsho proceeded to Tibet, and shortly after his departure, the holiday for worshipping the Kanchanjunga snowy mountains, whom the Sikkim Bhuteas called the king of the *yaksha* or the arch-mischief-maker, came about. It was on this day only, that the Lepchas and Bhuteas generally bathed. I gave leave to some of the Bhutea boys to bathe in a small tank that was in the compound of Dr. O'Brien's residence at Geen. Two brothers (twins) sons of the Lepcha Police Daroga of the Station, also went there to bathe with my permission.

The Bhutea boys returning to the school brought me the news that one of the twins was drowned. They feared he was pulled by some Naga, demigod, towards the bottom of the tank. I immediately ran to Geen, a distance of four miles, called Dr. O'Brien, but life was extinct by the time he arrived.

Major Lewin took this opportunity of writing to the Director that I did not possess to the full extent the qualifications of a Boarding School Teacher. Mr. Croft, in reply, observed that the Lepcha boy's death was accidental, and that if the qualifications of a Boarding School Headmaster were to be found in any person of any nationality, in his opinion, they existed in Babu Saratchandra Das.

On Lama Ugyen Gya-tsho's return to Darjeeling from Tibet, in September, I informed Mr. Croft of the passport which he had secured for me from the authorities at Tashilhunpo. In April, Sir Ashley Eden and Mr. Croft visited the school, the former examined the boys of all classes in almost all the subjects taught in it. Pleased with the result, His Honour promised

silver medals to the successful boys. The Director recommended the award of a medal to Lama Ugyen Gya-tsho whom he had carefully examined on a former occasion. The distribution of prizes and medals took place on June 12, when Lama-dances and Tibetan theatricals entertained the visitors, and the Lieutenant-Governor gave away the prizes. Four Tibetan songs, of which I had made translations in English rhythm, were sung by the boys, of which two are reproduced here:—

*The song of the Precious Reed.**

Oh ! the reed of Tsari country,

Oh ! the reed of Tsari country :

Your root is for Mother Ambrosia's use.

You are born to give pleasure to life,

You are born to give pleasure to life.

If your own life is not pleasant to you

Go back to Tsari country,

Go back to Tsari country.

Your stem is meant for generous prince;

To be turned into handy arrows,

To be turned into handy arrows ;

Say, if you are not fit to make arrows,

Go back to Tsari country,

Go back to Tsari country.

Your slender top the Supreme Lama takes

And hangs his banners thereon,

And hangs his banners thereon,

Say, if a flagstaff you cannot be,

Go back to Tsari country.

SALUTATIONS.

With a splendid sword on the right,

And a white silver bell on the left,

Sprinkling water to those, the excellent gods,

And also to him, Ugyen, who has won perfection,

Rewarded with garland of gems.

To all seated on couches and chairs to the right
and the left

We offer this cycle of songs :

The salutation of noble Tibet ;

The way of the Rongs† in making obeisance ;

The Chinese manner of kneeling down ;

* The Sikkimese draw beer from a bamboo bottle by means of a reed about a foot long, in the manner infants suck milk from feeding bottles.

† The *Ti* an designation for the Lepchas of Sikkim. Easternmost Tibet north of Assam Himalayas, is called Tsari, the hill-tracts where grow long grass and reeds.

The Kashmerian mode of Salaam ;
The Nepalese by shaking the head and holding
the arms a-kimbo ;
The Dukpa mode—by waving the arms ;
The Khamba mode—by drawing the knife ;
The monkish custom of spreading the cloak ;
The nun's custom of shaking the head ;
The Mongol custom of pulling the ears,
With a splendid flag on the right,
And a heroine's wheel on the left,
Shoot forth five hundred arrows
On whose feathers are messages written in water.
Oh ! The shrine of Potala,
The sacred shrine of Potala,
Filled with rainbows and lustre !
To act our play and to meet again,
Oh ! to act and to meet again,
This is a day of happy omen.
The salutation of noble Tibet,
Dance ! Dance ! Dance !

On account of the attention that the Lieutenant-Governor and the Secretaries had paid to me on this occasion, Major Lewin became somewhat displeased. Sir Ashley Eden, Messrs. Horace Cockerell, A. Mackenzie, and Croft congratulated me on the success of the school. The status of the school was raised and the annual grant that it enjoyed was now increased by Rs. 1,000.

About this time two very important political refugees from Bhutan came to Darjeeling. They were accommodated in the Government barracks at Geen. I cultivated their acquaintance and used to converse with them, generally in the afternoon and almost every

Sunday. One of them named Deb-Zimpon who had been the private secretary of the then Deb Raja of Bhutan was a shrewd observer and skilful courtier. The second refugee was Paro-Penlo, the young Governor of Western Bhutan called Paro. With them was Deb-Tungchen, the chief personal assistant of the Deb Raja. Sometimes they used to come to my school to return visits. I picked up a little of the colloquial of Bhutan by conversation with them. I arranged to employ Deb-Tungchen in the place of Lama Ugyen Gya-tsho when the latter went to Tibet. Deb-Zimpon presented me with one of his most valuable possessions, *viz.*, an old dagger. I was told that in Bhutan the custom of carrying several daggers concealed in one's robe-sleeves and also in arm-pits existed from olden times. This, I afterwards learned, was a survival of the custom of the Huns who had once occupied the plateau of Tibet in early times. The Bhutanese make free use of it with a view to rise in the estimation of their countrymen. The man who has stabbed the largest number of men was thereby qualified to hold the highest office in the State. The Deb Raja of Bhutan makes his way to the throne, through blood-shed and slaughter, in Bhutan*. A confirmation of this practice of the Bhutanese I read in Captain Pemberton's report, on my return from Tibet.

* The name of Bhutan is derived from the name Bhutanta, i. e. the border-land of Bhota or Tibet. The Bhutanese call their country Duk and themselves Dukpa or Lhopa, i. e., the Southerners.

Seek the LORD, and ye shall live; lest he break out like fire in the house of Joseph, and it devour and there be none to quench it in Beth-el: ye who turn judgement to wormwood, and cast down righteousness to the earth. Seek him that maketh the Pleiades and Orion, and turneth the shadow of death into the

morning, and maketh the day dark with night; that calleth for the waters of the sea, and poureth them out upon the face of the earth—**THE LORD** is his name—that bringeth sudden destruction upon the strong, so that destruction cometh upon the fortress.—*Amos.*

THE ETHICS OF CARLYLE

IT was Matthew Arnold who once wrote of Shakespeare, "Others abide our judgment, thou art free." These words have a deep significance. There are indeed very few names in the literary history of the world, like that of the great poet of Stratford-on-Avon, which have been declared above criticism, and even the number of those of whose works criticism has at all been uniform is not much larger. The name of Thomas Carlyle does not belong to either of these two classes. A generation and more has elapsed since this rugged philosopher of Scotland, that "fine old gentleman" of Chelsea, passed away after the arduous labours of over half a century. A great deal was spoken and written about him in his life-time, and a great deal more has been spoken and written since his death; yet the different critics who have approached him from their different points of view have been so much at variance among themselves, that it is really hard at this stage to estimate his position in literature, or to judge the importance of his numerous contributions to the philosophical, political, and religious thought of his times. The range of his subjects was immense. In the words of his friend and contemporary, Tennyson,

"He touched on the whole sad planet of man,

The kings and the rich and the poor,"

and he touched them all with a sincerity and an earnestness born of deep conviction and passionate belief. Whether the doctrines he propounded are true or false, whether, as some would have it, his teaching was out of date even before his death, or whether it still continues to influence and even to mould the different phases of modern thought, time alone can decide. For the present it is

hardly possible to pass any judgment which may in the least degree claim to be final and decisive. Many of the doctrines he set forth in his own inimitable style have been more or less accepted, and many of those he attacked and refuted, almost single-handed, are now practically things of the past. On the other hand, there are also problems which he tried to grasp and solve, but on which the final word has not yet been uttered by any man. The relation of Capital and Labour, the organization of Industry, Free Competition and Governmental non-interference, Hero-Worship, and the higher and more spiritual questions pertaining to Religion and its relation to Physical Science, are only a few instances out of many. On all these and various other activities of our modern life and civilization, Carlyle spoke with a vigour and an originality such as were given to few writers of his or any time. In the words of the late Principal Shairp, he saw some of the great truths of life more penetratingly, and felt them more profoundly, than other men have done; but to give a plain and cut and dry summary of his teaching would be not only an unsatisfactory but a fruitless task. He himself "tabulated no system," he hated all systems and "system-mongers" as ephemeral, mere symbols that "have their day and cease to be," "half-facts" even "more fatal at times than whole falsehoods." The world, according to him, is subject to the law of mutation. All things mundane must inevitably undergo change, and no institution, civilization, creed or philosophic system can ever pretend to be final. The student of his thirty volumes will therefore fail to discover in them a detailed or logically composed system, or any well-adjusted

theory of the Universe. But his several doctrines do not on that account lack an inner relationship, nor are his ideas "either bewilderingly inconsistent or designedly vague." He approached all questions from a certain standpoint, and had a set of first principles on which he always harped, as on the strings of a violin. On them his entire teaching rests, and his teaching is essentially ethical.

Carlyle was the great spiritualistic force of his age. His was by far the most powerful voice that England had heard for nearly two centuries. From the very outset of his career this philosopher-historian made it his business to wage war with Materialism, and to shatter its idols, before which the majority of his countrymen knelt down and still kneel down to worship. He wanted to give the prevailing state of society a thorough shaking and having passionate convictions which he could express with singular force and originality, he was able to strike his blows with terrific effect. Carlyle addressed himself particularly to those who affirmed that the philosophy of *matter* was all-sufficient, and who pointed triumphantly to the unexampled success of physical science as the best justification of its claims. He realized the gravity of the danger, and having set his heart on the accomplishment of the task, he proclaimed aloud from the house-tops that the thing most needed was the philosophy of mind, that the only forces capable of saving nations were sincerity of belief and heroism of action, that heroic action was only possible when morality was based on the vision of the Unseen, and that the nation which disregarded religion was on its way to ruin, its unexampled prosperity being only an infallible sign of its decay. To Carlyle religion was the fountain of everything genuine and sincere in this life. Although he himself had early given up all real adherence to any form of Christianity, he was by nature an intensely religious man, and nothing interested him save in its religious aspect. But

his religious creed was far from definite. It is really hard to explain what he meant by "religion," a word which puzzles so many of us, for he never gave it out clearly himself, and definition was the last thing he attempted in any question. In his *Past and Present* we have it that "Rituals, Liturgies, Creeds, Hierarchies, all this is not religion," and in the *Latter-day Pamphlets* he tells us that, "A man's religion consists not of the many things he is in doubt of and tries to believe, but of the few he is assured of, and has no need of effort for believing." Both explanations are rather vague and leave us none the wiser than before. But in *The Hero as Divine* Carlyle very nearly tells us that religion is the interior belief on which a man acts. If a man believes and recognizes that there is a spiritual order higher than himself, he has religion, and if he does not, he has no religion. To have religion a man must really believe and be convinced that there is an invisible order, an eternal organism of which he is but a unit. He must believe that he is living in a real world, with a real object and a real destiny, a destiny that is to have immense and eternal issues. And this belief must manifest itself in action, for the man who knows truth and practices falsehood is not a religious man. Religion, therefore, is a strictly spiritual or ideal conception of things, and consists in a firm belief that every man can and must place himself in living contact with the Infinite, the Invisible, and the Eternal. But it is not the logical understanding alone which can grapple with the highest truth and contemplate the world of the Invisible. Nor is science capable of dealing with it for science deals with the visible, which is only an appearance or a 'symbol,' the outward expression of the eternal and necessary principles of self-perfecting vitality. The Universe is a great mystery to man. He may not be able to explain it, or to find any speculative solution of the difficulties of

offers. Yet its inner meaning, hidden behind manifold 'symbols' or 'clothes,' is such that it can reveal itself only to the imaginative intuition of faith, for the essence of all phenomena apparent to the senses is as mysteriously divine as the highest things which are altogether beyond the mind and beyond all power of expression. But Phenomena are ever changing, and matter is only an appearance, the visible "garment of God." The Invisible alone is real and lasting, and men must get a clear vision of all that belongs to this higher and more spiritual world, the world of the Eternal and the Infinite, and shape their conduct accordingly.

Religion is the soul of life, because Morality rests on it, and Morality, according to Carlyle, consists in doing one's best in that which a man ought to do. What a man ought to do is his duty, and he is bound in conscience to obey its sacred call. Duty is the end of life, not pleasure, nor happiness, nor reward of any sort, for none of these abide, and a knowledge of their duty can only be attained through spiritual belief or religion. The duty that urges a man to do what he ought to do is the obligation and requirement of the moral law which includes and is above all other laws. Of this higher law science can give us no satisfactory explanation, and yet it must be known if we wish to prosper in this world. A man's morality consists in his readiness to act up to his belief, in his truthfulness, his genuineness and sincerity; and what is true of individuals is equally true of nations. National elevation can only be attained by striving after a high ideal and by observing the moral law which determines the issues of right and wrong. It is the non-observance of the great principles of justice and righteousness that have wrought the fall of mighty nations, and herein, according to Carlyle, lies the lesson of the French Revolution. The rulers and privileged class of France, the nobility and the clergy, had neglected their

duties, their aims had become low and sordid, and their destruction was inevitable. In much the same way Froude, Carlyle's disciple, in his *Short Studies on Great Subjects*, teaches that—

"History is the voice for ever sounding across the centuries the laws of right and wrong.....For every false word or unrighteous deed, for cruelty and oppression, for lust or vanity, the price has to be paid at last; not always by the chief offenders, but paid by some one. Justice and truth alone endure and live. Injustice and falsehood may be long-lived, but doomsday comes at last to them, in French Revolutions and other terrible ways."

Our conduct, therefore, is the main portion of our lives, and it must be based on religion, on a strictly spiritual conception of all things human, and not on materialism, that fatal neglect of the inner life which is the deadly enemy of morality as well as of religion. We must put away our shams and formulas, our quackery and unverity, our selfishness and vice, and speak truth and do justice. Greatness and imposture of any kind are absolutely incompatible. To be truly great a man must shake himself loose of all artifice and conventionalities, the hollow masks that hide the reality from the light of living day. He must avoid falsehood and hate pretence, and thus learn to build up a character that rests on the surest foundations of truthfulness and sincerity. All great men, all Heroes, have been sincere men, and it is only by virtue of their sincerity and the Truth that was in them, that their work still continues to live and to inspire many a weary straggler on the highway of life.

Lastly, says Carlyle, men must carry their belief into action, and thus prove their sincerity by giving tangible expression to the great truths in which they believe. Morality is the law of action, of doing what one ought to do, and action is always better than thought. Work alone abides. To strive after ideal duty is to change belief into action, to turn the moral idea into actual fact, and so to satisfy

our rational nature by acting in the light of a clear vision of the world of spirit which eludes the senses and even the intellect of man. To do one's duty is to do the best work we can, and to do the best work is to get rid of shams and formulas, of idleness and injustice. The permanence of work is the test of a man's sincerity, and his sincerity is the test of his real character. This in short is Carlyle's gospel of work, and no man preached it with greater zeal and fervour than he. To him labour was prayer, and his own advice to every man, each in his own sphere, is, "Do the duty which lies nearest to thee, which thou knowest to be a duty !..... 'Work while it is called to-day ; for the night cometh, wherein no man can work.'"

This synthesis of Religion, Morality, and Action makes up the ethical teaching of Carlyle, and as such, it is most fully set forth in *Sartor Resartus*, his own great manifesto and proclamation. The times were out of joint, and the leaven of new ideas was necessary to set them right again. "This world," said Carlyle, in one of his lectures on *Hero Worship*, "after all our science and sciences, is still a miracle ; wonderful, inscrutable, magical and more, to whosoever will think of it." And for his part he thought of it and its problems, both spiritual and material, during an entire life-time. There were days when he almost lapsed into a mood of doubt and despair, when the whole Universe appeared to him dark, purposeless, and Godless, a " vast, gloomy, solitary Golgotha and Mill of Death." But he was not the pessimist some would make him out to be, and his despondency was of short duration. All was not lost, he thought to himself, and Reverence, Belief, and Religion were still possible, if only society could be purged of its shallow unrealities, and men were to act in the true spirit of religious sincerity. Armed with these ideas, and filled with a high sense of his lofty mission as the great censor of his age, he gave battle to

Materialism, Atheism and the Utilitarian or "profit and loss" morality of his times, and poured forth the vials of his burning indignation and withering scorn on the hollowness of everything around him. In attacking them, however, he went from one extreme to another, for he found his new weapon of attack in a sort of transcendental Idealism or rather Mysticism, borrowed from the philosophers of Germany, and in most part from Fichte, whose theories were only a logical development of the incomplete system of Kant. It may not be possible for us all to believe that this world is wholly symbolical, nor does science teach us that external nature is merely the reflex of our own inward force, that matter is only the expression of mind, and that time and space are mere illusions. But whatever we may think or believe about any particular subject, the fact remains that in running counter to some of the demoralizing tendencies of his age, Carlyle did a great work which posterity shall not willingly let die. To him the world was not a païry mechanism, but a manifestation of the divine idea. Good and evil he did not consider as mere fictions and the only true standpoint from which History was to be regarded was the ethical standpoint, the standpoint of moral right and wrong, and not the standpoint of the identity of might (in the sense of brute strength) with right, for right is really "the eternal symbol of might." In other words the real "might," the unseen power which works in silence and propels mankind in the accomplishment of great and noble deeds, must have a moral justification. This is nowhere better illustrated than in the lecture on *The Hero as Poet*, where Carlyle speaks of the *might* of the Arabian Caliph in this way :—

"If the great Cause of Man, and Man's work on God's Earth, get no furtherance from the Arabian Caliph, then no matter how many scimitars he drew, how many gold piasters pocketed, and what uproar

and blazing he made in the world—he was but a loud-sounding inanity and futility; at bottom, he was not at all."

Lastly, Carlyle preached the comprehensiveness of religion, embracing the entire human race. Matthew Arnold in his poem, *Progress*, has written:—

"Children of men! the unseen Power, whose eye
For ever doth accompany mankind,
Hath look'd on no religion scornfully
That men did ever find."

And the same humanitarian spirit pervades all the writings of Carlyle from first to last. To those who wish to criticize his teaching as pure rationalism or as "undogmatic morality," he answers, religions may differ, but the essence of them all is one and true. Even Norse Paganism is true, true in so far as it went, true in that it recognized "the divineness of Nature" and "the divineness of Man," in a rude and simple manner, yet constituting "a great landmark in the religious development of mankind." In his view there could be nothing ultimately true in religion, for perfect truth lies beyond the grasp of man. All religions are merely "symbols"

of faith, and the highest symbols become in time out-worn. But some kind of religion a man must always have, for religion is the soul of life, the one perennial source of inspiration that beautifies his existence on earth. "I believe you will find in all histories," Carlyle once told the Edinburgh students, "that no nation that did not contemplate this wonderful universe with an awe-stricken and reverential feeling that there was a great, unknown, omnipotent, and all-wise, and all-victorious Being, superintending all men in it, and all interests in it—no nation ever came to very much, nor did any man either, who forgot that." Without reverence for this Being there can be no Religion, and without Religion the world is as good as dead. If, therefore, we wish to live as becomes men, let us be true towards our Creator, true towards ourselves, and true towards our neighbours. "All is God-like, or God" in this life; and our best attitude should be one of "awe, devout prostration, and humility of soul; worship if not in words, then in silence."

B. J. WADIA.

RAJAGRIHA AND ITS ANTIQUITIES

II.—From Rajgir to Giriyeek.

In the centre of the valley and in the midst of the old Rajagriha there is a ruined brick mound 19 feet, 8 inches. This is supposed to be the remains of an ancient stupa. A small Jaina temple,* called **Maniar Nath**, stands on this. Just outside this temple, there is a well filled with rubbish. Three small images were found at 19 feet below this well:—(1) Maya lying on a couch, (2) Buddha and two

attendants. The third is said to be Mahadev and his bull Nandi (very rude and indistinct). The natives of the place call it the treasury, and that it has never been opened. To the east, west and north of the mound there is a small room with brick walls and granite pillars.

At the side of the path leading through old Rajagriha from the north entrance to the Bawan Ganga defile, two **inscriptions** have been found on an old well—one is dated 1007 Samvat. The portion that is legible, "Sri

* Built 1780 A. D.

Dharmin," appears to be the name of the person who dug the well.

A long rambling inscription has been found on the flat rock over which the present path from the north to the Bawan Ganga defile passes. The popular legend describes the marks as left by the hands, feet and nails of the combatants Bhima and Jarasandha. The place is known as **Ranbhum**.

By the western branch of the Saraswati rivulet there is a spot called Rangabhumi "coloured earth"—of a deep red colour. Popular tradition ascribes the color to the blood of Jarasandha when killed by Bhima in the Malla fight.

Hiuen Tsiang's Description.

Some 300 paces north of the old town on the west side of the road is the **Kalanda Venuvana Vihara**. It still exists and a congregation of priests sweeps and waters it. Outside the north gate of the palace city is a *stupa*.* Here Deva Datta and Ajatasatru having agreed together as friends, liberated the drunken elephant for the purpose of killing Tathagata. But Tathagata miraculously caused 5 lions to proceed from his finger ends; on this the drunken elephant was subdued and stood still before him.

To the north-east of this spot is a *Stupa*. This is where Sariputra heard Asvajita, the Bhikshu, declare the law, and by that means reached the fruit (of an Arhat).

To the north of this place, not far off, there is a very deep ditch, by the side of which is built a *stupa*; this is the spot where Srigupta wished to destroy Buddha by means of fire concealed in the ditch and poisoned rice.

To the north-east of this fiery ditch of Srigupta at a bend of the city, is a *stupa*; this is where **Jivaka** the great physician built a **preaching hall** for Buddha.

* Hiuen Tsiang describes some stupas, most of them not mentioned by Cunningham, Stein or Beglar. Is it that they have ceased to exist?

Going about one *li* from the north gate of the mountain city we came to the **Kalanda Venuvana** where now the stone foundation and the brick walls of a Vihara exist.

To the east of the Kalanda Venuvana is a *stupa* built by Ajatasatru as a mark of reverence for Buddha.

By the side of the *stupa* of Ajatasatru Raja is another *stupa* which encloses the relics of half of the body of Ananda.

In the south-west angle of the Royal precincts are two small Sangharamas

Remains of Jarasandha's palace are to be found between the south of Rajgir and side of Udaygiri.

Old walls

forming the exterior line of rampart are still visible in many places. They are to be traced from Vipulagiri over Ratnagiri to the Nekpai embankment and thence over Udaygiri and across the southern outlet of the valley to Songiri. The importance of Rajagriha as the ancient capital of the country is forcibly brought home to us by the wide extent of the ground over which its remains spread. The lines of ruined walls still traceable through the thick jungle of the central plain between the two hill ranges indicate the site of the inner city of old Rajagriha or **Udayagiri** with a circuit of about 5 miles.

In a circular hollow mound—south-west corner of the town—a monument is visible. The hollow in the mound represents the original site of a *stupa* from which the bricks have been carried off. The *stupa* was 50 feet in height and beside it was a stone pillar 50 feet high on which the history of the foundation of the *stupa* was inscribed.

III.—Hindu Places of Pilgrimage.

(1) The Saraswati—a small rivulet issuing between Baibhar and Vipula. Sins are washed away by a dip in the water.

(2) Markandeya Khetra—west of the Prachi Saraswati and at the foot of Baibhar. Here

are two hot springs by the name of Ganga-Jumna.

(3) Madhabalaya—on the north of the Prachi, there is a place consecrated to Madhaba. Sins are washed away by the water of this rivulet.

(4) The northern portion of the Prachi Saraswati. Here there are five Shiva lingas, viz., Bibhandak, Grivamardan, Kapardak, Bratamokham and Dhaneswar.

(5) Banaritaran—Southern portion of the Prachi Saraswati. *Brahmasayujya* can be acquired by bathing here.

(6) Brahmakund*—At the foot of Baibhar. Well faced with stone,—hottest of the springs. Sins due to *Brahmahatya* are removed by a dip in this spring.

(7) Saptarshikund †—Seven hot springs meet in one sheet of water—this is called the Saptarshikund.

(8) Panchanada—east of Brahmakund. The water of this water-fall is as pure as that of Benares.

The following are the hot springs on mount Vipula :—

(1) Sita Kund, (2) Suraj Kund, (3) Ganes Kund, (4) Chandrama Kund, (5) Ram Kund, Rishya-Sringa-Kund. The last one has been appropriated by the Mussalmans and is called Makdum Kund after a celebrated saint, Chilla Shah, whose tomb is close to the spring. It is said that Chilla was originally called Chilwa and that he was an Ahir. He must, therefore, have been a Hindu converted to Islam.

Entering the valley and ascending the mountains towards the south-east 15 *li* we arrive at the hill called “Gridhrakuta” ‡ or Vulture’s cave hill. Three *li* from the

* Are there any restrictions on Muhammadans and Christians taking bath here ?

† The popular legend is that these Kundas have been existing from time immemorial.

‡ Gridhrakuta Parvata or “Vulture’s Cave” hill. Directions given by Fa Hian.

top is a stone cavern facing the south. Buddha used to sit in meditation in this place. He dwelt much in this mountain and delivered the excellent law in its developed form. Thirty paces to the north-west is another stone cell in which Ananda practised meditation. The legend goes that the Deva Mara Pisuna assumed the form of a vulture and appeared in the cavern before Ananda and terrified him. Buddha by his spiritual power pierced the rock and with his out-stretched hand patted Ananda’s shoulder ; on this his fear was allayed. The traces of the bird and of the hand-hole are still quite plain ; on this account the hill is called “the hill of the Vulture’s cave.”§ In front of the cave is the place where the four Buddhas sat down. Each of the Arhats likewise had a cave where he sat in meditation. Altogether there are several hundreds of these. Here also where Buddha was walking to and fro from east to west in front of his cell, Deva Datta from between the northern eminences of the mountain, rolled down athwart his path a stone 15 feet high and 30 paces round which wounded Buddha’s toe. The stone is still there.¶ The hall in which Buddha preached has been destroyed. The foundations of the brick works still exist however. || “There is a brick Vihara on the borders of a steep precipice at the western-end of the mountain. Here Tathagata often stopped in old days and preached the law. There is a figure of him preaching the law of the same size as life. On the top of the northern mountain is a stupa. From this point Tathagata beheld the town of Magadh and for seven days expounded the law.”

Giriyek.

Two ranges of hills run towards the north-east for about 36 miles to the bank of the Panchana river, just opposite the village of

§ As H. Tsiang describes.

¶ Cunningham says that this is quite inaccessible.

|| As Fa Hian describes.

Giriyek.* The Northern range ends abruptly in two lofty peaks overhanging the Panchana river. The lower peak on the east contains the remains of Jarasandha's *baithak*—300 feet to the E. N. E. and 100 feet lower. And it also contains the remains of several buildings. The principal ruins are those of a Vihar or temple approached by a steep flight leading through pillared rooms—part of a monastery. A steep road connects the monastery and the *baithak*.

Jarasandha's baithak† is a solid cylindrical brick work, 28 feet in diameter and 21 feet in height. The cylinder was once surmounted by a solid dome or hemisphere of brick. The ornamentation is similar to that of the great temple at Bodhi Gya.

This Jarasandha's tower is close to the Hansa Sangharama or "**Goose monastery**" described by Hiuen Tsiang. In connection with the name "goose monastery," goes the following legend:—

"One day when taking exercise, a mendicant, the steward of the monastery, saw a flock of geese high up in the air, and as the monks of his fraternity although strictly abstemious, had experienced great difficulty in procuring sufficient food, he exclaimed playfully:—'To-day the pittance of the monks is insufficient. O noble beings (Mahasattvas), you ought to have compassion on our circumstances.' No sooner had he spoken these words than one of the geese fell dead at his feet. The horrorstruck mendicant ran to tell the tale to his brethren who became overwhelmed with grief. 'Buddha,' said they, 'established his law for man's guidance under all circumstances. The Mahayana (great vehicle) is the source of truth, while we have foolishly followed the doctrine of the Hinayana (lesser vehicle).

'Let us renounce our former opinions. The goose has taught us a salutary lesson, let us do honor to her eminent virtue by transmitting it to the most distant ages.' They accordingly built a stupa over the dead goose and adorned it with an inscription relating the pious devotion of the goose."

* 10 miles south-east of Nalanda.

† About a hundred yards to the south-west of the stupa the ridge culminates in a small summit which was undoubtedly occupied by buildings. The broad flight of steps leading up to it from the stupa

On the west side of Jarasandha's tower there is a **brick chamber** (cleared by Cunningham) 7 feet square. About one foot below the surface there are 84 seals of lac firmly embedded in the mud mortar, the seals being 3 inches long and 2 inches broad, bearing the inscription of a large stupa with smaller stupas on each side, the whole surrounded by an inscription in medieval characters, "Ya Dharmmahetu Prabhava", the well known formula of the Buddhist faith.

Gridhradwar cave‡ on the southern face of the mountain, two miles to the south-west of the village of Giriyek.§ There is a natural fissure connecting the cave with Jarasandha's throne upwards. By Hiuen Tsiang the "Gridhradwar cave" is called Indrasilaguha or "the cave of Indra's stone" being named after the stone on which were delineated the 42 points on which Indra had questioned Buddha.

The higher peak on the west, to which the name of Giriyek peculiarly belongs, bears an oblong terrace covered with the ruins of several buildings. The eastern and western peaks are connected by a steep pavement which was formerly continued down to the foot of the hill opposite the village Giriyek.

Giriyek is important to the Buddhists as may be seen from the many ruins near the village on the east bank of the Panchana river. Close to the stream, there is an extensive mound of ruins $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile long from north to south. There are the remains of two paved ascents on the river side and of three more on the opposite side of the mound. In the middle there is a small fort and at the northern end there are several pieces of sculpture. One of these is inscribed and dated in the year 42, the regnal year of one of the Pal kings of Magadh.

and massive terrace walls on the west can be clearly seen through the jungle.

‡ "Vulture's passage"

§ East of the Panchana river and opposite the eastern end of two Rajgir ranges. The other name of Giriyek is Khirkiya.

Leaving Rajgir by the road which skirting the northern slope of the range of hills goes to Giriyeek, there is seen on the right, between the road and the foot of the hills, a large lake or marsh. The road in fact runs on the crest of the embankment of this sheet of water. The name of the embankment is Asraenbandh or **Asurenbandh**. In connection with this there is a very delightful legend which runs thus:—Close to Jarasandha's *baithak* there is Bhagwan's garden which in a year of unusual drought was nearly destroyed. Bhagwan promised to give his daughter and half of his raj to whoever would save the garden in a single night. The chief of the *kahars* came forward with many followers and performed

this task by building the great embankment to bring the waters of the Bawan Ganga to the foot of the hill below the garden and then lifting it up by means of *chaur* (swing basket and ropes). When the task was about to be done, Bhagwan feared to ally his daughter to a *kahar* and so he devised a means to cheat this *kahar*. Pippar came forward to help Bhagwan by assuming the form of a cock. At the instigation of Bhagwan, the cock crowed before the work was done, it being night still. Supposing the time to be morning by the crow of the disguised cock, the *kahars* left their work for fear of their lives and fled to the Ganges side, where the Mokameh railway station is now situated.

HARIPRASAD MAZUMDAR.

THE AIMS OF THE BRAHMA-VIDYALAYA*

THE number of people to whom the opening of the *Brahma-Vidyalyaya* is likely to appeal as an event of any significance must, at the present time, be exceedingly small. And yet the promoters of the institution have felt it to be in keeping with the fitness of things to give it as wide a publicity as can possibly be thrown open to it. Amongst a small circle it has been a thing long dreamt of, long hoped for, oftentimes discussed in friendly gatherings, and thought over in silent meditation, and to them it will be a day of rejoicing past expression when it is at last going to take a definite

shape, and stand forth with a distinct vocation and a localized responsibility, praying earnestly for the blessing of God and the good will of men, and challenging even from the unsympathetic a recognition of its right to existence.

SHORT HISTORY.

There was a *Brahma-Vidyalyaya* opened in 1859, shortly after Keshab Chandra Sen had joined the Brahmo Somaj. It was an institution where Maharshi Devendra Nath Tagore and Brahmananda Keshab Chandra Sen taught Theology—the New Theology of the day—when Theology meant not a study of dogma, or

* An address given in the Albert Hall, on July, 8, 1907, at a public meeting under the presidency of the Maharajadhiraj of Burdwan, to inaugurate the *Brahma-Vidyalyaya*—a Theological School—just opened in Calcutta, under the control of a council composed as follows:—

The Maharajadhiraj of Burdwan,—*President*.

Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar—*Vice-President*.

Members.—Dr. P. K. Ray (Principal); Pandit S. N. Sastri; Babu

Umesh Chandra Dutt (since deceased); Principal Heramba Chandra Maitra; Principal Brojendra Nath Seal; Hon'ble Babu Jogend Chandra Ghosh; Pandit Sitanath Tattwabhusan; Hon'ble Justice N. G. Chandavarkar; Principal R. Venkataratnam Naidu; Professor Ruchiram Sahni; Mr. Lalsankar Umiyasankar.

Secretary.—Mr. Satyendra Nath Tagore.

Joint Secretary.—Professor Benoyendra Nath Sen.

Assistant Secretary.—Babu Hem Chandra Sarkar.

even scriptural criticism,—but the search of the soul for the Eternal Reason. Only a few of the lectures given by Keshab Chandra Sen have been preserved; the lectures of the Maharshi were reported by his son, Mr. Satyendra Nath Tagore (Secretary of the present *Brahma-Vidyalyaya*) and published in the form of a book called the Faith and Doctrines of the Brahma Religion (ब्राह्म धर्मोक्तयः अथ विश्वासः).

One wonders why the institution was not kept up—it might have done so much,—it might have built a rock-foundation for the faith of the Brahma Somaj, prevented so many vagaries, given a solid basis for the impulses and spiritual experiences wherewith the life of the church was blessed later to stand upon, even slowly revealed the lines along which the whole system of religious belief, worship, ceremonial, etc., of the millions of the country was to be reconstructed. But this is no time for regrets.

The idea of having a Theological school for the Brahma Somaj was next revived when the Brahma Somaj Committee was constituted. This committee, consisting of the representatives of all the sections of the Brahma Somaj, was formed in 1896, as a result of the visit of the Rev. J. T. Sunderland to India as representative of the British and Foreign Unitarian Association. The main object of the committee was to co-operate with our English and American Unitarian friends in promoting the theistic movement in India, and amongst the Articles of Association as proposed by Mr. Sunderland, was the following:—

“The taking of such steps toward the creation in the future, as soon as it can be brought about, by the joint efforts of the Brahma Somajes, the English Unitarians, and the American Unitarians, of a strong and high-grade Theological School in Calcutta—a school manned by professors of such ability and learning as will command respect and attention not only all over India but in Europe and America.

“In the absence of such a Theological School in India or until it can be created, the sending of one or

more young men of ability, each year to Manchester College, Oxford, England, for theological education.”

Since 1896, the Brahma Somaj Committee has been sending at certain intervals to the Manchester College, Oxford, and lately also to the Meadville Theological School in America, a number of these scholars who are intended to receive a training mainly with a view to their being of help in the working of a Theological School in Calcutta.

The necessity of such a theological school has in recent years been forced upon the consideration of the theistic body in India, with greater urgency than ever. It has been discussed by the Brahma Somaj Committee, by the promoters of the Society of Theists, by a special representative committee appointed at a public meeting of Brahmos, and it was made the subject of a resolution at the last Theistic Conference, representing theists from all parts of India, which assembled together in Calcutta in December last.

The Brahma-Vidyalyaya, therefore, is ushered into existence with the sympathy of the members, promoters, friends and sympathisers of the Theistic movement all over India, watching over its birth with the keenest interest. Nor is the interest of our friends beyond the seas less watchful or active. It is just a few weeks since a message came from the Rev. F. C. Southworth, President of the Meadville Theological School, in America, which contains the following:—

“In a recent number of the *Indian Messenger* I was much interested to read about the successful establishment of your new theological college. I am delighted, indeed, to hear of it. This was your dream when you talked with me in Meadville. It is good to learn that it has so soon become a reality.”

IDEA AND SCOPE.

So writes Mr. Southworth from Meadville, and we have not the slightest doubt that there are many other friends, both in America and in England, whose hearts are at one with us in all those hopes and aspirations that

gather round this little theological school that we are opening to-day. And yet, if there is one feeling which more than another fills our hearts at the present moment,—it is this: It is easy perhaps to dream, it is not quite so easy to see that dream become a reality. But the dream itself is not lost. It is quite as fresh and vivid in the mind as it was when it shone as a bright and beautiful luminary before the enchanted vision of the “Pilgrim” wandering far from home, beyond seas and across continents, sojourning amongst those loving and hospitable friends in Meadville; or perhaps it would be truer to say that it was the dream itself that had led the poor pilgrim to leave home, and stake everything, and set out in quest of light and guidance for its own fulfilment. It may not be waste of time just to speak one word about that dream itself. We dream of a theological school—a *Brahma-Vidyālaya*—that would be an *Asrama* of the Rishis of old, arboured in some quiet, shaded nook, where Nature breathes forth perpetual inspiration into the soul of man,—not cut off either from the busy and active life of men and the arts and pursuits of modern life, somewhat like that quiet, picturesque Pennsylvanian town of Meadville itself; surrounded withal, if possible, by an intellectual atmosphere such as that of Oxford; breathing the spirit of intellectual and spiritual freedom, and filled with bright-faced, sound-hearted teachers and students such as one meets with in the Harvard Divinity School of America. We had dreamt, that for the locality of our *Asrama*, it might not be impossible to find even in India, a quiet, healthy town,—which might possibly be a University town,—or at least a town with one or more colleges, and one of these might be, if not the Presidency College, at least a college thoroughly equipped and maintained by Government, so that we should have a neighbourhood well-fitted to furnish the necessary intellectual stimulus,

and the materials of culture, secular and spiritual. We still dream that it would only be necessary to make the right sort of appeal to the instinct for theological scholarship and spiritual discipline and culture, which lies imbedded in the deepest heart of India all over the country, and also an appeal to the munificence of those who alone can furnish the material means for the success of such undertakings; and it might not be impossible to get together men and funds that would revive the memories of Nalanda, and establish once more a centre of religious culture—broad, catholic, un-sectarian, open-hearted—opening its doors for the study and appreciation of all scriptures, all teachers, all saints and prophets, with a heartiness of welcome whereof India alone (under Asoka, or Siladitya or Akbar) has shown the example in the past, and which, in the mysterious arrangements of Providence himself, is to-day possible to India alone;—using the raw materials of the world’s theological systems, as the vesture and organ for a spirit of Faith and Worship, broad as Humanity itself;—receiving with cordial hospitality, teachers, pupils and pilgrims from distant lands in the East and the West.

BEGINNINGS.

We shall have to be careful, lest any misapprehension should arise in the matter, to send word to our American friend to tell him that *this dream* is still far, far indeed, from becoming a reality. Still every beginning, earnestly undertaken, is a reality whereof the full significance is not apparent from the first, and every reality may in the end surpass the utmost anticipations of a dream. Our beginning has its drawbacks. At the outset of our work, we find with inexpressible sorrow that one or two workers,* in whom were centred our very highest hopes in this matter, have, just when the need of their presence

* Particularly the late Professor Mohit Chandra Sen and Babu Umesā Chandra Dutt.

was the greatest, passed behind the veil. Even our available forces are scattered in the most distracting fashion, and we do not always know what can bring them together.

We believe there are men in the country, in whom the mine of traditional theological lore is still very deep and varied, and we are anxious to bring their light from under the bushel and make it shine for the whole country, but we do not know where and how to find them, and also whether they would consent to work in the spirit which to us is essential. We are dependent upon our English and American friends to help us with teachers who will teach the Jewish and Christian scriptures in the light of undogmatic and unconventional scholarship and criticism. An exclusively secular education from childhood upwards, and that of a most partial and imperfect description; in fact almost an absolute unfamiliarity with the higher things of the spirit, such as is to be found perhaps in no other country of the world, has blunted the spiritual instincts and aspirations of the new generations of our students; and it is hard to evoke in them the enthusiasm without which no such institution as we contemplate can flourish. And then last, though not the least, there is the question of funds. People are willing to help, sure enough, provided the work is rightly done, and they are convinced of the spirit in which it is to be done. But on the other hand, the question arises: How can there be a beginning at all, and that on the right lines, unless the funds are forthcoming?

And so we have been hesitating and hesitating till at last it seems just possible to-day that we can make a beginning. A generous and spontaneous offer of help,* (for which may the blessing of God rest upon the helper!) makes this beginning possible. There are

other promises of help which also are deeply encouraging. If genuine and truthful spiritual culture be the deepest need of India, as it was her crown in the past, there can be no doubt that this will call forth her best energies too, and princes and peasants will give liberally of their own, each in their own way, for anything which has that for its end,—provided always that it is genuine and truthful. We have on our council men who are representative of the theistic movement all over India; our workers are as yet few and limited, but as a mark of continuity, as it were, where there have been so many changes, and so many men and things have passed away, we have for our Secretary, the man, who, just half a century ago, was associated with his venerable father, the Maharshi, in the work of the first Brahma-Vidyālaya.

SPIRIT AND PRINCIPLES.

What is to be our work? And what is the spirit in which this work is to be carried on? In one word, our spirit is the spirit of perfect spiritual freedom,—and our work is to be twofold, *viz.*, (1) The study of Theology in a perfectly unsectarian and undogmatic spirit, and (2) The training of workers who shall make self-consecration to the service of God and Man in the above spirit the supreme end of their life. This programme is sure to give rise to a number of queries which I shall proceed to answer as briefly as possible.

First, why waste any time and energy in the study of Theology at all? Is not antiquated and effete, utterly useless in these days—a hindrance, rather, in the way of scientific progress, of industry and commerce which alone must be considered as the supreme end of men and nations? Or again, even recognizing a certain value for religion and morality, why make them complicated with theology?

A number of points may be set forth in answer to this query.

* The Maharajadhiraj of Burdwan has out of his own enthusiasm taken the school under his support, become its first Patron, and for the present made a grant of Rs. 300 a month for it.

(1) Consider what is taking place in those countries which are the most advanced in science, in commerce and industry. Do they ignore, do they despise Theology? Consider simply the amount of new theological literature that comes out every year, every month, almost every week, in Germany, in England, in America. Interest in theology is not a hindrance, not a sign of decadence; on the contrary, it is a significant evidence that the highest intelligence of the land is not engrossed with the wants of the body, but is free to devote itself to the supreme questions of the spirit. Then again consider how men like Tyndall and Huxley and Spencer, and almost every distinguished scientist of the age, have not been indifferent to theology; on the contrary, they have been busy with these same supreme questions; only in their case it has been an attempt at re-thinking old thoughts, and renaming old ideas, whereof "The Creed of a Layman," by F. Harrison, is perhaps the latest example.

(2) Where is the country, outside India, where education, from childhood upwards, is so exclusively, so relentlessly secular, materialistic, utilitarian; where all sense of Reverence, sense of Beauty, sense of the sanctity of human life and human relations, is simply smothered and crushed by sheer want of proper stimulation and culture? We speak of man as the child of God; but it must be remembered that without culture, this child of God is a mere animal. And this in a country where the whole life of man was portioned out into four periods,—and each called an *Asrama*, each consecrated as a religious and spiritual discipline!

(3) What country, other than India, suffers such an exceptionally rich inheritance, in the shape of scriptures and commentaries, religious codes and canons, systems of philosophy and theology, simply to run to waste and rot, for want of a little critical, discriminative treatment? In the West even countries of

the most orthodox and conservative type are not without some power of adaptation and adjustment, and hence in their universities and seminaries, abbeys and cathedrals, Theology is not altogether abandoned as dead. In India there are temples and *mathas* richly endowed, there are rich communities, Hindu or Muhammadan or Jain or something else—nay even schools and scholars, but how fast disappearing if not already almost extinct, and only for want of a little power of adaptation!

(4) In the fourth place, as regards the distinction between religion and theology it is a characteristic thing to be noted that there has never been a religious faith or movement in the world that has not had its theological development. The impulse may have come from the necessity of a purification of faith and doctrine, and elimination of false accretions and vagaries, as in the case of Buddhism; or the fulfilment and deeper self-realization of faith in the fuller life of ideas evolving on the soil wherein it is planted, as in the case of Christianity and Vaishnavism. The need of pure theistic faith to express and expand itself into a living theology of its own, from both these points of view, is, at the present day most imperative. The great teachings and revelations of the age have to be kept unadulterated by a stern process of purging and purification, while, on the other hand, our spiritual life cannot find its fullest realization except in the living assimilation of the great ideas which the age has either inherited or evolved.

I now proceed to the second query about our programme. What, it might be asked, is unsectarian and undogmatic theology? The theology that belongs to a special church or denomination is intelligible, but what is theology on an undenominational basis?

The full answer to this question must be worked out in actual life;—for it is the great Theology of the future; it is Theology as it is yet to be, as it has to shape itself in accordance with the Spirit of the Age, whereof

only small beginnings have been made here and there in every part of the world, and to which India also has been making, and will still further have to make, her contributions however humble but in a spirit of faith and love and from a vantage ground which perhaps is open to no other country in the world.

All that we can say at present is that it is not open to the charge of vagueness or uncertainty, for it represents a very definite *point of view*, an intensely concentrated spirit of faith, from which the search of the soul sets out for Eternal Reason, and the question is investigated of the relations between God and man, and man and man. Nothing could be more mistaken than to identify it with a colourless (so-called) natural Theology, or on the other hand with a shallow eclecticism which has no faith of its own. Its very characteristic is that it has its origin in *Faith* and not in *speculation*; it seeks to be the rational embodiment of *revelation*, and not merely a collection of *philosophisings* in the dark. That faith is the faith in an ever-living God, accessible to every human soul; and it believes in the revelation that revelation itself is not confined to any age or section of humanity, but is the perpetual apocalypse of the Infinite to man. It is the theology of this faith, worked out in all its branches, that it is our aspiration to cultivate and study and disseminate to the best of our power, under the blessing of God.

This will include a study of Philosophy and Sociology, of Scriptures, their traditions and interpretations, of the history of religious movements, and dogmas, and churches, of the lives of great and good men, of all countries and ages, apart from all sectarian bias, but always with a special view to the peculiar spiritual inheritances and possibilities that Providence may have intended for us, people of India. We study all scriptures, and all churches, not that we may adopt any one as ours, or combine them all; but because even

thus we shall the more fully realize this new faith and the new spiritual ideal which is our own, in itself definite and not identified with any that existed in the past, and which is the special revelation of the age.

It is in no sense an exaggeration to say that India perhaps is the only country where such a faith and such an idea could have dawned in its fullness. I speak only of the faith and the idea; I am far from claiming that there is as yet any church that has at all come to realizing this idea.

What is known as liberal religion in the West is striving after the same or at least a similar ideal, but it has its limitations which seem to be almost necessary. I was present at the last assemblage of the International Conference of this Liberal Religion at Geneva, and the one thing in the proceedings that struck me was how the outlook of liberal religion in Europe and America was almost wholly confined to Christianity alone. Consider another instance. Here is this "New Theology" which has been making some stir of late. It has been criticised from various quarters, even snubbed as no theology at all. Be it so; it is still admitted to be a very definite *point of view*, at any rate and is a point of view to which we so cordially respond. In its repudiation of the infallibility of any written book, of the orthodox doctrine about the fall of man, the juridical interpretation of sin and atonement; its recognition of the ultimate seat of authority in religion as within each individual soul; its acceptance of the immanence of God, the divinity of man, eternity of the Logos, universality of incarnation, salvation through love the spiritual significance of immortality; it sets forth so unmistakably almost what is our own standpoint. And yet there is a silence that marks its difference from us. If the minister of the City Temple had been living and working in India, or better still, if he had been born an Indian, he would have added one chapter more

to his book, wherein he would have spoken about the revelation of God through *all* the scriptures of the world, and the hopes of humanity through the *harmony and reconciliation of religions*.

We reverence the Buddhist and Muhammadan and Christian and other religions and their scriptures, not because we are going to be Christians or Buddhists or Muhammadans ourselves, but because they are indeed the revelations of God, in their fit times and places; and we believe it is only the recognition of the working of Providence amongst all races and nations that alone can inspire *a reverence for humanity as humanity*, and make for the realization of the spiritual Brotherhood of Man.

APPEAL.

So much about the spirit of our theology, and the spirit of our institution. We earnestly invite all those who are at one with us in this spirit, to give us a helping hand. We appeal, respectfully and lovingly, to Christians and Buddhists, Muhammadans and Parsees, Jainas and Sikhs, or whatever other denominations our appeal may reach, to help us to have a better understanding of their religions and scriptures, interpreted from the standpoint of rational and spiritual freedom. We would respectfully ask our brethren of the various denominations scattered broad-cast over the country to open centres of their own for carrying out the natural evolution of their faiths and practices in harmony with the spirit of the age. Wherever we get suitable teachers and instructors, willing to work in this spirit, we shall be happy to open courses of lectures or classes for them which will help in the process of evolving the theology of the future.

Our other object is to train workers who will consecrate their life to the service of God and man—in the spirit of this faith and theology. Most urgently are their services needed amongst the masses. Seldom is the importance of this work realized. It is almost like the teaching of the deaf and the dumb and the blind. To teach an illiterate man to read and to write is perhaps to put a soul into him. To help him to know God and worship Him, *for himself*, and not vicariously through a priest, is to make that soul a blessing indeed. It is a simple message that has to be brought to him, a simple truth that has to be taught. But the message has to be brought home, the truth has to be made a reality of life. And there are millions who have to be thus helped. The workers for this purpose must be men of no mean type—must themselves be free from superstition, from selfishness, from spiritual vanity, which perhaps is the worst of all to stand in the way of such work. They must be men in whom faith and devotion have, by training and culture, become a part of their constitution. It shall be the duty of the institution to provide such training and culture. They must also in our present circumstances, be men who should endeavour to keep their physical needs within stern limits; and in strict subordination to this higher call of life. For those needs it shall be the endeavour of the Institution to provide. A few scholarships and stipends have been already arranged for; we hope those who may have the impulse to support the Institution on the ground of its principles, will not, in their generosity, forget the importance of this aspect of its work.

BENOYENDRANATH SEN.

SAVITRI—AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY

PART III.

MY FIRST CHILD.

I

At home—and with my husband's house within an hour's walk! The village women soon began to ask why? The answer was not far to seek. It was widely known that my mother-in-law was laying heavy hands upon me. I would seldom go at all to my husband's house; and if I ever went I would return the following day. At such times my mother-in-law used to be desperate.

"I have lived four and forty years, and today, because you came to my family, I have to survive the epithets that are attached to my name. Madam, I am your most obedient servant. I am a very hard mother-in-law, am I not? I ask you to do this and I ask you to do that, is it not? And I ask you to do the work of the whole house and leave my daughters to play and torment you, is it not? I will see to that!"

This threat used to weigh me down; and depressed and disheartened, trembling to approach my mother-in-law, I slipped away at the next earliest opportunity. Near my house was the priest's who happened to depend upon my father. Him I would call to accompany me and would walk the whole distance to my father's house, only asking my husband's permission.

II

My husband was very kind to me. In fact his love for me was my worst enemy. He would plead for me, which estranged him from his parents. By and by matters came to such a climax that my husband strictly asked me never to come to his house.

"They may poison you—they may kill you—they are so very enraged"—said he one day—"my father, too, is angry."

"Father too! Narayana, too, angry—it is impossible."

It was my father that said it. I remember it so well. Oh! how I then drank those sweet words! For my mother was advising me that, married as I was, my lot was thrown in their midst, and whether I liked it or not. I must pull on.

"The sins that you might have committed in a previous birth now redound on you in this life"—concluded my mother, "and you have to live it out. You have to look upon her as your mother."

Mother! Look upon her as my mother! it was dreadful, very dreadful. The picture was horribly disconcerting.

Neither could I find sympathy from my brothers. Married themselves, they had learnt to place their affections more upon their wives. But here I never was angry, for what had my own husband done? And sometimes my brothers used to point out that I ought not, nay, would not be allowed to remain for ever in the ancestral house. It was a disgrace that had never befallen the family before. Women ought to be patient, and must modestly submit to all that overtakes them. Because I was rich, that is, a rich man's daughter, was I to fly in the face of my mother-in-law? Was there not honor to protect? What were other people saying?

III

Thus even at home I could not find that happiness which was my solace. Ever say what my mother would, I stuck to the place.

I would rather have jumped into the nearest well than spent a day in my husband's house.

One year passed—two years passed—and things were in the same condition. I was in my father's house. My husband would come often and often. He used to consult long and seriously with my father and go away. But some remedy must be found. Things could not go on like this.

"I will myself go and speak it out with Narayana—" said my father one morning—"Savitri's husband says that Narayana is putting a heavy face at him also. It is very unfortunate."

IV

The truth was this. My mother-in-law used to insist that I should be taken over to her house. My husband would always brush her aside. He even accused her of tyranny and brutality to her face. My mother-in-law, on such occasions, would invariably shed tears. She would curse her fate that had so suddenly changed her son's mind against his own mother! My father-in-law, of course, never liked that his wife should ever feel sorry, and would interfere. And whenever he interfered, it often happened that my husband was roundly served with abuse. My husband was now twenty-two, and began to have some idea of the wide world around him. He had a smattering of English; and he resolved to chalk out a path for himself.

And so it happened that one day the quarrel between the son and the father grew violent.

They both waxed hot—and Narayana was always noted for his imperiousness.

"I tell you, sir—" said Narayana, "as long as I live, it is I that must rule here and not you. And I would have my wife serve nobody's will."

My husband had never had the courage at any time to answer his father to his face. In silence he felt those burning words pierce his

heart, and with a heavy bosom he sought my father's advice.

"I will never again darken my father's doors, until he is dead—" said my husband—so very much affected he was. It was then that my father resolved to intervene, and my father did go that very day.

And I must add here that I loved my husband all the more for what I considered his high spirit. I loved him much because he had sworn to keep away from his father's house. And I need never go there any more. Perhaps, under ordinary circumstances, I might have felt some fear if not repugnance for the man who could speak so lightly of his parents. Could I speak in such a way of my father and mother? Oh, the thought was crushing. Yet in my husband I liked it much—I could not explain the reason.

V

I said Narayana was of a very imperious nature. And when my father went to him, he was more so. Perhaps Narayana had known why he had come. He asked him to be seated, but there was a distance and a coldness about the man which, my father used to say, did not correspond with what he expected of a man with so large a heart as to fall at his feet on a sudden impulse. After the usual exchange of courtesies, my father, who was not a man of many words, came directly to the point.

"I am come, Narayana, to speak to you about the relations that now exist between your son and yourself as well as that between my daughter and your wife. I have borne it so long, but, Sir, I must appeal to you as to one who is learned and has seen much of the world. This must cease."

"What—?" Narayana asked with contempt. "This sort of relationship between father and son—" returned my father.

"Out of my house this instant!—" and Narayana was on his legs—"out of my house

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this instant I say—you come to teach me ! you come to beard the lion in his den—out I say !”

His loud and angry tones attracted immense crowds. People came pouring in. Narayana was much feared and respected; and people came to know the reason why he was enraged. Calm, with his stern, immovable face walked away my father. They made way for him, because who was there that did not know Krishna? And everyone returned home, all speaking of the huge bombshell that had been thrown. Narayana had openly insulted Krishna. Both of them were eminent people. What would happen?

VI

My father came back. He had the same calm appearance, the same steady step. We had already heard of the treatment he had received at the hands of Narayana, and we dreaded to face him. But he was never affected. He came and attended to his duties as usual. He went to his fields and to the tank and to the temple. None dared to ask him anything. Only that evening he called my husband and had a long long talk with closed doors. At ten o'clock at night, they came out. We were all waiting, for how could we eat, all the male members of the family not having eaten?

That same night my husband was to start for Madras to consult lawyers. My father had resolved to institute legal proceedings against Narayana. My husband has to sue him for partition. It was all settled—and the very night, after meals, my husband went away.

And it was the first time that I felt as if I were losing a friend. I cried, because I loved the man who loved me, and who for my sake had quarrelled with his own father and mother, who had come out of his happy home where he was born and bred and where he could command any luxury he liked. I cried

because I loved him. He started for Madras at my father's expense, for he had no money then; and before he went away he came aside and said that I should prepare myself against his arrival to leave my father's house and live separately, because he had other objects in view, now that he was bound for Madras, first, to consult lawyers and secondly to meet an old friend of his father's to obtain an independent employment anywhere.

VII

Off to the town where my husband had secured an employment on twenty rupees a month! What a very clever boy! the village people murmured. After all he was not a graduate. He knew only a little English. Yet he had managed to get an employment on twenty rupees a month! And grand arrangements were made for my departure. My mother had packed up things for me which, it seemed, would last many years to come. Many people advised me to do this and to do that; but I never received any advice. As I said I had learnt to do this and that from him; and for the first time I left my father's house without feeling the longing as to when I should return again.

At regular intervals of two or three months either my brother or cousin used to come to see where I was, just “to see how I was getting on.” Narayana, too, had that affection for me which made him long for his company. And my husband would go to his father's house, though he had, in his anger, sworn that he would not do so. Only I still felt the strongest hatred for everyone in that house. It only aggravated it. And during the vacations when we came from the place of my ‘employment’ to our own house, I invariably went to my father's house and my husband to his—and though I was often invited, I never went to my mother-in-law's.

VIII

Thus passed one year and two years and three years. I was living with my husband

Gaily and gladly bounded the days into months and the months into years. On one occasion, while I was in my mother's house, enjoying the "summer recess of my husband," my mother came to me with a face full of anxiety.

"I have sent for the Astrologer—be prepared for him."

Why? What necessity for an astrologer! I was all right. I was keeping good health: I was always happy. Where then was the necessity for an astrologer?

"You have no children yet—your mother-in-law has done something! She has offered up some *mantras*! That is why you have no children."

The idea! Done something! *Mantras* to make me barren! It was dreadful! Yes, my mother-in-law could do such a thing. She was up to that sort of thing. What a terrible idea—it somehow took possession of me. I waited for the astrologer, and he read my fate and the past and the future, said that an attempt had been made to ruin me, and tied a string round my hand to protect me from any such attempts in future.

Surely, the Astrologer was a great man, for, no sooner had he tied the string than, so the villagers said, there was a new grace in my face. The devil that was so long having sway over me had to submit to the *mantras*, and once being left free, I was full of beauty and vigour. So they said, and when I heard them say so, I felt so too. Even my own husband believed in the fact that his mother had made wild attempts to blight my prospects for life. This news spread fast, and my mother-in-law foamed with rage and prayed that I might die—nay, that her own son might die so that she might have the grim delight of seeing me a widow. So great was the tension of feeling.

It infuriated my father-in-law, too, a good deal that wild stories should have been spread at the expense of his wife; it infuriated him more that legal proceedings should have been

instituted against him, and though my husband was now and then going to them, and was being received well, yet somehow they had learnt to look upon him as an enemy. His brothers looked upon him with suspicion. They shrank back from him. They hesitated to take any presents from him.

IX

A year after the astrologer's visit I had to go back to my mother's house. I was soon to be a mother and against that contingency I was sent early to be taken care of by my mother. The ceremonies that had to be gone through were gone through. From my husband's house none came—that was very conspicuous. I had everything that I wished for at my command. I was asked to pray to God every day, and I prayed for a good and a noble son, even like *Arjuna*. And at night several stories from the Ramayana and the Mahabharata were translated to me. The blessings of the priests were invoked on me and my unborn child. I was enjoined to dress neatly and well, to put on my ornaments so that the goddess may have a liking for me. And every Saturday I rose early in the morning and after a clean bath worshipped God Siva in the temple, and that same evening I never took any food, but fasted. And invariably came two or three days in the month when I had to fast, and no opportunity was lost to chant the name of God and worship Him.

That day came at last, that day of suffering and anxiety, of life and death. It was twelve at night,—midnight and pitch-dark. From where I was lying I rose up. I was troubled. Every instant the pain increased. I cried out. The whole house was in motion. Lights were lit. The children began to cry. The neighbours came. Old women approached me with their shrivelled hands. I was asked to repeat the name of God instead of bawling out. The midwife was sent for. A room was vacated for me, the room where my

father was born and many a child was born and had, therefore, the reputation of being the most auspicious room in the house. My father, too, had risen up, and was pacing the house restlessly up and down, slowly murmuring the name of 'Rama' and 'Krishna.' The night had waned away, the east was already lined with the grey light of the advancing sun when my troubles ceased—and a white little thing, my daughter, came into this world and cried—and a murmur of relaxation passed round. Only it was a daughter! Many noses were turned up! a daughter! that meant expense at the time of marriage. I could have had a son! But what God gave let us receive with pleasure. Such was what the old women said; that was what the neighbours said. And the mortification which my youngest brother felt was that my mother-in-law whom, though he had never seen, he had somehow known as one who had made attempts against me, would rejoice in my having had a daughter.

X

My child and myself enjoyed good health, and after six months, before which my mother insisted I should never stir out, I went with

my husband to the place of his employment. It was a joy to see the young thing smiling and playing, and our happy home became happier. My husband had an increase of salary, which was no doubt due to the good luck of the young daughter born. He earned much; we had enough to live luxuriously upon and to spare; and because he was extravagant, we had quarrels downright bandying of words. But my husband would have his way for all that, and though our income increased, our expenditure, too, kept pace, and after four years of employment, as far as any reserve fund was concerned we were as badly off as anything. We lived like birds, happy and gay, never caring for the morrow, and living luxuriously.

I have said that my husband was not at all an economical householder. On the other hand I was strictly so. I valued every pie, thought many a time before I spent it. I hoarded many a two-anna piece and four-anna piece, and in the short period of two years, I had privately with me one hundred rupees—but this by the way.

(To be continued).

S. PARMEETY.

SOME PROBLEMS FOR INDIAN RESEARCH

II

We may take it then, for the sake of the argument, that the final recension of the *Rathabharata* was the literary *magnum opus* of the reign of Chandragupta II. of Magadha, known as 'Vikramaditya of Ujjain' (375 to 413 A.D.) and the source of his great fame in letters. We may also take it, from the evidences seen there, that he deliberately

organised its promulgation by missions in the *Dravida-desh*, or country of the *Madras*. But if all this be true, what may we suppose to have been the means employed by him for the execution of so vast an undertaking? Undoubtedly, the work of compilation must have been carried out in Benares by a council of scholars under the control of one supreme

directing genius. If Professor S. C. Vidyabhusan be correct (as I should imagine that he is) in his suggestion that the name of *Devanagari* as applied to one particular form of *Prakrit* script means of *Devanagar* or Benares,* the question then arises, was the promulgation of the Mahabharata the occasion on which it gained its wide-spread fame and application?

The possible date of the Ramayana suggests itself at this point as a subject for examination and decision. For my own part, trying the question on grounds other than that of language, I would suggest that the first part of this work was written *before* the Mahabharata was finally edited, and that it opens up a long vista of years, during which Ajodhya had already been the principal Indian capital. The hypothesis is thus that the Asokan capital of Pataliputra was succeeded by Ajodhya, and this again succeeded, under the Guptas, by Pataliputra. I am assuming that the *Uttarakanda* portion of the Ramayana was written later, according to what is said to be the tradition of the islanders of Bali and Lambock, East of Java. The fact that a synopsis of the Ramayana as it then stood, is given in the Mahabharata, even as Kalidas' *Kumar Sambhava* is epitomised in the Ramayana, points possibly to some literary convention of an age when books were necessarily few. One cannot help feeling that it is the political greatness of Ajodhya and Pataliputra, each in its own period, that leads it to preach a new religion, in the form of a definite Incarnation of Vishnu, in the one case Rama, in the other Krishna. And if this be true, it lends an added interest to the fact that the worship of Sita-Rama has now its greatest following in the *Dravidadesh*. We may take it perhaps as a law, that a religion is likely to survive longest and with greatest power, not in the region of its birth, but in the land to which it is *sent* or *given*. Thus, Jainism born in Bengal perhaps, is now strongest on

the west side of India. An exception is found in the worship of Siva, which is still dominant in Benares.

If the date I have suggested as that of the final compilation of the Mahabharata be correct, it would follow that the great work must in the doing have trained a vast number of scholars and critics. It must also have called together in one place (doubtless Benares) an enormous mass of tradition, folk-lore, old records, and persons representing various kinds of ancient knowledge. All this would constitute that city an informal university of a most real and living type, and it might well be that the learning and research of which to this day it is the home, was the result of the revival thus created under Vikramaditya of Ujjain.

Of the Gupta age as a whole, (326 to 500 A.D.), we find Vincent Smith saying :—

"To the same age probably should be assigned the principal Puranas in their present form : the metrical legal treatises of which the so-called Code of Manu is the most familiar example : and in short, the mass of the 'classical' Sanskrit literature. The patronage of the great Gupta Emperors gave, as Professor Bhandarkar observes, 'a general literary impulse,' which extended to every department, and gradually raised Sanskrit to the position which it long retained, as the sole literary language of Northern India. * * * * * The Golden Age of the Guptas, glorious in literary as in political history, comprised a period of a century and a quarter (330 to 455 A. D.), and was covered by three reigns of exceptional length. The death of Kumara, early in 455, marks the beginning of the decline and fall of the Empire." (Pp. 267-8).

And again :—

"The principal Puranas seem to have been edited in their present form during the Gupta period, when a great extension and revival of Sanskrit Brahmanical literature took place." (P. 19).

The revision and re-editing of records thus described would be an inevitable result of the royal recension of the Mahabharata, supposing that to have taken place, nor is it necessary, in my own opinion, to mass the writings in question together, as "the principal Puranas,"

* See *Indian World*, November, 1906.

for it is possible to trace a serial development of the Hindu idea, which makes it easy enough to distinguish chronological periods in Puranic literature, with a considerable approach to definiteness.

With regard to the Mahabharata itself, if the theory suggested as to the date of its last recension should be finally accepted, it will, I believe, prove not impossible so to determine its different strata as to be fairly sure what parts were added in the Gupta period, and by the Gupta poet. We must remember that Indian students might easily qualify themselves, as no alien could, to apply the tests of language and theological evolution. This and similar work might easily be undertaken by literary societies and debating clubs in connection with the national schools and colleges now rising all over the country. And I would suggest—in accordance with a method already widespread in Biblical criticism—that students' editions of the texts might be printed, in which the ground of pages and paragraphs should be of various colours, according to their supposed periods. The paper of indeterminate passages might be white, for instance, the ancient yellow, the Shivite green or pink, and the additions of the Gupta period blue in tint. Or students might carry out this somewhat elaborate undertaking for themselves by means of washes of colour. In any case, such a device would prove a valuable mode of presenting to the eyes at a single glance the results of considerable time and labour.

Some points in the relative chronology are easy enough to determine. The story of Nala and Damayanti, for instance, by the exquisite prayer of Nala—"Thou blessed one, may the *Ashtvins*, and the Vasus, and the twin Ashwins, together with the Marutas, protect thee, thine own honour being thy best safeguard!"—betrays the fact of its origin in the Vedic, or Upanishadic pre-Puranic period. The story of Nala and Damayanti is one of the oldest of

Aryan memories, and the mention of the man's name first may be a token of this. The atmosphere of the story is that of the India in which Buddhism arose. The king cooks meat, and his wife eats it. The gods who accompany Nala to the *Swayambara* are Vedic gods. There is no allusion, throughout the story, to Mahadeva or Krishna. There is, on the other hand, a serpent possessor of mysterious knowledge. And the Brahmins are represented as servants, not as governors, of kings. One of the next stories in that wonderful Vana Parva in which Nala and Damayanti occurs, is the tale of Sita and Rama. And third and last of the series is Savitri. This sequence is undoubtedly true to the order of their evolution. Sita is the woman of sorrow, the Madonna of serenity. And Savitri, which is late Vedic, and referred to in the Ramayana,—showing little or no trace of Shivite or Vaishnavite influence, save perhaps in the mention of Narada—is the fully Hinduised conception of the faithful wife. Her birth, as the incarnation of the national prayer, is an instance of the highest poetry. And the three heroines, together—Damayanti-Sita-Savitri—constitute an idealisation of woman, to which I doubt that any other race can show a parallel.

That such tales as the *Erst-Arjuna*, again, belong to the Shivite recension, there can be no doubt. Equally certain is it, that some incidents, such as that of Draupadi's cry to Krishna for protection, and Bhishma's absorption in Krishna on his deathbed, must belong to the Gupta version. The rude vigour of the gambling scene, however, and the old warrior's death on the bed of arrows as well as the marriage of five Pandas as to one queen, would appear to come straight out of the heroic age itself.

It would greatly aid us, in our conception of the genius and personality of that unknown poet who presided over the deliberations of the Council of Recension, if we could say with

certainly what touches in the great work were his. Was he responsible, for instance, for that supremely beautiful incident, according to which, up to a certain moment, the wheels of Yudhisthira's chariot had never touched the earth? If so, the world has seen few, who for vigour and chastity of imagination could approach him. But not alone for the purpose of literary appreciation would one like to divide the great poem into its component strata. We are familiar with the remark that while the things *stated* by works of the imagination are usually false, what they *mention* is very likely to be true. It is the things mentioned in the Mahabharata that demand most careful analysis. Of this kind are the various references to the cities of the period.

Although the centre of the events which the work chronicles is supposed to lie at Hastinapura or Indraprastha in the remote past, we are made constantly aware that the poet himself regards the kingdom of Magadha as the rival focus of power. Jarasandha may or may not have lived and reigned, during the age of Krishna and the Pandavas. What is clear is that the last compilers of the Mahabharata could not imagine an India without the royal house of Rajgir. The same fact comes out with equal clearness in the *Bhagavata Purana* and possibly elsewhere. Now this is a glimpse into the *political* consciousness of the Gupta period. It shows us Northern India, then, as now, dominated by two governing forces, one seated near Delhi, and one within the region to-day known as Bengal; and it shows unity to be a question mainly of a coalition between these two. Two hundred and fifty years later than Vikramaditya, India is again ruled by a strong hand, that of Harishchandra. But his capital is at Thaneshwar, near Kurukshetra. Thus the shifting and re-shifting goes on, and the great problem of modern times, that of finding a common sentiment of nationality, in which Hindu and Mahomedan shall

be knit together equally, is seen to be but a new inclusion of an age-old oscillation of centres, whose original cause may perhaps be deep-hidden in the geographical and ethnological conditions that gave birth to India.

Why, again, is the scene of the telling of the Mahabharata laid, theoretically, at Taxila? This place, situated to the north-west of Rawal Pindi, would appear, from the age of Buddha onwards, till the coming of the Huns, more than a thousand years later, to have occupied much the same place in Indian parlance as the University of Cordova in mediæval European. And for much the same reason. The city was a university in the time of Buddha, as witness the youth who went there from Rajgir to learn medicine. It lay on the highway of nations. Past its very doors streamed the nomadic hordes of invading Scythian and Tartar, both before and after the birth of the Christian era. Long before that, it had given hospitality and submission to the Greek raid of organised dacoity, under Alexander. In mediæval Europe, similarly, medicine could be learnt at Cordova, because there was the meeting place of East and West. In the Moorish University, African, Arab, Jew, and European, all met, some to give, others to take, in the great exchange of culture. It was possible there to take as it were a bird's eye view of the most widely separated races of men, each with their characteristic outlook. In the same fashion, Taxila in her day, was one of the focal points, one of the great resonators, as it were, of Asiatic culture. Here, between 600 B. C. and 500 A. D., met Babylonian, Syrian, Egyptian, Arab, Phœnician, Ephesian, Chinese and Indian. The Indian knowledge that was to go out of India must first be carried to Taxila, thence to radiate in all directions. Such must have been the actual position of the city in the Hindu consciousness of the Gupta Period. Had this fact anything to do with its choice as the legendary setting, for the first telling of the

Mahabharata? Did Vikramaditya regard the poem, perhaps, as a kind of Purana of India herself, as the national contribution to world-letters? Or are we to look only to the name Takshasila (=Takshakasila?) and to the part played in the first volume by the great serpent Takshaka, for the explanation?

Supposing the year 400 A. D. to be rightly chosen as that of the final compilation of the Mahabharata, and the city of Pataliputra as the scene of its commissioning, it follows that the poem may be taken as an epitome of the Bengali civilisation of that period. We do not often realise how ample are the materials now in existence, for a full and continuous narrative of Bengal. Sarat Chandra Das has long ago pointed out that the city of Lhassa is a page taken out of mediæval Bengal. In the influence of the Bengali architect, Vidyadhar, in laying out the city of Jeypore, in the reign of Sewai Jey Singh, in the first half of the eighteenth century, we have evidence of a later date, as to the greatness and enlightenment of the Bengali mind, throughout its history. Those streets of Jeypore, forty yards wide, that regard for air and the needs of sanitation, that marvellous development of the civic sense, are not modern and foreign, but pre-English and Bengali, in their source and origin! But to my own mind, the Mahabharata is in this matter the master-document. Taking Vikramaditya as the reigning sovereign, we see here a people familiar with the use of looking-glass, in the year 400 A. D. They used coins. They were thoroughly conversant with civic and regal splendour. How beautiful and full of life is the following description of a city rejoicing:—

And the citizens decorated the city with flags and standards and garlands of flowers. And the streets were watered, and decked with wreaths and other ornaments. And at their gateways the citizens piled flowers. And their temples and shrines were all adorned with flowers."

There is need here, it should be added, of a history of *books* in India. What were the first manuscripts of the Mahabharata written on? When "the three Vedas" are referred to, with such clearness and distinctness, how does the writer or speaker conceive of them? Is the picture in his mind that of a *book*, or a *manuscript*,—and if so of what composed? Or is it a choir of Brahmans, having as many parts and divisions as the Vedas themselves?

Behind all the exuberance of prosperity and happiness, moreover, in this poem, stands the life of reverence and earnest aspiration, the ideals of faith, purity and courage, which pervade all classes of the people alike, and are the same to-day, as they were, under the empire of Pataliputra. As regards his ideal of learning, a young Bengali scholar of to-day belongs still to the culture of the Gupta Period. A knowledge of Sanskrit, from the ancient Vedic to the fashionable literary language of the day; an acquaintance with certain books; and the knowledge of a definite scheme of metaphysics, logic and philosophy; may be taken as the type of scholarship then. And very few are the Bengali minds that have yet reached a point in the assimilation and expression of a new form of thought and knowledge, which would make it possible to say yet that they were of another age than that of Vikramaditya. Of that new age Science is to be the pivot and centre, and there can be no doubt that the Era of Science, with its collateral development of Geography and History, will directly succeed that of the Guptas, with its Sanskrit literature and logic, in Bengal. In order to pass from one type so highly evolved, however, into another which shall give the people an equal place in Humanity, it is necessary that the moral and ethical standards of the race shall grow, rather than relax, in strength and stability. The meeting line of periods is a time of winnowing and of judgment, in the history of nations, and many are the souls to be scattered like chaff.

It is clear from many of the allusions in the Life of Krishna, as told both in the Mahabharata and in the Puranas, that He directly, in most places, supersedes the Vedic gods. In the moment of His Ascension, it is *Indra* who hymns Him. And already at Brindaban he has successfully preached the Law of Karma in opposition to Vedic sacrifice, and has succeeded in bringing Indra low in the ensuing contest. This new religion of Vishnu, indeed, like that of Shiva, belongs to a different class from that of the old nature-gods. The more modern are subjective. Their sphere is in the soul, and their power that of the highest ideals. Indra, Agni, Yama and Varuna represented external forces, cosmic some of them, irresistible in their might by puny man, glorious, lovable, *but not of THE WITHIN*. They were supremely objective, even as, to this day, in the Christian system is God the Father.

The story of Nala and Damayanti, coming as it does, out of the earlier Vedic period, has nevertheless had its conclusion modified by the Gupta poets, in accordance with that amelioration of taste and manners which is inseparable from a great and long-established civilization, and also doubtless with that high development of religious ideals which will always take place in India, in periods of prosperity and power. We feel it artistically wrong that Koli (कलि) should be allowed to depart, and Pushkara should be forgiven. But the subjects of the Gupta Emperors had been for ages accustomed to peace and wealth, and in the general refinement of the period, reconciliation was desired as the dramatic climax, not revenge. The story of Savitri shows the same trend of popular taste in somewhat different fashion. She triumphs over death, —not by the heroic methods of the earlier maiden, who could appeal to the honour of the gods, and meet with jovial and thoroughly benevolent treatment in return, but—by sheer force of the spiritual ideal. Born of prayer

itself, prepared for the supreme encounter by vigil and fast, Savitri is no Vedic princess, but a tender, modern, Hindu woman. She belongs almost unconsciously, in fact, to the coming era of subjective, soul-staying faiths. The boisterous days of storm and fire and forest worships are now far behind.

Between these two ages, however, of the Vedic gods on the one hand, and the theological systems of Vishnu and Siva on the other, there is, in the Mahabharata, and also in the Puranas to a less extent, one anomalous figure. It is that of Brahma the Creator, the benevolent, four-headed Grandsire. Who was this Brahma? What is His exact significance? It might almost be stated as a law that in India there has never been a deity or a religious idea, without some social formation behind it. What traces have we, then, of a Brahma-worshipping sect? At what period, and where, are we to look for it? Is there any connection between Him and the story of Dattatreya? What is the history of His one temple and one image near Pushkar at Ajmir? Already, in the Mahabharata, He seems to be half-forgotten, yet if that work had been produced in the present age, he would have received less mention still. Christians, who are accustomed to an organization of the functions of Deity, as definite as that of any other judicial or executive department, imagine Him glibly correspondent to their own Creator. But it may be questioned whether this title is ever more than loosely applied in Hinduism. Each worshipper regards that Divine Manifestation who to his own heart is supreme, as the necessary Source and Fountain of Being. And everyone, again in a loftier mood, will tell us that the creation of a material universe is no part of the work of God at all.

An important date to settle is that of Kalidasa. If Chandra Gupta II of Pataliputra (375 to 413 A. D.) be really the famous Vikramaditya of Ujjain, it is difficult to see how

Kalidas can have been one of the jewels of his court. Hinduism would seem first to have formulated the idea of Shiva, then that of Vishnu (as Lakshmi-Narayana), next that of Rama, and lastly that of Krishna. Between the theological conception of Lakshmi-Narayana and the concreted conception of Rama, Kalidas appears to have lived. His imagination was much touched by the conception of the Trinity, which must have been newly completed in his time. Personally he was overshadowed by the idea of Shiva, and he was not without foresight of the deification of Rama. Hindu scholars will be able, from these considerations, to fix his date.

The glimpses which the Mahabharata every now and again affords us of the worship of Surya or the sun, would suggest this rather as a royal than as a popular devotion. And this hypothesis is more or less borne out by the traces of his worship which remain in various parts of India. In Kashmir, in Orissa, and here and there in unexpected places, we

meet with architectural and sculptural remains of it. But amongst the people it seems to have left few or no traces. Surya is counted academically amongst the Five Manifestations of the Supreme Being according to Hinduism, but devotionally, of what account is He?

These are questions that call for study and reply. Personally I believe that as our understanding of the Motherland progresses, we shall more and more be led to recognise the importance of place and history, not accounting for those differentiations which certain common ideas have gradually undergone. It has not been opposition of opinion, but mere diversity of situation, which has been the source of the existing variety of sects and schools. Thus the deeper our enquiry goes, the more effectively shall we realise the overwhelming truth of the statement that amidst all her seeming complexity India is one, and the Indian People a single united nationality.

THE EXPORT OF RAW MATERIALS

THE 'boycott' movement which is a complementary part of 'the honest Swadeshi' is directed against the import trade of India, that is to say, those who are in favor of the boycott do not desire to encourage the import and use of foreign goods. This is all right as far as it goes. If this 'boycott' were practised to such a large extent as it deserves to be, then its consequences would, no doubt, be felt very severely in England, as the bulk of our imports come from that country. The late Marquis of Dufferin, in one of his speeches, which he delivered in England, after his return from India, thus referred to the manufacturers of England. He said:—

"That in to-night's celebration is indicated the wise appreciation entertained, * * of the enormous benefit derived by the people of this country from their commercial relations with our Indian Empire—and consequently of the supreme necessity of maintaining to all time dominant and unimpaired England's ascendancy and dominion over her Eastern possessions."

Again, :—

"It must also be remembered that India performs the function of a great store-house and an opportune and fortunate reserve, whenever any of our usual customers are unable to supply us with those exports upon which the prosperity of our trade and the welfare of our people intimately depend. * * ="

"Indeed, it would not be too much to say that if any serious disaster ever overtook our Indian Empire, or if our political relations with the peninsula of

Hindustan were to be even partially disturbed, there is not a cottage in Great Britain—at all events in the manufacturing districts—which would not be made to feel the disastrous consequences of such an intolerable calamity."

Speech at a dinner given by the London Chamber of Commerce, on October 30th, 1889.

But England's loss would not necessarily mean Indian's gain, unless we directed our attention earnestly to the development of our own resources. As a means to the accomplishment of this object, sufficient attention has not been directed to the export trade of India. This export trade mainly consists of raw materials. For the proper development of Indian industries this export of raw materials from India should also be prevented. It has not benefitted India in the least. India very largely exports food grains, for example, wheat, rice and pulses. By their export, their prices have gone up and thus scarcity is severely felt in India in years of drought. The export trade is to a certain extent responsible for the famines which so frequently devastate large tracts of the Indian continent. The object of every civilized government is to reduce the struggle for existence, as far as possible, and not to make it keen. Now the export of food materials has just the opposite effect. Therefore, no government which exists solely for the good of people will encourage export of food materials. But it is quite a different thing with the Government of India. The interests of India are sacrificed for the benefit of the people of England. In his work on *National Life and National Character*, Mr. Pearson writes that

"The corn of India has been transported at unremunerative rates upon Government lines, in order that the food of the people might be cheapened." ***

Yes, it has been "cheapened"; but "the people" referred to here are the people of England, not those of India. When England was an agricultural country, there were corn laws meant for the benefit of the poorer popu-

lation. It is necessary to refer to these corn laws to show how the State had the interests of its subjects at heart. Lecky writes:—

"The older policy of the country was to prohibit absolutely the exportation of corn, but with the increased production of agriculture and the increased power of the agricultural interest, this policy was abandoned at the end of the fourteenth century, and after more than one violent fluctuation, a law of Charles II, established a system which was in force at the Revolution. Under this law free exportation was permitted as long as the home price did not exceed fifty-three shillings and four pence a quarter; while importation was restrained by prohibitory duties until that price was attained in the home market, and by a heavy duty of eight shillings in the quarter when the home price ranged between fifty-three shillings and four pence and eighty shillings. At the Revolution, however, a new policy was adopted. The duties on importation were unchanged, while exportation was not only permitted but encouraged by a bounty of five shillings in the quarter as long as the home price did not exceed forty-eight shillings ***. Arthur Young has devoted a considerable space to the subject of the corn laws, and he considers the English law one of the highest examples of political wisdom. The system of an absolutely free corn trade which prevailed in Holland, would, he maintained, be ruinous in a country which depended mainly on its agriculture. The system of forbidding all exportation of corn, which prevailed in Spain, Portugal, and many parts of Italy, and during the greater part of the century in France, was altogether incompatible with a flourishing corn husbandry. Prices would be too fluctuating—in some years so low that the farmers would be ruined, in others so high that the people would be starved. It had been 'the singular felicity' of this country to have devised a plan which accomplished the strange paradox of at once lowering the price of corn and encouraging agriculture. 'This was one of the most remarkable strokes of policy, and the most contrary to the general ideas of all Europe, of any that ever were carried into execution' and 'it cannot be doubted,' he said, 'that this system of exporting with a bounty has been of infinite national importance.' Burke declared that experience, the most unerring of guides, had amply proved the value of the corn bounty as a means of supplying the English people with cheap bread; * *."

* Lecky's *History of England in the Eighteenth Century*, pp. 245-247.

Should not the Government introduce the provisions of the corn laws in India for the purpose of supplying the Indian people with cheap bread? A government which has any sympathy for its subjects, should not hesitate to do so. India is mainly an agricultural country now, and the laws which proved so beneficial to England when that country was an agricultural one, are sure to be equally so in the case of India also.

In years of drought and famine, instead of food grains, other raw materials are exported from India which are also detrimental to India's interests. These raw materials consist of bones and hides of cattle which die in large numbers in times of scarcity. This export trade in hides has greatly affected the leather industry of India. The export of bones takes away out of the country one of the best manures available.

Then again, the export of cotton has the tendency of making it dear in this country, and thus its export hampers the development of the cotton industry in India. Cotton seed yields a valuable oil and is a good food for cattle. Its export, therefore, involves great loss.

Thus we see that the export trade of India as it consists of raw materials only does not benefit India in any way. No agricultural country, least of all, India, requires any markets in any foreign country for her raw products. No, on the contrary, all these raw products are needed to be retained in India for the proper development of her industries. Had India been an independent country, she would have prevented her export trade by legislation. Why, England had to resort to this procedure for the development of her industries. Lecky writes:—

"The offence of 'owling,' or transporting English wool or sheep to foreign countries, was treated with special severity, as it was supposed to assist the rival woolen manufactures of the continent, and the penalties against this offence rose to seven years' transportation."

"Penalties but little less severe were exacted against those who exported machines employed in the chief English industries, or who induced artificers to emigrate; and any skilled workman who carried his industry to a foreign market, if he did not return within six months, after being warned by the English ambassador, was declared an alien, forfeited all his goods and became incapable of receiving any legacy or gift."*

But the British Government will not certainly do that for India which proved advantageous to the development of industries in England. The people of India must shift for themselves. They have to revive the rigors of social ostracism for the prevention of export of raw materials from their country. The recent establishment of the *Anna Rakshini Sabha* in Calcutta is a move in the right direction. Let similar societies be established in every town throughout the length and breadth of this country and worked properly.

There should be societies whose principal aim should be to prevent the export of such raw materials as rice, wheat, cotton, hides and bones of cattle, &c.

We said that the rigors of social ostracism should be revived in order to prevent the export of raw materials. In India there are trade and caste guilds. These guilds should be impressed with the necessity of preventing these exports. The *banias*, the *charans*, and men of other castes who are engaged in other special trades should be induced to take the vow to do all that lies in their power to prevent the export of raw materials. They should be convinced that it is against their interests and the interests of their motherland to allow such exports. When the export of these raw materials will cease, then the lot of those who are now dying of hunger will be bettered, and there will be hope for the development of various different industries in this country.

* Lecky's History of England in the Eighteenth Century Vol. VII. p. 303.

LIFE OF SHIVAJI

(From the Persian.)

§ 30.—Shivaji's Civil and Military Regulations.

Next Shivaji turned to Surat. Getting together his Mawali and other commanders, he advanced by forced marches, plundered Surat, and secured a vast booty in money, pearls, and other precious articles. When he was engaged at Surat, the ruler of Bijapur despatched Shyamraj to conquer all his lands, which were then denuded of troops. But by the time he reached Mahar Korigaon, Shivaji was back from Surat. Shyamraj could not accomplish his task, but whiled away his time. Shiva stayed at Mahar Korigaon and inspected the horses collected in his stables.

Here one day it struck him that the world is perishable, that earthly joys are transient, that the path of righteousness and truth is the only one to be followed, and that he ought to enter the monastic order of Chhatris. Swayed by this idea he gratified a very good Brahman named Raghunath by giving him the title of Pandit Rao. Another Brahman, Nilaji Panth, was created *Nyayadhish* or Judge. To all the Kokani Brahmans regular grants for subsistence were made, and doles were sent to their homes. To the Brahmans of holy places (*tirtha*) like Benares, means of living according to their need was despatched. Lamps, flowers and other materials of *puja* were provided at the temples. High posts like the *faujdari* were conferred on lay Brahmans. Clerical work was entrusted to the Prabhus or the *Kayeth* caste, who were also appointed agents for the commanders (*jama-dars*.) All the leading Marathas of the time were given the right of beating kettledrums. In the office of each minister he appointed

clerks of his own. After thus making regulations for the entire civil administration, he turned to the forts. Every ten men of a garrison were placed under a corporal called *Naik*. Over every three *Naiks* was placed a *Jamadar*, who thus commanded 30 men. [In every fort] was posted a torch-bearer to show the way at night with his torch. Members of the Prabhu caste supplied the *chauki-navises* of the army. Brahmans were given charge of the building operations, with urgent orders to complete the repair or construction of all fortifications. The land around a fort was set apart for providing its expenses. Hiruji Farzand was made Superintendent of Buildings. His own son-in-law, Netaji,* was made Commander-in-chief. Every [high] officer was joined to a colleague, in order that the latter might counteract the former if he planned any mischief. Thus Shiva regulated his forts, kingdom, and army to his heart's content (*Tarikh-i-Shivaji*.)

§ 31.—Shiva provokes the Mughals.

Shiva, emboldened by his strong forts and large following of Deccanis, took to plunder and raised disturbances in that country, overthrowing the regular government. He had a few ports, as his kingdom bordered on the ocean; and like the people of Malabar he took to piracy. Whenever a ship damaged by tempest was driven to any of his ports, he seized all the effects on board. At this time [about 1664] a large ship [of the Mughals], containing many merchants with all their property, was driven by stress of weather

* The text has Nakuji, but I have given him the name that he invariably bears in the Mughal histories.

into his power, and he took the property of these distressed people. The owners, who were mostly Muslims, were kept in prison and oppressed for the sake of large ransoms. After suffering for some time, many of them, who had other wealth at home, procured large sums from there and bought their release from Shiva. Jaswant Singh's efforts to capture his forts failed and the war lingered on. Therefore the Emperor decided to recall him and send some other noble with a fresh army. (*Alamgirnamah*, 866-68).

Shiva daily increased in power and force. He built forts, looked after the improvement of cultivation in his own lands, and desolated Bijapur territory. Falling suddenly on caravans in far off places, he carried off booty; but it was his rule that wherever his men raided they should not touch any mosque, any Qoran, or the honour of any person. Whenever he got hold of a Qoran, he kept it carefully and afterwards gave it to his Muslim followers. When any Hindu or Muslim was taken prisoner, none of his soldiers durst cast a look of dishonour on him, but the captive was cared for and guarded till ransomed by his relatives. But when any slave-girl* was taken, he kept her in his own possession, as if he were her owner by purchase. By his regulations, every kind of plunder taken by his followers,—except poor used apparel and brass and copper utensils,—had to be given up to him, [while he paid them fixed salaries from his treasury.] (*Khafi Khan*, ii. 118 and 119.)

News came from the Deccan that Shiva's disturbances had passed beyond limit, that he was strengthening himself daily by raiding the Imperial dominions and plundering caravans, and that he had seized Choul, Pabal, and other ports on the sea-board near Surat and looted ships on the way to Mecca. On the strength of some forts that he had built

on the coast he introduced great confusion into sea and land. In Rajgarh he stamped copper coins and *munis*. (*Khafi Khan*, ii, 177).

§32.—Shivaji submits to Jai Singh.

At this time a Rajput named Muhakam Singh, who was deputed to Aurangabad, with 10,000 cavalry, attacked Shiva by order of the Emperor. Shivaji sent Pratap Rao, the Paymaster, with 20,000 men to oppose him. After a good fight, Muhakam Singh was slain and his whole army plundered; 10,000 horses were thus secured by Shiva.

The Emperor, hearing of this, sent a strong force under Mirza Rajah Jai Singh and Dilir Khan Afghan. They hastened to the Deccan and occupied Puna. Shiva wished for peace, and resolved within himself to hold a parley, as he considered the [Rajput] general as a brother Hindu. As it had been so ordained by invisible Fate, the wish took a firm hold of his mind, and he marched on Puna. Mirza Rajah also, after consulting [his advisers] sent word to Shiva, saying, "Submission to the Emperor would increase your fortune and prosperity. You should, with a perfectly easy mind, gain the honour of an audience with the Emperor through our mediation. You and I are Hindus,—men of the same creed. No sort of fraud will mark our mutual dealings. *Dharma* and faith be [my] witness!" Shiva laid these words to his heart and agreed.

As Dilir Khan was not made a party to these negotiations, he grew offended on hearing the news, and said, "I object to making peace." So he marched on alone, and besieged and assaulted fort Purandhar. Baji Prabhu, who was posted there with 12,000 men, came down from the fort with 700 of his men, gave battle, demolished the [Mughal] earthworks, and most gallantly penetrated to the camp

his morality. In the inventory of the property left by Shiva at his death we find mention of one thousand male and six hundred female slaves (*Tarikh-i-Shivaji*. 44, a.), the number of the latter being neither larger nor disproportionate.

* This is not borne out by the other historians. On the contrary Shiva's delicate and honourable treatment of female captives is noticed by all, and even Khafi Khan himself (ii 390) praises him for

of Dilir Khan. Close to the gate (*deorhi*) of Dilir Khan they put 500 Mughals to the sword and the dagger. At that moment Dilir Khan came forward crying, "Bravo! a thousand times bravo! I highly praise your valour and promise you your life." Baji replied, "I am a servant of Shivaji. What have I to do with your promise and assurance?" Saying this he advanced and wished to strike Dilir Khan, who nimbly shot him with an arrow. Others, too, struck him, and he was felled and killed by these successive blows. On this field 300 [Maratha] heroes fell side by side; the others retreated to the fort. Dilir Khan pushed on his trenches (*ran garha*) and invested the fort. Mounting cannon upon a hillock named Rudramálá he began to bombard the fort. The garrison said among themselves, "Our leader has fallen. Now we should exert ourselves and show our heroism while life remains in our body and strength in our limbs." Bravely girding up their loins they fought on.

Shivaji on hearing of the death of the commandant of Purandhar thought within himself, "The families of all my officers are in that fort. If it be wrested from my hands, things will take a queer turn." He, therefore, decided to make peace and, in view of the promises [made by Jai Singh], to interview him.

Taking with himself Anand Rao, Niraji Panth, Natuji Farzand, Mahroji Farzand, Krishnaji Joshi, and Biswas Rao,—chiefs in whom he had perfect trust, he gave them pearl-strings for the neck, pearl-rings for the ear, *torahs* for the head, gold-embroidered coats and *tásh* for the body, jewelled bracelets for the arm, and many other ornaments, decorated the horses of all with jewelled saddles, gold-laced bridles, and gold-plated *pakhars*, *kondas*, and *pattahs*, and, himself putting on a white tunic and turban, set out for the interview. On coming near [the camp] he thought, "If none advances to welcome me in the way it would be a great disgrace.

What sort of interview would then take place?" But when he arrived, Mirza Rajah came out to meet him, showed him the greatest honour and respect, and seated him on his *masnad*. Anand Rao, one of the great nobles, remained standing holding Shivaji's shoes in his hands. All the assembly wondered at the fidelity and obedience of [Shiva's] followers. What added to the wonder was that all these faithful men were of high rank.

Mirza Rajah and Shivaji retiring together held a private discussion and came to a satisfactory agreement. Promises were exchanged and their minds laid at rest. After some repose, Dilir Khan was with much ado induced to give up the siege of Purandhar and to consent to the treaty. Shiva gave up 27 forts into the hands of Dilir Khan and other captains of the Imperial army and asked for the forts on the islands [Jinjera] which were in the hands of the Siddis [Abyssinians] subject to the Nizam Shah. [The Rajah] immediately afterwards summoned Siddi Khairiyat, Siddi Sandarus and Siddi Yaqut, and pressed them to surrender all these forts to Shiva; but they replied that they would not do so without the Emperor's order.

A report was sent to the Emperor about Shiva's demand and the answer of these men. He approved of [their refusal]. The Siddis serving in these forts were given Imperial favours and *jagirs* in Surat by way of reward; and he ordered that they should build and equip two ships named the *Zafar-shahi* and the *Nasrat-shahi* and two *ghurabs* (=gun-boats). The administration of the fleet (*armad*) was entrusted to Siddi Sandarus. Two lacs of rupees were assigned on the revenue of Surat for the building and repair of the forts of Jinjera and the fleet. (*Tarikh-i-Shivaji*, pp. 21. a-22. b).

[The Mughal accounts of Jai Singh's war and treaty with Shivaji have been already published in my article "Jai Singh and Shivaji" in the July number.]

§ 33.—Shivaji's Journey to the Mughal Court at Agra.

[The Persian histories distinctly state that Shiva fled from Agra, (*Alamgir-namah*, p. 1021, Khafi Khan ii. 199.) Indeed it was impossible for Delhi to have been the scene of his captivity and romantic escape. He had audience of Aurangzib on the 12th May, 1666, and we know from the minute details of the Emperor's movements given in the court chronicles that he was at Agra all the time from the 15th February, to the 9th October, of that year. So long as the captive Shah Jahan lived, Aurangzib carefully avoided Agra, and even removed from Agra fort to Delhi the Imperial treasures, hoarded by three generations of his ancestors, lest some pretender to the throne should gain admission there with Shah Jahan's help and raise a vast army with the treasure seized. But on the 22nd January of this year the aged crownless Emperor had been released from his palace-prison by death. Aurangzib, therefore, decided to go to Agra and celebrate his next coronation day (27th March) with every pomp there. As he would not return to Delhi for some months, the ladies of his harem were brought away from that city to Agra. The royal treasures were now again removed to Agra fort, and they arrived there in 1,400 carts each drawn by eight oxen, on the same day as Shiva. It was simply impossible for Shiva to interview Aurangzib at Delhi for the very good reason that the latter was not there.

Secondly, the historians praise Shiva's cleverness in throwing his pursuers off the scent by first moving exactly contrary to his natural path. They all admit that after breaking prison he first went to Mathura. Now, from Delhi Mathura is the direct route to the Deccan, while from Agra it is in an exactly opposite direction. Hence, if he had fled from Delhi *via* Mathura he would have rushed straight into the jaws of death.

I think this mistake of place crept into the popular account in the following way: people in those days talked and wrote of Shiva's flight from "the capital," and later generations naturally took the term to mean Delhi. But Delhi had no exclusive right to be called the capital of the Mughals; Agra had as good a claim to the name. Indeed, under the Mughals,—a race of nomad origin,—any city where the Emperor happened to stay long enough was officially spoken of as the capital for the time being.—*Jadunath Sarkar.*]

In reply to Jai Singh's despatch the Emperor

ratified the treaty with the Marathas and ordered one *lac* of Rupees from the treasury of the Deccan to be given to Shiva to cover the expenses of his journey to the Court. Jai Singh sent him off in charge of Ghazi Beg with many acts of regard. Shiva went home, took his son Sambhaji with himself, and started for the Court. When he reached Aurangabad he had with himself 500 splendidly dressed troopers (who owned the horses they rode on) and the same number of excellent foot soldiers. All the people came out to see him. But Saf Shikan Khan, a commander of 3,000 horse, considering Shiva as a mere zemindar and a Maratha, sat in his audience hall with his *diwan*, paymaster, and other Imperial officers, and only sent his nephew to meet Shiva, hoping that the latter would come there to see him.

Shiva was highly offended at this, and on entering the city took the road to the Mirza Rajah's house. The nephew said, "The Khan is waiting for you in the Audience Hall." Shiva replied, "Who is Saf Shikan Khan and what post does he hold here? Why has he not advanced to meet me in the way?" Sending away the nephew and others, he alighted at the Rajah's house. In the afternoon the Khan and other Imperial officers came to wait on him, walking up to his carpet and staying with him [for some time.] Next day Shiva returned the visit, seeing the officers in due order according to their ranks and treating everyone of them with politeness and affability. After staying for sometime at Aurangabad and getting the presents and money which the Emperor had ordered the local officers to pay him, he left for the Court. (*Dilkasha*, pp. 57 and 58.)

§ 34.—Shivaji's Audience with Aurangzib.

On the 9th May, 1666, Shivaji, sent by Rajah Jai Singh, arrived in the suburbs of the capital. The Emperor, "in order to soothe this

wild animal's heart," ordered that Kumar Ram Singh (son of Jai Singh) and Mukhlis Khan should welcome him in the way, and usher him to the Presence, three days afterwards when the Emperor would be weighed [against gold and silver] on his birthday.

As commanded, Kumar Ram Singh and Mukhlis Khan introduced Shivaji and his son, the boy Sambhaji, to His Majesty on the 12th May. "Shiva professed the utmost humility, loyalty, lowliness, and submission and observed the etiquette of service and the salute of devotion: he kissed the ground [before the throne] and presented 1,500 *mohurs* as fine (*nazar*) and Rs. 6,000 as an offering (*nusár*). After making his bow he was by command given a place on the carpet near [the throne of] the Emperor and stood among the celebrated nobles at a proper place.

As Jai Singh had sent Shiva to the Court with the request that he might on his arrival be exalted with Imperial favours, the Emperor graciously overlooked his past offences. His Majesty's intention was to confer many kinds of favour on Shiva on the day of audience, permit him to come to the Court for some time, and then give him leave to depart. But as this wretch had passed all his life with the wild people of the jungle of ignorance, was intoxicated with pride, and had never before enjoyed the honour of a royal audience,—he knew not the etiquette of Imperial courts and cherished some absurd fancies and hopes. So, in spite of the great favour of the Emperor, he, after standing for a while, created a scene, retired to a corner, and told Kumar Ram Singh that he was disappointed, making unreasonable and foolish complaints.

The Emperor on hearing of it considered Shiva unfit to come near [his throne] and sent him away to his quarters; hence the many favours intended for Shiva were not actually bestowed and he was forbidden the Court. Kumar Ram Singh, his intermediary, had a

house* outside the city, and was ordered to lodge Shiva near it and look after him, but to bring with himself Sambha, a commander of five thousand, at every visit that he paid to the Court.

When the Emperor learnt of Shiva's deception and villainy and thought it probable that he would escape, he ordered Fulad Khan, the *kotwal* of the city, to station some police men and gunners round Shiva's house and guard it. His Majesty also sent a letter to Jai Singh informing him of the state of affairs and asking him to write what he considered advisable about Shiva that the Emperor might act accordingly.

[The above is the plain and meagre official account of the affair as given in the court history, the *Alamgirnámah*, pp. 962-970. The reader will note how it lowers Shiva, conceals facts discreditable to the Emperor by a rapid and vague description, and tries to justify his deliberate insult and ill-treatment of Shivaji by speaking of many gracious "intentions of royal favour" which could not be carried out simply through the fault of Shiva! I next give Khafi Khan's version which is more consistent with reason and probability, and bears the impress of truth on the face of it. But we must, as usual, make some allowance for his hostility to the Marathas.]

After the war with Bijapur, in which Shiva had shared in Jai Singh's gallant exploits, the Rajah sent him to the Court, giving him hopes of many kinds of Imperial favour and himself standing security for his being pardoned by the Emperor. On the 12th May, Shivaji arrived [at Agra] with his son Sambha, 9 years old. With great humility and shame he had audience, presenting 1,500 *mohurs* and Rs. 6,000 (a total amounting to Rs. 30,000 of that time). The Emperor commanded him to be made to stand in the rank of commanders of five thousand men.

* So Shiva was lodged in and escaped from the Jaipur house in Agra. This fact must add to its historic associations. We know that the site of the Taj Mahal was originally part of Jai Singh's extensive park. It was also "outside the city." So the Jaipur house must have been near it, in the well laid out Macdonnell Park that now separates the Taj from the Fort. Would any reader at Agra inquire?

As his eight year old son (Sambha) had been created a commander of five thousand during his absence [from the Court] and his relative Netaji, too, had been raised to the same rank, this stupid* empty-brained proud fellow (*i. e.*, Shivaji) expected no less high a dignity than the command of 7,000 men. He did not receive most of the royal favours with the promise of which the Rajah had consoled him,—because this wretch's acts had excited hatred in the pious Emperor's heart. Nor did he meet with the honourable welcome on the way (*istiqbal*) that he had expected. Therefore, before the robe jewels and elephant, which had been kept ready for him, could be bestowed, he displayed his folly and meanness, instantly took refuge in cunning, deceitfully faked heart-sickness, retired to a nook, flung himself down upon the ground like a prey pierced with the arrow (or) just entrapped, then after a time cunningly and deceitfully recovered consciousness, and complained to Kumar Ram Singh, professing a desire to commit suicide (Khafi Khan, ii. 189-190).

[Below is given the same story as narrated by the *Dilkasha* and the *Tarikh-i-Shivaji*, the latter of which records the absurd and incredible account current among the Marathas.]

At the audience with the Emperor, Shivaji did not get the honours he had expected, but was made to stand among the commanders of five thousand. He asked "What noble is standing here?" and was told that it was Rajah Rai Singh-Sisodia [a subordinate of Jai Singh and commander of 5,000.] After standing for a time, Shivaji burst into tears and fainted. The Emperor ordered him to be removed to the porch of the private room (*ghusal-khanah*), sprinkled with rose-water, and fanned, thinking that he had fainted in giddiness at the sight of the splendour and pomp of the Imperial Court. None could guess his real cunning. On recovering he cried out,

"Carry me to the place appointed for my stay." This was done. There he began to talk foolishly as if gone mad: "I am a sinner fallen into the claws of the royal facon. Why does he not quickly slay me?" His wretched speech was reported to His Majesty who ordered Ram Singh, son of the Mirza Rajah, a four *hazari*, to guard him. (*Dilkasha*, pp. 58 and 59).

Shivaji had begged permission to wait on the Emperor, but [on condition that] Rajpur should be given to him as *jagir*. The Mughal chiefs had agreed to it, and had sent him to the Court with Ram Singh Hada.† His son, Sambhaji, accompanied him. When near the capital, Shiva said, "I shall not bend my head to make *kurnish* (bow)." Ram Singh replied, "The Emperor is the Shadow of God; respect and obedience to him brings greater prosperity in this world and the next." Eventually he reached the Court and had audience. The Emperor had heard of Shiva's disobedience and pride, and, in order to satisfy the etiquette of the Court, ordered a narrow and low arch to be set up in the gate of the Hall of Audience, hoping that in passing through it Shiva would be compelled by the low height of the arch to bend his head and at that very moment the *chobdar* would usher him in accordance with the Court rules.

Shiva in coming saw the low door, reflected, and first put his leg inside; he thus entered without bowing. The *darogha* advanced, took him by the hand and told him to make the *kurnish* in the proper way. Shiva stayed him with his hand and advanced. When he arrived near the throne, Ram Singh beckoned to him to stand below the ranks of the chief nobles. Shiva, displeased at heart, sat down behind the High Diwan, who with Ram Singh turned their backs to him, stood up and said to the Emperor, "He has never before had the honour of a royal audience; hence his

* From Khafi Khan's own words it is clear that Shivaji's expectation was most reasonable and not at all indicative of "stupidity" or "pride."

† Our author has confounded Kumar Ram Singh (Kachnawah) with Ram Singh Hada.

rude behaviour.* His Majesty said, "Let him go away." On Shivaji's departure the Emperor was displeased and ordered Siddi Fulad to keep him under surveillance and guard. From this Shiva learned that the Emperor was angry [with him] and he therefore thought of a remedy. Through Ram Singh he submitted this prayer, "I have brought with myself some presents of our country. If it pleases His Majesty I may offer them to him." But it was declined. (*Tarikh-i-Shivaji*, 22b. and 23a.).

§ 35.—Shivaji's Clever Escape.

Official version.—After two or three days' exclusion from the audience, Shiva lost pride and came [back] to his senses. In fear he now tried to find a remedy for his [calamitous] state and sought the intercession of the grandees with professions of humility and regret. But the Emperor did not favour him with audience, though Sambha continued to come with Ram Singh.

Jai Singh's reply arrived to this effect: "I have given Shivaji my promise and word, and I am still in the midst of my mission here, [so that I cannot go to the court to settle the matter personally]. Should your Majesty forgive his faults, it would be doing a great favour and honour to me, and at the same time promoting the Imperial interests and helping on our operations in this quarter." He also gave an assurance that Shiva would not deviate from the path of obedience nor tread that of rebellion.* Aurangzib, out of regard for Jai Singh, accepted his recommendation,

* It is most tantalising that Jai Singh's *Despatches* (Paris MS.) ends abruptly in the midst of the siege of Purandhar, and hence we have no authentic contemporary record of the actual terms under which Shiva made peace. I suspect that he must have received from the Rajput prince, a vague general promise of royal favour which naturally left the door open for mutual misunderstanding and complaint of breach of faith.

† A hollow defence. Aurangzib had plenty of time to do this between the receipt of Jai Singh's reply and Shiva's escape, but did not. The official explanation looks like an after-thought. Indeed

ordered Fulad Khan to withdraw the guards from around his house, and showed greater favour than before to Sambha. [In fact] His Majesty's wish was to restore Shiva soon to the honour of audience, bestow favours, and then permit him to depart to his home.†

Shiva, [rightly] dreading the Imperial wrath and punishment for his offences, planned an escape; and as the police and artillery men were withdrawn, and Ram Singh, too, slackened his watch, he after feigning illness fled with his son on the 19th August, 1666.

The Emperor on hearing of it grew angry with Ram Singh, dismissed him from his peerage (*mansab*), forbade him the Court, and wrote to Jai Singh to arrest by stratagem Netaji, ‡ Shiva's kinsman and general, who was in the Rajah's army [with a contingent of Maratha auxiliaries], and to send him to the Court lest he should slip away and join Shiva. (*Alamgirnarah*, pp. 970-972).

Khafi Khan's account.—At first Shiva cunningly professed friendliness to the nobles and to Kumar Ram Singh, sent presents and rarities of the Deccan to them, and thus made them his mediators for pardon,—displaying repentance and shame for what he had done. Then he feigned illness, groaning and crying aloud, and, showing [signs of] increased weakness on the ground of pain in the liver and spleen, he took to his bed. Thereafter giving out that the disease had developed into soreness of the lungs, he subjected himself to the medicines and treatment of Hindu physicians. Some time passed thus.

Aurangzib admits in his last will and advice to his sons, "Negligence for a single moment causes a king's humiliation. Many years have passed since the flight of the wretched Shiva took place through [our] neglect, and it has necessitated all these troublesome exertions [on my part] to the end of my life." (Irvine MS. No. 252, f. 8b.) The reader will note how the Court chronicler hurries over the episode, as it reflects discredit on the Emperor!

‡ Netaji was treacherously arrested and sent to the capital, where he was converted to Islam under the title of Mohammad Quli Khan (see *Masir-ul-unara*, iii. 577.)

Next he announced his cure, took the bath of recovery, and began to distribute rewards to his physicians, musicians, and friends, to feed the Brahmans, and to give pious offerings (*tasadduq*) of raw grain and money to the Hindu and Muslim poor. Large baskets lined with paper were filled with sweetmeats and sent to the mansions of the nobles and the monasteries of *faqirs*. Then, on the plea that he was going to give two or three swift horses to Brahmans, he sent them with his trusty confidants to a suitable place 28 miles (?) from the capital, and had them kept ready there.

After this he placed in his bed a devoted servant, who somewhat resembled him in figure and appearance, and whom he had with great foresight secured long ago and kept with himself for such a day,—put his own jewelled gold bracelet on his arm, and instructed him that after his flight the servant should cover his body with a thin sheet, thrust the arm with the bracelet out of it, and feign sleep when anyone moved within or outside the house.

Then Shiva and his son crouched in two baskets, and giving out that these contained sweetmeats for presentation to the Brahmans and beggars of Mathura, he issued from Agra in the evening and went where the horses were kept.

The story runs that next day, 15 hours after his flight, a Deccani courier (*harkara*) employed as a spy and informer reported to the Emperor that Shiva had got out and was fleeing. The *kotwal* was ordered to inquire, but he said that the guards were present around his house. Again the courier strongly asserted that he had fled. The *kotwal's* men went in and saw Shiva sleeping, the bracelet on his arm peeping from under his thin cover. For the third time the courier urged, "If Shiva has not by this time covered 80 or even 100 miles, you may slay me." Then a [thorough] inquiry was made and the escape discovered. (Khafi Khan, ii. 198—200.)

The *Dilkasha* writes:—Shiva prayed to the Emperor, "I have now come to the capital. My men, who were born and accustomed to the Deccan, cannot bear the climate of Hindustan. Please allow them to return home." The Emperor gladly consented. Shiva remained with his son and a few trusted officers, all others were sent away. From before this he had been distributing sweetmeats every Thursday. Large baskets, each requiring several men to carry it, were sent out of his house for distribution. A large crowd used to gather before his door to receive these alms.

At the request of Ram Singh the Emperor ordered that Fulad Khan, the *kotwal*, should take over from his men the work of guarding Shiva. Shiva's behaviour threw a pell over the Khan's men. It was his wont to show himself to his guards every morning and evening; from the evening he slept on the plea of illness.

One day after informing his confidential officers of his design, he made a slave sleep on his *charpai* (string-bed) and leaving the 2 or 3 constant attendants of his bed-room there, he crept into an empty basket himself, put his son in another, sent a few baskets full of sweets before these, and so left the house. Coming out of the basket, he took the road to Mathura. A pony had been kept ready for his son outside the city; placing the boy on it, he walked [by its side] and quickly covered the distance.

Next morning the watchmen were filled with suspicion at not seeing him at the usual time. They informed Fulad Khan, who entered the bed-room and roused the sleeper. The slave got up. On being asked who he was and where Shiva was, he replied, "In the evening he had placed me on the *charpai* and gone away, I know not whither." Fulad Khan led away the slave and some other [servants] bound and reported to the Emperor, who bade a strict search to be made and

sent orders to the governors of the provinces to arrest Shiva. Pandit Rai *alias* Krishna Bhaskar,* *darogha* of the couriers, was disgraced for failing to bring the news of the flight. (*Dilkasha*, pp. 59 and 60.)

§ 36.—**Maratha account of the Escape.**

When the news of Shiva's imprisonment [at Agra] reached the Deccan, Rajah Shahji was greatly grieved at it and abstained from all earthly enjoyments. Kheluji, son of Shahji's uncle, who had served Rajah Khel Karn before and who on that Rajah's death had withdrawn himself from earthly joys and turned recluse, engaging in [constant] prayer, —now came to Shahji and tried to console and cheer him, saying, "Shiva from his boyhood up has ever been successful and victorious. Now that he is in misfortune, I shall go in the garb of a *faqir* and try to release him. Our wish will most probably succeed, through the grace of the true Cause of Causes." Then he took a large sum of money and set out for Agra,† committing his son Parshuji to the loving care of Shahji, who employed him with 30,000 men to govern Karnatik, while he himself went to Krishna-tirth, a Hindu shrine, and engaged in devotions.

At Agra Shiva was busy seeking means of escape. One day he petitioned the Emperor through Ram Singh, "I have brought some gifts and fruits of my country for the nobles of the Court. If it pleases His Majesty I may send the presents to them." The Emperor gave his assent. From that day onward large baskets (*petara*) full of sweets and fruits were continually sent to the houses of the *mansabdars*, and baskets used to come in and go out on this pretext. [At last] the guards taking it on trust, neglected [to examine them].

Shiva took to his bed on the plea of illness and slept from morn to eve. After a day

* Krishnaji Bhaskar was an agent or diplomat of Shivaji. Pandit Rao was the title of Shiva's Nyayashastrī or expounder of Hindu law. The text is either wrong or refers to a different person altogether.

† The text always gives *Delhi*, which I have changed to *Agra*.

or two had passed thus, he said to his guards, "I am too weak to stand up or move about. Do you stay outside for a moment while I take my food and drink. The bustle and exertion of talking would greatly weaken my heart; it would be a most kind turn if you spare me." He gave them a large sum as tip, and they, charmed with his soft words, grew negligent. Some time before this he had sent away his trusted servants and followers a few at a time. Niraji Panth, in whom he had the greatest trust, was ordered to wait for him at an appointed place. When he had made satisfactory arrangements on every side, one evening in the midst of a large traffic which thronged the streets, he with his son issued in baskets, went out of the city and burnt the baskets (the means of his success). Meeting Niraji the two decided not to return by the way by which they had come [from the Deccan] as it would be full of dangers, but took the path of Kurukshetra.

When leaving his prison-house he had made Mahroji Farzand to lie down on his bed and left a servant to tend him, so that none might discover the secret [of his flight]. Early next morning Mahroji came out with the servant. The guards asked, "How is Shivaji?" They replied, "He is sleeping; his head-ache is very bad to-day; make less noise." Then they, too, wended their own way. When two or four hours had passed and no sound came out of the house, the guards entered and saw the room empty. They could do nothing, but sent a report to the Emperor, who ordered the guards of the fords and highways to be on the alert and not to let Shiva slip away. He was to be caught and brought back as a prisoner. But it was all in vain. (*Tarikh-i-Shivaji*, pp. 23 a—24 b).

§37.—**Adventures during Shiva's flight.**

As it was expected that Shiva would flee to the Deccan by way of Guzerat and Berar, sergeants (*gurz-bardar*, lit., mace-bearers)

were first sent to that side with all speed, and afterwards to the other provinces. Towards Benares, whither he had really gone, they were sent four, five, or even seven days after his flight.

From Agra in six hours he reached Mathura, where he shaved off his beard and moustaches, smeared ashes on his own and his son's face, and in the company of a few *faqirs* enjoying his secret crossed the Jumna at an obscure ford and took the road to Benares, travelling in the darkness of the night, with swift Deccani couriers, who are practised in the art of travelling under various disguises and assumed characters. Forty or fifty men,—his couriers and other dependants—accompanied him, disguised as Hindu *faqirs* and divided into three groups, Bairagis, Gosains, and Udasis. He had filled his hollowed out walking sticks with costly gems and as many *ashrafs* and *huns* (gold coins) as he could carry, and then closed their holes. Some money was sewn under his old shoes. One diamond of great value and some rubies were covered with wax and sewn in the dresses of the couriers [or] carried in the mouths of his companions.

So they travelled and arrived at a place where the *faujdar*, Ali Quli, had learnt of Shiva's flight from the private letter of his agent at the Court before the arrival of the sergeants with the royal letters [to arrest him]. He ordered all these three parties of *faqirs* with many other travellers to be thrown into prison and began an investigation. For one night and day they were kept under arrest. Next day at midnight, Shiva went alone to the private room of the *faujdar*, and said, "I am Shiva, I have with me a precious diamond and a baby worth more than a lac of rupees. If you wish to send me to the Court alive as a captive or send there my severed head and thus lose these two priceless gems, then lo! here I am, and here is my head! Otherwise do not detain us." Ali Quli preferred present gain to a

problematic reward from the Emperor, took the two precious stones, and next morning after making some inquiry and threats let off all the *faqirs* and travellers.

Shiva moved so quickly that no swift footman or *harkara* could overtake him. But after arriving at Allahabad, though he himself could still travel very fast, his young son Sambha was footsore and became a drag on him.

In one of the villages of Allahabad lived a Brahman of note, named Kabkaas (=Kavi kulesha) the hereditary priest and acquaintance of Shiva's forefathers, who had once made a pilgrimage to Allahabad.*

When a respectable and wealthy Hindu arrives at a holy place, it is customary for him to give a note stamped with his own seal to the Brahman (*panda*) who ministers to him [who thus becomes the priest of his descendants and keeps a record of their lineage for future use]. Shiva found him out, entrusted his son to him with some jewels and gold coins and said, "If I live, reach home, and write to you in my own hand,† then convey Sambha to me by the road and in the manner I shall indicate. Otherwise, I commit you and my son to God's hands. But take care, do not move from your place at any request of the boy or his mother's letter." Then leaving with Sambha an old trustworthy Brahman servant of his own (who had found out Kabkaas for him) and a few years' expenses, he went towards Benares.

After entering Benares he went to the riverside two hours before dawn to bathe and perform the customary rites of the Hindus there. He had not yet done shaving his beard and washing his body, and the shades of the night still lingered, when a clamour rose that sergeants had come from the court with the news of Shiva's flight and a hue and cry was raised after him.

* The text has *Benares*, evidently a slip of the pen.

† I presume Khafi Khan forgot that Shiva was illiterate. But he may have meant affixing the seal.

[In this connection Khafi Khan narrates the following anecdote told to him by Nabha, a Brahman physician of Surat, where the Khan was then serving]:—"It is the custom for poor Brahman youths to go to Benares from far and near to learn astrology, medicine or theology. They choose one of the Brahmans of the place as their master, receive his teaching, attend at the river bank every morning and evening on behalf of their master, perform the usual religious services for the pilgrims who come to bathe, and honestly make over to him whatever is received as fee. The master feeds and clothes his pupils according to their need. I had been serving for 3 or 4 years one of the Benares Brahmans as his pupil, but he stinted me in food. At last, one morning while it was still dark, I went to the river as usual; a man seized my hand, thrust into it a handful of jewels, *ashrafis* and *huns*, and said "Don't open your fist, but quickly finish the bathing rites for me." I had not yet done shaving and bathing him, when a hue and cry arose and the news of the arrival of sergeants for Shiva spread. When I was on the alert I found that the man to whom I had been ministering had slipped away. I knew it was Shiva. He had given me 9 gems, 9 *ashrafis* and 9 *huns*. Then without going to my master I turned towards my country and reached Surat. The grand house that I have here was bought with that money."

In short, Shiva travelled from Benares by way of Bihar-Patna and Chanda, through jungly and difficult tracts, assuming a new dress and character everywhere, and at last reached Haidarabad in the Deccan. (Khafi Khan, pp. 201 and 217-220).

[The *Dilkasha*, p. 61, tells a slightly different story]:—Arriving at Mathura, Shivaji shaved off his beard and moustaches and long front locks, left his son in the house of a good and esteemed Brahman known to him from before, ... and then went like a religious mendicant by way of Allahabad and Benares

towards Gaya. There he joined two men, whom he had with great foresight sent before, and started for Orissa. Through travelling on foot over long distances every day, he felt the need of riding. At the time of buying a pony he had not a sufficient number of rupees with him; so, opening his purse of *mohurs* he gave a few gold coins to the horse-dealer. The flight of Shiva had been already noised abroad, and the man said, "Perhaps you are Shiva, as you are paying such a large price for a small pony!" Shiva gave him the entire purse and fled thence. After worshipping Jagannath (in Orissa), he returned home by way of Haidarabad.

Maratha Account:—Shivaji after leaving his prison followed the road of Kurukshetra travelling by night and passing the day in some safe place. In the course of time he reached Mathura in the guise of a *sanyasi*. Krishnaji Panth, Kashi Panth and Baji Panth, three brothers of the Maratha [Brahman] caste, lived there, and were known to Niraji Panth, who had accompanied Shivaji from the time of his flight. Reaching Mathura, he went to their house, told them everything without reserve, and asked their help, which they gave. Shivaji entreated them, "Keep my son Sambhaji in your house. Disguise him as a Brahman and bring him up with your own sons. One of you three brothers should accompany me." Krishnaji went with Shiva to Benares. Thence travelling by way of Gondwana and Bhagnagar (=Haidarabad) he reached his own country, through God's grace passing safely all the many dangers that crossed his path. (*Tarikh-i-Shivaji*, 24, b and 25, a.)

§ 38.—Return of Sambhaji.

[On reaching the Deccan] Shiva set himself to bring away Sambha in company with Kashi Panth and Baji Panth. When these three left Mathura, the guards at a ferry stopped them saying, "This is a high-born lad,

you have abducted him by means of temptation." The two [Brahman] brothers, however, asserted that the boy was of their family. To remove their suspicion they ate off the same plate as Sambha, [proving their kinship], and thus got over the danger. On the boy being safely brought back to Shiva, he gave large presents to the poor and to *faqirs*, and the title of Wiswas Rao to [each of] these three brothers with one *lac* of *hun* (i. e., 4 lacs of rupees) as their reward, and kept them in his court with every consideration [*Tarikh-i-Shivaji*, 25, a].

[The *Dilkasha*, however, tells another story]. The trusty Brahman [of Mathura] disguised Sambha—who had long hair and was not wanting in beauty—in a woman's garb, took his family with himself, represented the boy as his poor relative (*adajiza*), and so conducted him safely to Shiva.

Khafi Khan's account.—Shiva, pretending that a letter had come from Kabkalas, announced the news of his son's death and

went into mourning for him. The neighbouring chieftains and some [Mughal] nobles and Rajputs serving in the Deccan,—who used to correspond secretly with him,—wrote him letters of condolence. Sambha's wife, who was grown up to womanhood, wished to burn herself, but Shiva with many entreaties dissuaded her and performed all the rites of *sradh*. The news was conveyed to Aurangzib by the letters of the news-writers and reporters of Surat and other places near it, and His Majesty remarked "One bramble the less, and the earth grown the cleaner!" After four or five months Sambha arrived with Kabkalas from Allahabad, and great was the rejoicing at his return! When Shiva's wife and friends asked him why he had spread the false report, he replied, "If by this rumour I had not lulled to sleep the Emperor's watchfulness and strict search for my son, his safe coming from a distance of two months' journey by a path full of dangers would have been very difficult." (ii. 229.)

JADUNATH SARKAR.

GODS AS CAPITALISTS

THE growing poverty of India and the absence of working capital in her, have been the burden of complaint of a great many writers—both Indian and Anglo-Indian—on the economic history of the country. Writers of acknowledged authority like the late Mr. William Digby, Mr. Romesh Chandra Dutt and Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, attribute this state of things to the drain of India's wealth to foreign shores.

Nobody can shut his eyes to the widespread poverty of India and her growing destitution. It may partly be true that there are here and there in India some well-to-do families

possessed of a few valuable plates and rich jewellery, but they view these as so many heirlooms. Under these circumstances, to expect these few rich men to send all their plates and jewellery to the melting pot, to provide capital for industrial purposes and economic enterprises in which they can only with difficulty be made to believe, is to overlook the ingrained prejudices of the Indians against speculations. Nevertheless we note with satisfaction that the practice of burying money underground or investing it in jewellery, which yields no profit, is rapidly disappearing with the growth of the spirit of

industrialism and the dawn of enlightenment. People would now-a-days prefer to invest their wealth, if they have any at all, in banks managed on sound principles.

Looking for capital elsewhere, we cannot be blind to the potentiality of the by no means inconsiderable wealth we have among us accumulated in the form of cash or jewellery in many of our Indian temples. It is about the prospect of these temples figuring as capitalists and masters of industry that we intend to speak in this paper.

India is eminently known to be a land of temples. The wealth of her temples had in ancient times been the attraction of invaders. From the days of Somnath which opened its bowels full of gems to the iconoclast from Ghazni till to-day, the various temples of India have been proprietors of large wealth, which has been generally lying idle. We have no definite idea as to the property owned by the temples in Northern India. Such notable places of pilgrimage as Benares, Gaya, Jāgannath and Pandharpur could be owners of no mean wealth. But if one takes stock of the wealth in the South Indian temples, one is inclined to think, that our industrial outlook need not, after all, be so hopeless, as it has of late been proclaimed to be. The writer of this article has had ample opportunities to know or hear about the magnitude of wealth in these temples. The indulgent reader will kindly bear with me in my enumeration of the names of some of the richest temples of India, and I am sure then he would be able to make an estimate of this wealth himself. There is in the district of Madura a temple dedicated to Vishnu, known popularly as the Alagar Sannithi, whose wealth in jewellery alone is said to be immeasurable. There is in the same district another temple dedicated to the Meenakshiamman whose property is said to exceed Alagar's. Coming to the district of Trichinopoly, there is Srirangam, the holy shrine of the

far-famed Ranganadaswami, possessed of an enormous mass of superfluous jewellery and other wealth estimated at nearly a hundred lakhs of rupees, or thereabouts. In Tanjore we have the temples at Tanjore, Kumbakonam, Mannargudi and Tiruvalur, owning immense wealth. Again, the celebrated shrine of Venkatachalapati in the district of North Arcot has an amazingly abundant mass of wealth whose magnitude has been the talk of many a pilgrim. It was only the other day that a sum of one lakh was lost to the temple by the sudden crash of the Arbuthnots, and yet we may be sure, the *Devasthanam* has neither felt nor has become much the worse for it. The temple is, moreover, the absolute mortgagee of the whole village of Arni. The Mahant of Tripeti is said to be rolling in wealth, literally. There are a host of other temples at Conjevaram, Chidambaram, Nagore and other places. Most of these temples are regular places of pilgrimage and they are ever and anon drawing into their long pouches a goodly number of stray gold and silver coins and trinkets so religiously contributed by the zealous pilgrim, which go to swell their already enormous wealth. I am sure that everyone of these temples can provide capital for starting one or more industries in their neighbourhood, on western lines with the aid of machinery. The gods seem to have had even in ancient times enough partiality for speculative and industrial enterprises. In Dr. Head's translation of the Numismatic chronicle, it is mentioned on the authority of Curtius that the gods were the capitalists of Greece. History has chronicled the fact that Delphi accumulated its treasure and was able to furnish state-loans to communities that stood in favour with its priesthood. In another work entitled 'The Life and Customs of the Assyrians and Babylonians' it is said that the gods were likewise the capitalists of early Babylon. There, indeed, as we can gather from the evidence of Tablets, the

accumulated wealth of the temples played a very prominent part in the commercial life of the community. A man starting business would naturally borrow the requisite capital from the treasury of the sun-god as one would do in modern times from a bank or lending agency. The fact that the papacy with its splendour of wealth and immensity of influence could guide the destinies of the Holy Roman Empire, by bringing to bear on it its magnificent power, is another illustration of the compatibility of temporal concerns with spiritual. The early history of the development of industry in England and some other European countries shows how much they owe their progress to the fostering care of the churches. Even in India instances are not wanting wherein the gods have participated in business concerns. It will not only be in accordance with precedents, but also with the spirit and necessity of the times that these shrines should figure as pioneers of business ventures on western lines with native capital, and thus set an example to individual capitalists who seem to fight shy of them.

Every one is acquainted with the fact of how many of our industries are worked by foreign capital and how many by indigenous capital. The proportion which the latter bears to the former is deplorably insignificant. We do not overlook the fact that individual Indian capitalists could do enough work on a small scale. But to undertake enterprises on a grander scale, involving as they do a large capital and efficient control, is not at present suited to their nature and condition. There is always present in them the temptation of greater pecuniary gain, the hurry to get their dividend, to reap the fruit before it is ripe and an anxiety to enrich themselves before their efforts mature, that is in as short a time as they can; and again there is also absent in them that buoyancy of hope which alone could sustain them in times of anxiety, crisis

or distress. But not so with our proposed god-capitalists. They can work at a disadvantage for some time, if need be. Any initial failure in the case of our *civile-capitalists* cannot destroy their faith in the enterprises undertaken, as they can cope with difficulties incidental to an incipient business venture, backed up as they are by a good supply of capital which could be transmuted into expert knowledge, efficient labour and able management.

It used to be a good business maxim, that the saving of money like the getting of it, should be intelligent of a purpose beyond. It should not be the miser's saving for saving's sake, but for the sake of some worthy object to be accomplished by the money saved. There is no sense in having redundant masses of jewellery or gold, over and above what is needed for the decoration of the idols during the course of temple festivals. In Srirangam, Tripeti and Madura the jewels in each of the temples are a lot too many of the same sort, and we can safely say that not even 10 per cent. of these are ever worn by the idols in all the festivals taken together. These in fact are the real wealth of the country which may be rightly said to be hoarded and lying idle. If the authorities of these temples could only be prevailed upon to dispose of the superfluous jewellery and with the money realized could be made to engage in business enterprises, we should yet live to see the resuscitation of many of our dead or decaying industries. By no means would the national gods of India, could they be made to live by any method of anthropomorphism, by no means I say would they view with unconcern, the industrial decay of the land whose presiding deities they are reputed to be, if they only knew they could save her from such destitution and danger. These temples would, by no means, be deemed to be going out of the way, if they should launch on business ventures. It is all a question of sentiment and our rigid

sentimentalism has done us more harm than good, in the whole history of our progress, and it is meet we discard it. There is nothing which anybody can do which does not become grand and noble if only it is done largely enough and well enough. **The gods who have been figuring as landlords and litigants may go one step further and become masters of industry likewise.**

It is the common complaint of a great many people that the majority of our temples serve as powerful incentives to the idle instincts of a lot of lazy vagabonds and that they unfortunately tend to foster the parasitic growth of *demi-mondes*. The starting of the Dharma-rakshini Sabha, it is hoped, will remedy most of the present evils that have crept into them for a long time. It is most respectfully commended to the kind consideration of the Sabha that it should find its way to add to its programme the responsible task of persuading these temples so richly endowed, to do the substantial work of pioneering Indian industries on western lines. What the Basel Mission at Calicut has been doing with the insignificant contributions of a few zealous Christians, a celebrated shrine like Tripeti or Srirangam can also do and that on a grander scale and much better, financed as they are by the perennial tributes of the masses and classes alike.

The field of operation for these temples is quite extensive and varied. They can set up *Technical Schools* wherein old methods of the land which are cheap and suited to our conditions, can be taught to students and can maintain them just in the same way as they do Pathasalas. They can, without any difficulty, *send students to the commercial colleges* of Japan, United States, Germany and England, to learn the intricacies of the new methods which have become so inevitably necessary to the altered conditions of our existence. The advisability of adopting such a procedure is patent in view of the fact that

in all the prosperous countries of the world, the progress of manufacturing enterprise has kept pace with the progress of industrial and commercial education. An adequately large number of industrial schools and workshops which could teach to aspirants in the field of industry those cardinal powers of business and mechanical ingenuity, is a prime factor in the industrial regeneration of our country.

At a time when the nation is losing faith in foreign banks under the influence of the recent failure of the Arbuthnots and while yet the stimulative spirit of Swadeshism lasts, the temples can organise good *banks* for financing business on a cash-credit system and receiving deposits for safe custody or investments. They can also, to a great extent, put an end to the great complaint of those who have received a higher technical education, but who surely want employers of their skill and sufficient capital to set them on their legs. We have among us one or two Japan-returned glass experts who have been for a long time moving the public for capital through the press, and none to my knowledge has been forthcoming as yet. Well might some of our temples run to the rescue of such trained men as languish from want of adequate capital. They can obviate thus the deterrent effect of a want of scope for the training and knowledge acquired, which stands in the way of many of the Indians going to foreign countries for technical education, and which not infrequently throws a cold douche on their natural aptitudes and bent of mind and oftentimes compels them to mistake their calling.

This is not all. Our god-capitalists can also do the more beneficial work of financing some of our declining industries. At present the sugar industry requires all the fostering care of the Indian capitalists. It is a well-known fact that India could easily produce all or almost all the sugar she requires; probably

she could establish an important export trade also. But a reference to statistics shows the import of foreign sugar has been increasing and it gives us also an idea of the sum of money that is drawn away from the country as equivalent to the foreign sugar we import; as many as 777.5 lakhs of rupees worth of foreign sugar has been bought in the course of the last year alone.

A *Devasthanam* like Srirangam or Alagar's in Madura, with its magnificent wealth and masses of jewellery, can take effective steps to remedy the want of capital, by opening their coffers readily, assured of the prospect of ultimate gain. They can even introduce with advantage healthier and more prolific varieties of cane, use economical processes of extracting the juice and adopt the most modern methods of refining by starting sugar mills.

Next to sugar, in point of decay but not next in importance, is our cotton industry. In this branch we imported in 1905 about 20 millions worth of piece-goods. This was by far the heaviest item of our imports till even last year, and our present Swadeshi is mainly directed towards producing as much of these goods in our country as possible. This year's statistics shows a sudden fall in the value of imports, and this indicates that some work is being done by Swadeshi capital. India has cheap labour and cotton at her own doors and thus enjoys exceptional advantages for the manufacture of cotton goods. In spite of our 200 mills, 5 million spindles, 50 thousand power looms and a quarter of a million of handlooms, only a fraction of the total cloth consumed in India is Swadeshi. While the Indian mills are obliged to restrict themselves to producing coarser cloth owing to the inferior quality of the cotton now grown in the country, the cloth that is imported into India is almost all of superior quality. The main difficulty in the way of manufacturing the quality of cloth that is

at present imported, is one of capital. According to the estimate of Mr. D. H. Wadia, the development of mill-industry in India up to the point of meeting the requirements of the situation and ousting foreign goods requires a capital of about an additional 30 crores of rupees. Individual capitalists cannot command such a vast capital, and, therefore, it must be induced to come from other quarters and undertake this business. Still some of our temples might, singly or by their co-operative efforts, furnish a considerable part of the capital that is needed to set the industry on a strong basis.

Under the auspices of our divine capitalists our cotton industry can be given an impetus in a variety of ways. Lords of extensive lands, they can, provided the soil permits, grow cotton of superior staple; with an amount of immense wealth ready for use, they can, by the adoption of improved handlooms and weaving appliances, turn to good use the ordinary hand-loom industry in the country so as to effectively meet the competition of its rivals; they can also start a moderately sufficient number of weaving and spinning mills worked by steam-power, the use of which alone could ensure the complete success of the Swadeshi movement in this branch.

There is also another branch of industry in which our temples can do some effective work. We have in India a good many varieties of oil-seeds. Unfortunately most of these seeds go out of India for the extraction of oil, and the export trade in oil-seeds has increased by 300 per cent. or so, from the year 1870. There is no reason why the seeds should go out of India for the extraction of oil. Many of our smaller temples with but modest capitals, can start oil presses at suitable localities and thus put an end to the export of oil-seeds altogether.

There are a good many varieties of minor industries which require only small fixed capitals, but which are now in the hands of

foreigners, in all or most of which the really hoarded wealth of many of our temples could be utilised for the holy purpose of the industrial regeneration of the country.

It has been truly observed by the late Mr. Justice Ranade, that the formidable though unfelt domination which the capital, enterprise and skill of one country, exercises over another in its trade and manufactures, has an insidious influence which paralyses the springs of all the varied activities which go to make up the life of a nation. We cannot do better than follow up the remarks so ably made, with the words of his illustrious disciple, the

Hon. Mr. Gokhale, who has rightly said, 'that the question of production is a question of capital, enterprise and skill and that in all these factors, deficiency is at present very great. Whoever can help in any one of these fields, is, therefore, a worker in the Swadeshi cause and should be welcomed as such.' We earnestly hope that our divine capitalists will try their utmost to minimise the foreign domination in every one of these items. Let no idle prejudice or weak sentimentalism deter these wealthy temples from engaging in such a noble enterprise and reaping for India a good harvest of material prosperity.

R. NATHAN.

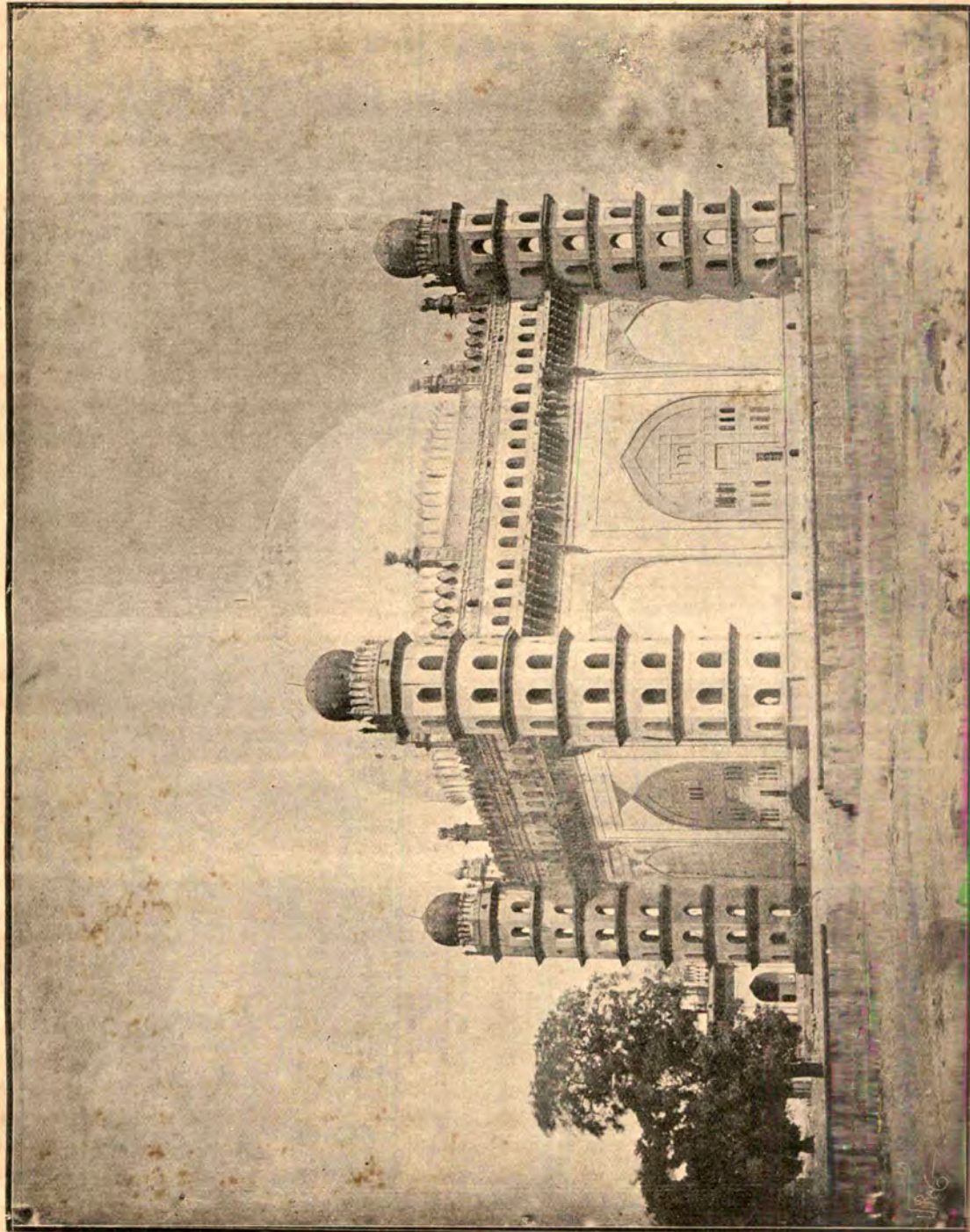
BIJAPUR

BIJAPUR, once the capital of the Deccan, is situated, as the crow flies, two hundred and forty miles south-east of Bombay. It is 58 miles south of Hotgi junction on the Southern Maratha Railway. The journey from Hotgi is very uninteresting, the line traversing for the most part long stretches of dry, barren, stony soil with little vegetation, save in the valleys of the Bhima and its tributaries which are crossed *en route*.

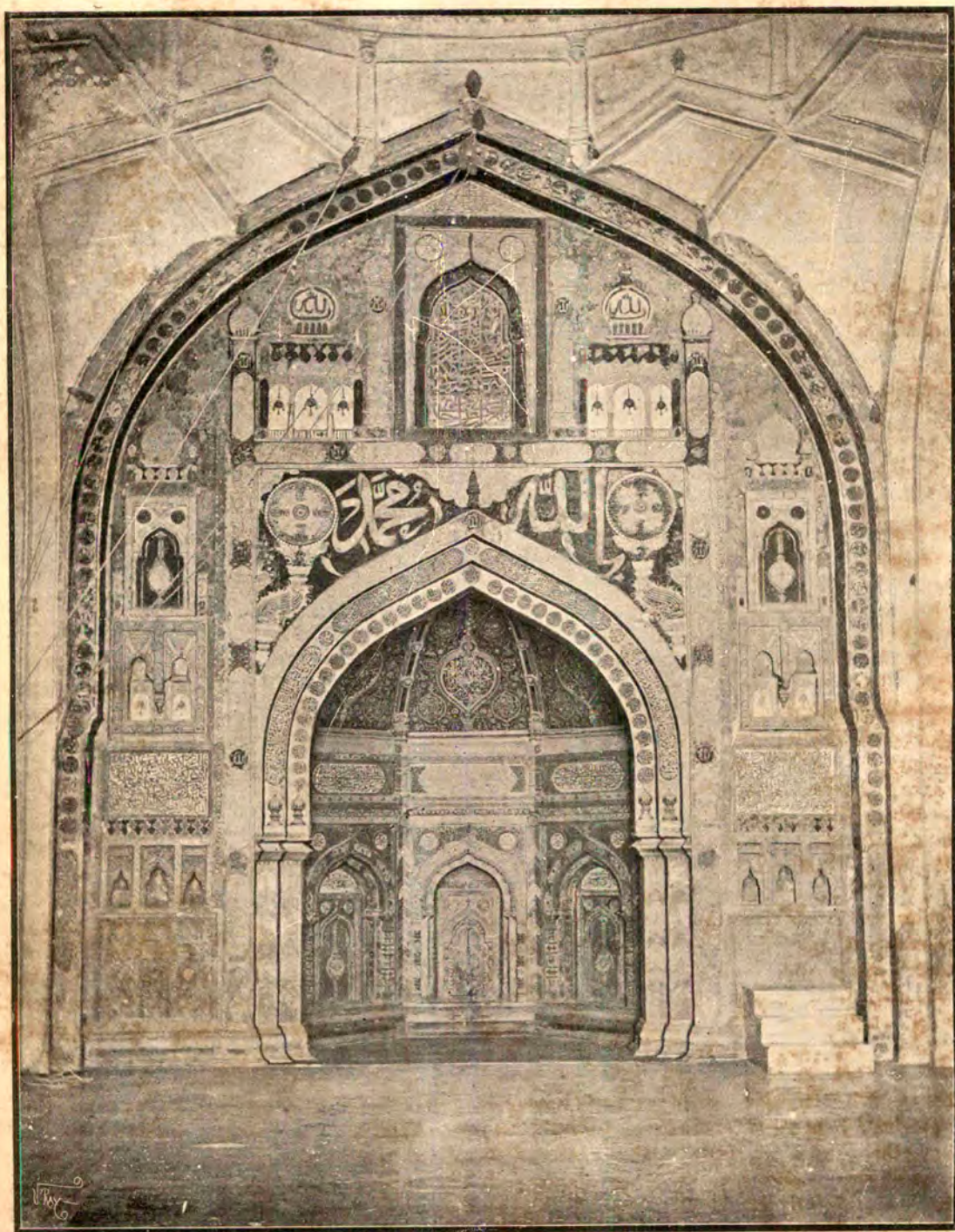
At the fortieth mile from Hotgi, the line crosses a ridge at the end of a range of low hills, from which high ground the first glimpse of Bijapur is obtained. Far away to the left a small dark square object is seen in bold relief against the sky on the southern horizon. This is the great Gol Gumbaz, the tomb of Sultan Muhammad, the largest building in the Deccan. It is a very conspicuous object for miles from the city on either side, and it has even been reported to have been seen from Bagalkot, fifty-six miles to the south, but this assertion needs to be taken

cum grano salis. From this point, except for short intermissions when the line descends into the intervening valleys, it remains in sight, first on one side and then on the other as the line changes its direction, and grows larger and larger and more distinct as the distance between is shortened. Gradually other large buildings rise into view, among them being the Jama Masjid, the Sat Manjli, the Two Sisters, and the lofty gun tower of Haidar Khan, following each other along the horizon in this order to the west of the Gol Gumbaz. Then further away still to the west, and on higher ground, beyond the city, stands the white tomb of Pir Amin, with the village of Dargapur clustered around it. To the east of the Great Dome, and conspicuous among lesser buildings and ruins which dot the bare-looking country without the walls, are the unfinished tomb of Jehan Begam and that of Ain-ul-Mulk with its well proportioned dome.

As the city is reached it begins to unfold itself, and when the high ground just outside



GOL GUMBAZ OR THE MAUSOLEUM OF MUHAMMUD.



JAMA MOSQUE—INTERIOR VIEW.

the walls to the north is attained a grand uninterrupted view of the whole town presents itself. Why such an exposed position for a city was selected, that had to defend itself against many enemies, is difficult to conceive.

We can only suppose that at the time Bijapur was selected as the head quarters of a province by the Bidar government, guns were little used, and that for some time after they did come into use they were such primitive weapons, and their practice was so bad, that the town was comparatively safe. When, however, Aurangzib came down upon it with superior artillery, and better served, the city soon lay at his mercy.

Meadows Taylor best describes the scene of desolation which meets the traveller, directly he enters the walls of Bijapur.

"But mournful as it is, the picturesque beauty of the combinations of the buildings, the fine old tamarind and peepul trees, the hoary ruins, and distant views of the more perfect edifices, combine to produce an ever-changing and impressive series of landscapes. Nowhere in the Deccan, not even at Beedar, at Goolburgah, or in the old fort of Golcondah, is there any evidence of general public taste and expenditure, like that proved by the remains in Beejapoor—and for days together the traveller, or sketcher, will wander among these remains with his wonder still excited and unsatisfied. It is not by the grandeur of the edifices, now perfect, noble as they are, that the imagination is so much filled, as by the countless other objects of interest in ruin, which far exceed them in number. Palaces, arches, tombs, cisterns, gateways, minarets, all carved from the rich brown basalt rock of the locality, garlanded by creepers, broken and disjointed by peepul, or banian trees, each, in its turn is a gem of art, and the whole a treasury to the sketcher or artist. . . . The interior of the citadel is almost indescribable, being nearly covered with masses of enormous ruins, now almost shapeless, interspersed with buildings still perfect. All those which had vaulted roofs are sound, but all in which wood existed are roofless and irreparably ruined. . . . In the citadel the visitor, if he be acquainted with its past history, will have many a scene of historical interest shown to him. The court which the devoted Dilshad Agha, and her royal mis-

tress Boobooji Khanum, Queen of Yusuf Adl Shah, clad in armour, and fighting among their soldiers, defended against the attempts of the treacherous Kumal Khan to murder the young king Ismail; the place where the son of Kumal Khan stood, when the young king pushed over a stone from the parapet above, which crushed him to death; the window where the dead body of Kumal Khan was set out, as if alive, to encourage the soldiers in their brutal assault; the place on the rampart where Dilshad Agha threw over the ropes, and the faithful band of Persians and Moghuls ascended by them and saved the Queen and her son. All these will be pointed out with every accompanying evidence of probability and truth; as well as the apartment where the traitor Kishwar Khan dragged the noble-hearted Queen Chand Beebee to her prison at Sattara. Then in a lighter vein, the visitor will be told of the merry Monarch Mahmood; he will be shown the still entire and exquisitely proportioned and ornamented room where happy hours were passed with the beautiful Rhumba; and though it was much defaced when the Rajah of Sattara began with his own dagger to scrape the gilding from the walls, there are still traces of the picture of the jovial king and his lovely mistress. Such, and hundreds of other tales of wild romance and reality which linger amidst these royal remains, will, if the visitor choose to listen to them, be told him by descendants of those who took part in them, with as fond and vivid a remembrance as the Moorish legends of the Alhambra are told there.

For such legends of that beautiful memorial of past greatness, an interest for all time has been created; but no one has succeeded in awakening for Bijapur any corresponding feeling, and far grander as its memorials are, accounts of them are listened to with a cold scepticism or indifference which hitherto nothing has aroused. And yet, inspired by the effect of these beautiful ruins with the glory of an Indian sun lighting up palace and mosque, prison and serana, embattled tower and rampart, with a splendour which can only be felt by personal experience, it may be hoped that some eloquent and poetic pen may be found to gather up the fleeting memorials of transit on which are fast passing away, and invest them with a classic interest which will be imperishable. Above all, however, these noble monuments may serve to lead our countrymen to appreciate the intellect, the taste, and the high power of art and execution which they evince, to consider their authors not as barbarians, but in the position to which their works

justly entitle them; and to follow, in the history of those who conceived them, that Divine scheme of civilization and improvement, which, so strangely and so impressively, has been confided to the English nation."

Since the above was written a great change has come over the city—a change that is still going on.

Bijapur does not seem to have been a place of much importance before the time of Yusaf, the founder of the Adil Shahi dynasty. The earliest authentic records we have of the place are contained in the old Kanarese inscriptions on the tablet and columns at the entrance to the citadel. These columns and other fragments are the remains of several Hindu temples which once existed on or near this spot. The Muhammadans probably found these shrines partly in ruins and set about to use the materials to construct their gateways, guardrooms, and mosques. It is what they did in Gujarat and other parts of the country. In the old mosque, a few hundred yards north of this gateway, which is entirely made up of old Hindu temple materials, the porch is really a part of a temple *in situ*,—it is the hall or *mandapa* undisturbed. The shrine which joined it on the west was, of course, pulled down. The principal inscription is a well inscribed slab built in, low down, on the left side of the inner gate of the citadel. It is of the time of the Western Chalukya king Bhuvanaikamalla or Somesvara II., and is dated in *Saka* 996 (A. D.) 1074-5.*

From the Chalukya inscription it is plain that the name of the place was originally Vijayapura, or 'city of victory,' probably so called on account of some victory having at one time been obtained here, and this name has remained to it, with brief intermissions, to the present day under the Muhammadan

form of Bijapur. In the vernacular it is written Vijapur. The intermissions were, as local historians tell us, when Ibrahim II., in 1603, gave it the name of Badyapur, and when Sultan Muhammad called it Mubammadpur.†

The following is the legendary history of Yusaf, the founder of the Adil Shahi dynasty:—

He was the younger son of the Emperor Bajazet, and the reigning monarch determined to put the boy to death, according to a cruel policy which dictates that no younger brother is to be tolerated near the throne. When the remorseless executioners went to demand the child from his mother, her passionate entreaties for mercy to her boy, the apple of her eye, failed in moving her despotic sovereign, or his cruel myrmidons. *In extremis* she prayed for and obtained one day's respite, to prepare herself for the terrible trial ordained. During this interim she sent to the slave-market and purchased a Circassian slave of the same age as her darling, who bore a fatal resemblance to him. One of the ministers who loved the mother, aided the child's escape and favoured the deception which ensured it,—allowing the Circassian slave, who was dressed up to personate the young Prince, to be strangled in his stead. His body was shown to the despot-sovereign as that of his youthful relative, who meantime was concealed till he was sixteen, when accident or treachery betraying his identity, he fled for safety to Persia. While residing at Shiraz, he had a supernatural vision which promised him sovereignty in India. He followed his evident *nusseeb* (fate), and left Persia without delay. The gods smiled on all his enterprises, and he rose in a few years to eminence in the State of Berar. His historian, the romantic Ferishta, says that "the Hooma ‡ of prosperity had spread the shadow of its wings over his head;" so upon the

* Indian Antiquary, Vol. X., p. 126.

† In a Devanagari inscription on a wall near the Ibrahim Rauza, written in the time of Sultan Muhammad, Bijapur is called Vidyapura, or 'city of wisdom.' But this is probably due to the pedantry of the pandit who composed the inscription.

‡ "The Hooma" is a bird of good fortune, and whoever comes under the shadow of its wings—so the old legends relate—is sure to wear a crown. This fable has passed into an idiom.

dissolution of the Bahmanee empire in the Deccan, he became the undisputed sovereign of a rich and noble territory.

Another account almost identical with the first, says that he was a younger brother of Muhammad, Sultan of Turkey, who succeeded his father Murad in 1451.

A third account tells us that Yusaf was the son of Mahmud Beg, governor of Saveh, and that when the latter was killed in battle, and his family and adherents dispersed, Yusaf Beg was brought up as a child at Ispahan, was taken thence to Shiraz, and finally came to India. In this account the vision of his future prosperity is said to have occurred to him in the mosque at Lad, when a man appeared to him and, placing some hot cakes in his hands, significantly added—"Your bread has been cooked in the Deccan."

The first account is perhaps nearest the truth, for it receives confirmation in the fact that almost all the state buildings at Bijapur are, or have been, surmounted by the crescent, which is the Turkish emblem.

The city is surrounded by a fortified wall, consisting of 96 bastions, with their connecting curtain walls, and five principal gates with their flanking bastions. Outside the walls, and running nearly the whole length round them, is a deep broad moat, and beyond this can still be traced remains of a covert way.

The waterworks of Bijapur, like those of almost all old Muhammadan towns, were, in their day, perfect; abundance of pure wholesome water was brought into the city from two principal sources—one from Torweh, four miles to the west, and the other from the Begam talao to the south. These sources being without the walls, could easily be cut off by an army investing the city, but this contingency was evidently foreseen and met by the plentiful distribution of tanks and wells within the walls, supplied from these sources, and which, when once filled, would render the besieged independent of the source

for months together. Wherever the remains of Muhammadan buildings are met, this characteristic marks them all. Muhammadans had a special fondness for the presence of water. They knew full well and appreciated the cooling effect of tanks and cisterns of cold water within and around their dwellings. These together with cool chunam or marble pavements, covered in with thick masonry walls and roofs afforded a luxurious retreat from the glare and scorching heat of a summer sun. In their palaces, even in cool subterranean vaults, they had their chunam-lined baths and fountains. In the Sat Marjli they had at least one basin or bath on each floor with octagonal, square, or fluted sides; and away upon the highest storey now remaining are traces of a bath. Their palaces usually had a large square tank within the walled enclosure. It may be seen in the ruined palaces of Fateh Khan and Mustafa Khan. The reservoir of the latter was filled from a well close by, the water being drawn up by a *mot* into an elevated cistern, from which it ran to the tank through earthen pipes set in masonry, traces of which may be seen from the well to the tank. When the tank was filled to the brim, the water was allowed to run off down shallow stone channels in different directions through the garden that surrounded it; and to give a prettier effect to the running water, the floor of the channel was cut into zigzag ridges, against which the water struck and rebounded in thousands of little ripple. These ripple stones were in many instances of very much more complicated pattern. Lying about the Anand Mahal are several fragments of these. They are divided into large compartments, and each of these channelled into the plan of a maze or labyrinth. The water entered at one end and travelled through all these channels in and out, redoubling on itself a dozen times, and finally slipped out at the opposite end and into another where it had to go through

the same meanderings. The effect must have been exceedingly pretty, for the divisions between the channels are very narrow, just enough to separate the two streams of water on either side running in different directions. Then again in some the water is made to beat against innumerable little fishes, carved in all sorts of position in high relief on the floor of the channel.

There is a curious little building, well worth an inspection, in the south-east corner of the town, not far from the Jama Masjid, called Mubarak Khan's Mahal, which was built entirely for a display of waterworks. It is a three-storeyed pavilion, the lower storey being square, the next octagonal, while the upper, a small one, supports the dome. Water was carried all through the building in pipes buried in the masonry. Around the plinth is a row of peacock brackets, which are channelled along their tops, and out through the mouths of the peacocks; and behind, on the plinth, are two rows of pipes, which supplied them with water. Around the next storey was a cornice, some of the brackets of which were channelled in the same manner and in the dome are holes at intervals which are the outlets of small pipes. When the water was turned on, it spouted from all these brackets and the dome, and fell into a cistern, in the midst of which the pavilion stood. In the second storey was a small cistern, and what appears to be the remains of a fountain occupies the floor of the third. On the roof of the small building beside this one, was a large shallow tank, and in the bottom of this and let into the ceiling, is a large circular slab pierced with holes. This was intended as a shower bath. There are several of these buildings out at Kumatgi, about ten miles east of Bijapur.

From the Torweh direction, the water was brought towards the city by a great subterranean tunnel. It starts from the Surang Bauri near the tombs of Afzal Khan's wives, beside the Muhammad Sarovar. Here it may

be seen, low down in the north side of the well, as a masonry tunnel with an arched top, curving rapidly round to the eastward. It then makes a bee line for the Moti Dargah, where it turns more to the east, and passes through the gardens into the Ibrahim Rôza enclosure. To this point its direction is easily traced by the manholes, or air shafts, placed at frequent intervals along its course; but beyond this it is lost, and only extensive excavations would settle its further course. During the greater part of its course it is roughly cut through the *murum*, the water being in some places over 60 feet below the surface.

From the Begam talao, on the south of the town, the water is brought in through earthen pipes. These pipes are in short lengths, being made with a shoulder on one end of each length into which the next pipe fits, the whole being then embedded in concrete. Along the line of these pipes, at intervals, are tall open water towers, built for the purpose of relieving the great pressure there would otherwise be in the pipes.

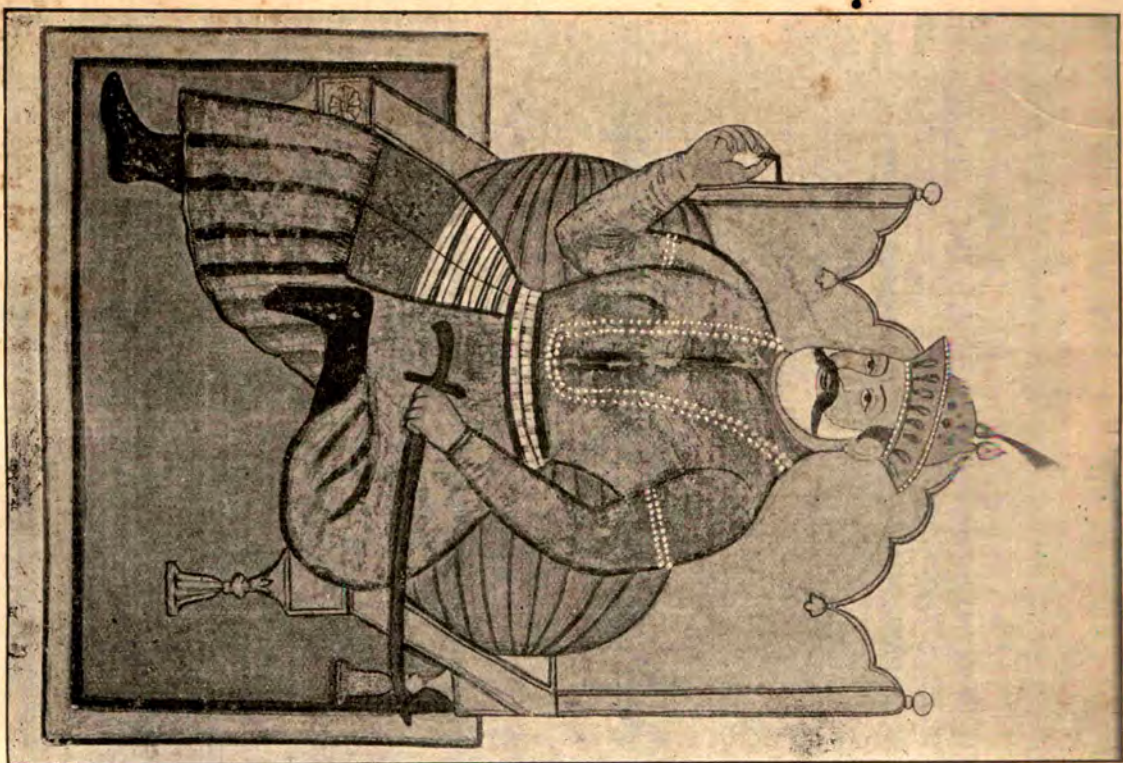
The principal tanks and wells in the town are the great Taj Bauri, the largest and most important; the Ohand Bauri near the Shahapur gate; the Bari and Mubarak Khan's Bauris in the south-east; the Masa and Nim Bauris in the north-east quarter of the city; the Ilal and Nagar Bauris; and the Jama Masjid Bauri to the south of the Jama Masjid. There were many other large ones, the ruins of which may be seen, but they have been neglected and now hold no water.

It may be as well here to insert a list of the Kings of Bijapur with their dates, and the names of the principal buildings ascribed to their reigns.

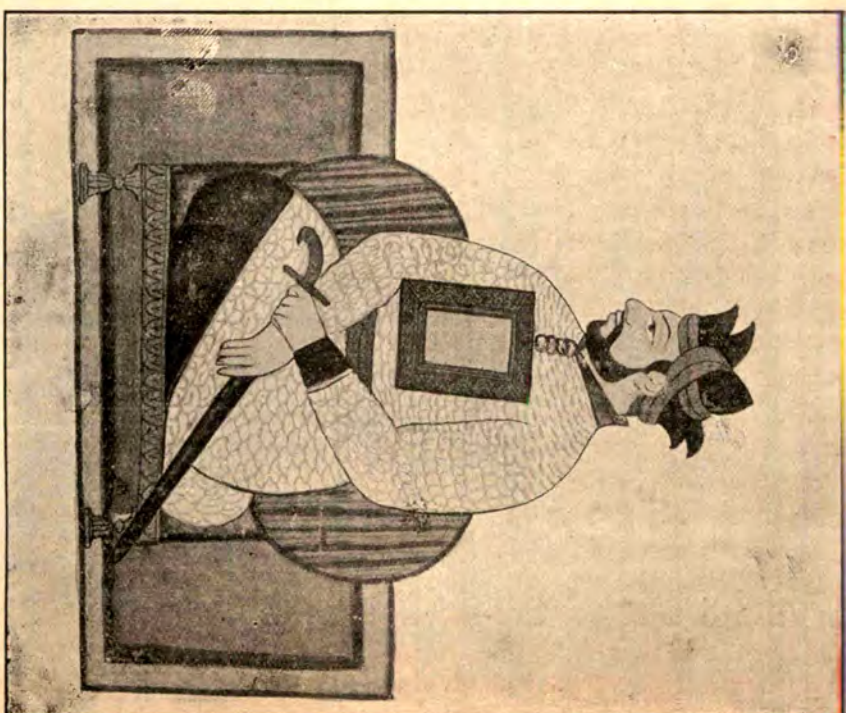
YUSAF ADIL SHAH (1489—1510).—The first enclosure of the citadel or "Arg"; the Dekhani Idgah; and Yusuf's old Jama mosque.

ISMAIL ADIL SHAH (1510—1534).—The Cham-pa Mahal (1521).

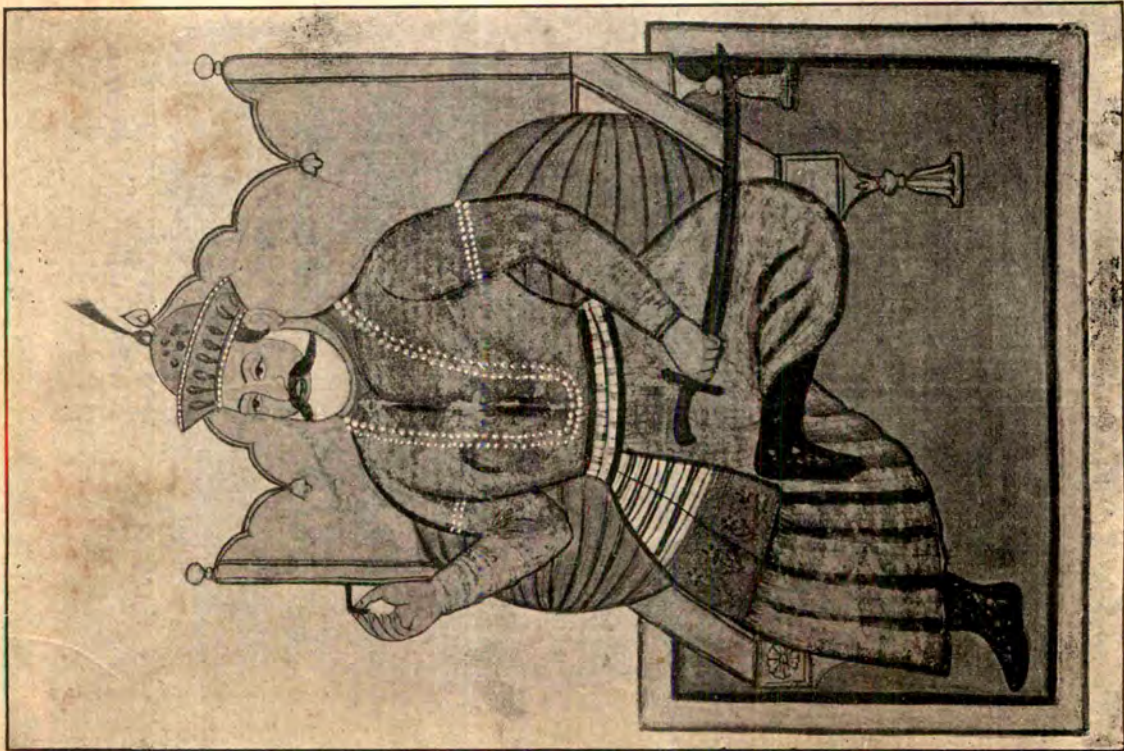
MALLU ADIL SHAH, 1534, deposed. No works.



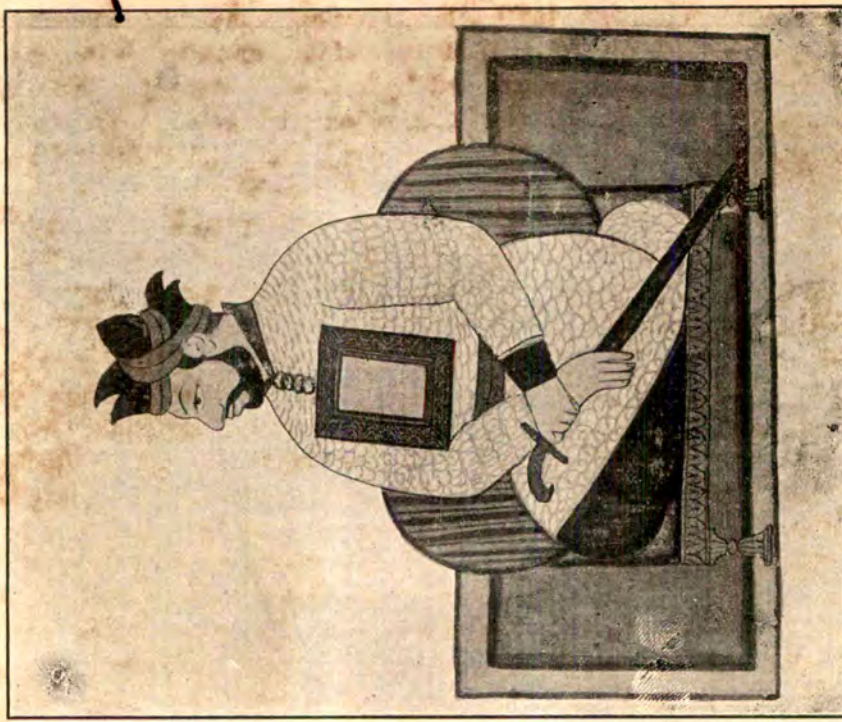
YUSUF ADIL SHAH.



ISMAIL.



YUSUF ADIL SHAH.



ISMAL.



MUHAMMAD.



IBRAHIM II.



SIKANDAR.



ALI II.

INDIAN PRESS, CALCUTTA.

IBRAHIM (I.) ADIL SHAH (1534--1557). Mosque at Ibrahimpur (1526); the Sola Thami Mahal (1528); strengthened the fortifications of the citadel; the Ghalib Masjid; and the old Jama Mosque near the tomb of Hazra Jaffar Sakka (1551).

ALI (I.) ADIL SHAH (1557--1580).--His own tomb in the south-west quarter of the city; the city walls and fortifications (1565); the Gagan Mahal (1561); the Chand Bauri; and the commencement of the great Jama Masjid (1537). The fortification of Shadurg (1558); and part of the fortified walls of Raichor (1570).

IBRAHIM (II.) ADIL SHAH (1580--1626).--The mausoleum of Taj Sultana called the Ibrahim Rauza (1626); Sat Manjli or Sat Khan-ka Mahal (1583); the Haidar Burj (1583); Malika Jehan Masjid (1587); the Anand Mahal (1589); the Sangat or Nauras Mahal and other buildings at Nauraspur (1599 to 1624); and the Taj Bauri (1620).

MUHAMMAD ADIL SHAH (1626--1656).--His own tomb, the great Gol Gumbaz; the Begam talao waterworks (1651); the decoration of the Jama Masjid *mehrab*; and the Asar Mahal.

ALI (II.) ADIL SHAH (1656--1672).--The commencement of his own tomb to the north of the citadel; and the rebuilding of a length of the city walls close besides the Landa Qasab bastion (1662).

SIKANDAR ADIL SHAH (1672--1686). No works.

THE GOL GUMBAZ.--By far the largest and most conspicuous building in Bijapur is the mausoleum of Muhammad (or Mahmud as he is sometimes called) Adil Shah. In the time of the "Merry Monarch" Bijapur attained its zenith of architectural greatness. Luxury held her court within its walls, and the Sultan and his nobles worshipped at her shrine. One of the first concerns of the king on ascending the *masnad* was to build his own tomb, and to set about it at once, so that there might be a chance of completing it before he died.

The general appearance of the building is that of a great cube, surmounted by a huge

hemispherical dome, with an octagonal tower at each of its four corners, these being crowned by smaller domes. The only prominent feature on the faces of the building is the great deep overhanging cornice which, at a high level, runs round all four sides.

The dome is practically a hemisphere of 124 ft. 5 in. interior diameter. The thickness of the same at the springing is 10 feet, whilst near the crown it is 9 feet. Thus the total external diameter at the springing is 144 feet. The curves of the surface are nowhere perfect so that the measurements taken across different diameters vary several inches. The great compartment below, which is covered by the dome, is 135 ft. 5 in. square at the floor level, and this gives an area of 18,337.67 sq. ft., from which if we take 228.32 sq. ft. for the projecting angles of the piers carrying the cross arches which stand out from the walls into the floor, two on each face, we get a total covered area, uninterrupted by supports of any kind, of 18,109.35 sq. ft. This is the largest space covered by a single dome in the world, the next largest being that of the Pantheon at Rome of 15,833 sq. ft.

The total exterior height of the building above the platform on which it stands is 198 ft. 6 in. exclusive of the wooden pole at the top. But this, when it held the *chhatra* finial, formed part of the building and another 8 feet must be allowed for it and this would give an extreme height of 206 ft. 6 in. The interior height from the level of the floor around the tomb platform to the top of the dome is 178 ft. The drop from the gallery to the floor below is 109 ft. 6 in.

The most remarkable feature about this tomb is its whispering gallery. This, as mentioned before, runs round the interior of the dome on a level with its springing, and hangs out from the walls into the building. It is about 11 feet wide, the dome itself forming the back wall of the same. On entering the building one is struck with the loud echoes that fill

the place in answer to his footfall; but these sounds are much intensified on entering the gallery. One pair of feet is enough to awaken the echoes of the tread of a regiment; strange eerie sounds, mocking whispers and uncanny noises emanate from the walls around. Loud laughter is answered by a score of fiends. The slightest whisper is heard from side to side; and a conversation can be most easily carried on across the full diameter of the dome in the lowest undertone. A single loud clap is echoed over ten times distinctly.

Instances of multiple echoes, such as this are the Pantheon, the tomb of Metella, the wife of Crassus, which is said to have repeated a whole verse of the *Æneid* as many as eight times, and the whispering gallery of St. Paul's.* It is not at all likely, as some suppose, that the architect of this building had the production of a good echo in view when he constructed the dome, for it is no more than a duplicate of many a dome in Bijapur, on a much larger scale, with nothing extra about it in any way. The echo was, no doubt, a purely natural result of the size of the dome. In the smaller domes we get what is called resonance, their diameters not being sufficiently great to allow of a distinct echo. It requires rather more than 65 feet between a person and the reflecting surface, so that the sound on return may reach his ear immediately upon the dying out of the original sound and so create the impression of a second sound—an echo. If a greater distance intervenes the echo is more distinct as more time separates the original sound from the reflected sound. If the distance is less, no distinct echo results, as the original and reflected sounds overlap and produce a confused sound or resonance.

The Jama Masjid is the principal mosque in the city. Its dome is generally looked upon as the best proportioned in Bijapur. The interior of the mosque, save the decorated *mehrab*, is severely plain. The whole front and

recess of the *mehrab* is covered with rich gilding upon a coloured ground.

The most elegant in design, and the most elaborately ornamented of all the Beejapur remains, is the Ibrahim Rauza. The inner ceiling was the *chef d'œuvre* of the architect of the Ibrahim Rauza. It is simply a flat hanging ceiling, *unsupported by beam or rafter*. The whole span is the breadth of the room, viz., 39 ft. 10 in., of which a margin of 7 ft. 7 in. broad all round curves upwards and inwards to a perfectly flat surface in the centre 24 feet square. Upon closely examining this it is found to be composed of slabs of stone set edge to edge, with no apparent support. There are certainly two deep ribs or beams across both ways, but these, too, are made up of separate stones and so do not in any way support the slabs in the nine bays into which they divide the ceiling. This has been a most daring piece of work carried out in defiance of the best formed rules and regulations for the construction of buildings. But the architect not only foresaw exactly what he wanted and how to accomplish it, but he had that thorough confidence in his materials, without which no builder ever yet produced anything that was lasting. It is a common thing to hear those who think themselves able to judge condemning the workmanship of the buildings of Bijapur, and certainly when the rules and specifications of building, as they now hold in this country, are applied to these works they are found constantly erring. These old Bijapur buildings have stood the best test any could stand, that of time, and the result proves amply that their builders knew what they were about. There were probably no contractors or middle-men in those days, and defrauding the state would have been punished with death. South of the walls of the town there is half a dome, a good deal overhanging, which has thus remained since it was partly destroyed by a cannon ball in the siege under Aurangzib, just two hundred years ago! The whole secret of the

* The *gola ghar* at Bankipur is also famous for multiple echoes.

durability of their masonry is the great strength and tenacity of their mortar. This is the secret, too, of this flat ceiling. At the north-east corner of the Taj Bauri is a partly destroyed dome. It is rather flat and is constructed in the same way as this ceiling, namely, with a lining of great flat slabs which, by themselves, could not possibly stand. But they are nothing more than the stone lining of a concrete ceiling, the sheer adhesive strength of the mortar keeping them in position. It is possible, as is seen in the upstairs corridor of the tomb, that although the ceiling as a whole may remain intact, yet there is the danger of individual stones dropping out, and this is guarded against by rabbetting the edges, and in many cases fastening adjacent stones with iron clamps. If the mortar failed to hold the stones, while the clamping held, the ceiling would sag in the middle, but it does not, it is perfectly straight and rigid. The ceilings of the corridors are supported in the same way, and they may all be examined from below and above, staircases leading to the upper chambers through the thickness of the walls from behind the east and west doorways.

There are a good many other buildings of interest as the Mehtar Mahal, the Asar Mahal (said to contain two hairs of the Prophet's beard), the Haidar Burj; the Adaulat Mahal, the Arash Mahal, the Anand Mahal, the Gagan Mahal, the Sat Manjli, &c. But they are too numerous to describe in detail in a magazine article. Describing the Badshah's palace situated within the walls of the citadel, a writer says in the *Bombay Quarterly Magazine*, July, 1853:—

"It was magnificence indeed; far surpassing, I could almost say, that of any ancient or modern European palace I ever beheld—I mean as regards space and style of architecture. . . . Descending from the Chambers of State, we next visited the palace kitchen, a very lofty vaulted hall, at least three times the size of the banquetting hall at Raglan Castle. As for Raglan Castle, it could be put away in one corner of the Bijapur Palace, and Kenilworth Castle in another!"

Upon the largest bastion of the western ramparts of the city, lies the famous Malik-i-Maidan or 'king of the plain'; next to the great iron gun, the Landa Kasab, this is the largest in Bijapur. The Landa Kasab measures 21 ft. 7 in. long, diameter at the breech 4 ft. 4 in.; at the muzzle 4 ft. 5 in.; calibre 1 ft. 7½ in.; length of bore 18 ft. 7½ in., and estimated weight nearly 47 tons. The Malik-i-Maidan is smooth and polished externally, and on being struck, emits a sound like a bell. It is composed apparently of the same kind of alloy as is employed in manufacturing zongs and hookah bottoms, but with some variation, probably in the proportion of the metals. The muzzle of the gun has been worked into the shape of the head of a dragon with open jaws, between the sharp curved teeth of which are small elephants, one on either side of the muzzle. There are three inscriptions on the top: one records the name of the man who made it, viz., Mohurmal bin Hasan of Constantinople; another gives the date of its casting as A. H. 956 (A. D. 1549) with the name of Abul Ghazi Nizam Shah, and the third, a later inscription, was added by Aurangzeb when he conquered Bijapur in A. H. 1097 (A. D. 1685-86) recording that event. The gun is slightly irregular in shape, one side being longer than the other, and its calibre a little more or less one way than another. Its extreme length is 14 ft. 1 in., and extreme breadth across the muzzle 4 ft. 9½ in. It weighs 40 tons.

The Malik-i-Maidan was cast at Ahmadnagar, and the place where this operation was carried out is still shewn. It is said to have done considerable execution at the battle of Talikot, having been taken there with Nizam Shah's artillery.

Subsequently it was mounted on the hill fort of Parandah, one of Nizam Shah's strongholds, fifty miles to the north-west of Sholapur and one hundred miles north of Bijapur. But when this place fell into the hands of Bijapur

in 1632 the gun was brought away as a trophy of war. But this grand old gun was nearly meeting a sad fate as lately as 1854. About that year the Satara Commissioner ordered the sale of useless dead stock lying about Bijapur, and the mamlatdar acting up to the letter of these instructions, put up the Monarch to auction! The highest bid for this mass of metal was one hundred and fifty rupees, and the mamlatdar, considering this very little for so much material, reported the bid to the Assistant Commissioner and pointed out that the gun was held in great veneration by people far and wide.* Upon this the Assistant Commissioner cancelled the sale, and directed that the gun should be retained. Later, a proposal was made to transport the gun to the British Museum, but the Fates wisely ordered otherwise, and it still remains upon the walls it protected in days gone by.

The gun has been credited with the most wonderful performances. The best story of all is perhaps the following. It is said that during Aurangzib's siege of the town he was observed from the walls by Sikandar seated by the cistern in the Ibrahim Rauza washing his feet before going into the mosque to pray. Sikandar wishing to take advantage of his opportunity, ordered his gunner, Golandas, to charge the Malik-i-Maidan with ball and fire upon him. The gunner was, however, unwilling to take the life of the Emperor, but, to make Sikandar think he did actually try, he aimed as near as he could to Aurangzib, with the result that he knocked the *lota*, he was using, out of his hand. Considering the distance, which is fully half a mile in a straight line, and the short spreading bore of the gun, this story is worth recording for the very impudent assurance with which it is told.

Colonel James Welsh writes in his *Military Reminiscences* (p. 318):—

* A writer in the *Bombay Quarterly Magazine*, July, 1853 says:—"This gun is evidently an object of worship, for there is a lamp placed inside the entrance of the muzzle, and the stones in front are smeared with red pigment."

"The tradition is, that it was actually fired once during the siege [by Aurangzib], when the ball, missing the besieger's camp, went hissing through the air, occasioning many mishaps on its passage, for thirty or forty miles and was never found afterwards! Indeed my informer very sagaciously added, 'Some suppose it is yet flying!'"

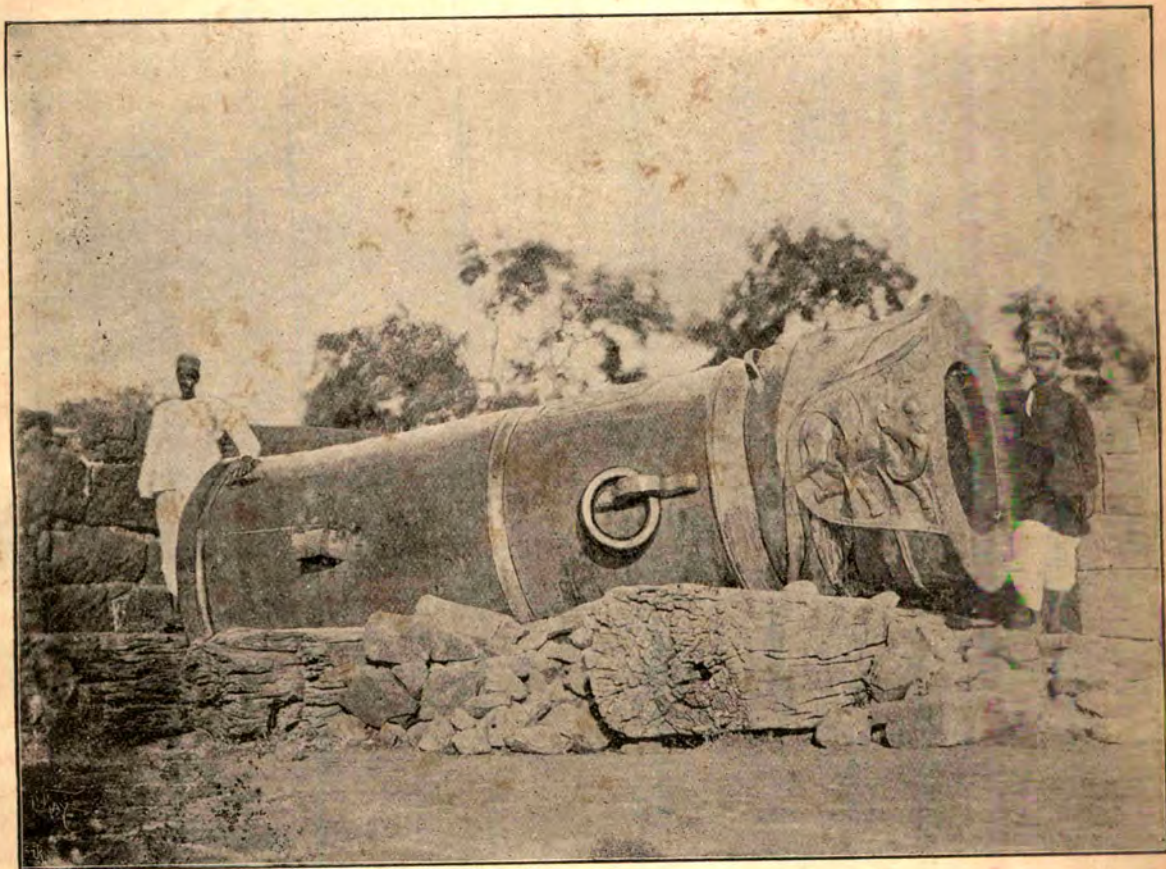
The horrors said to have followed the firing of this gun in the time of Aurangzib, the traditional tale of which kept possession of the imagination of the Bijapurians for upwards of a century, were falsified by the test of sober experience on the 5th of January, 1829, when this gun, having been charged by the Rajah of Satara's orders, with eighty pounds of coarse powder, was fired without any remarkable event following.

The people, on learning the Rajah's intentions to try the experiment, left the city in alarm, but were soon relieved from their unnecessary terror by the report of the explosion, which, though loud, came not near their exaggerated ideas. Even had the powder been better than was used on this occasion, the effect would have been nothing wonderful.

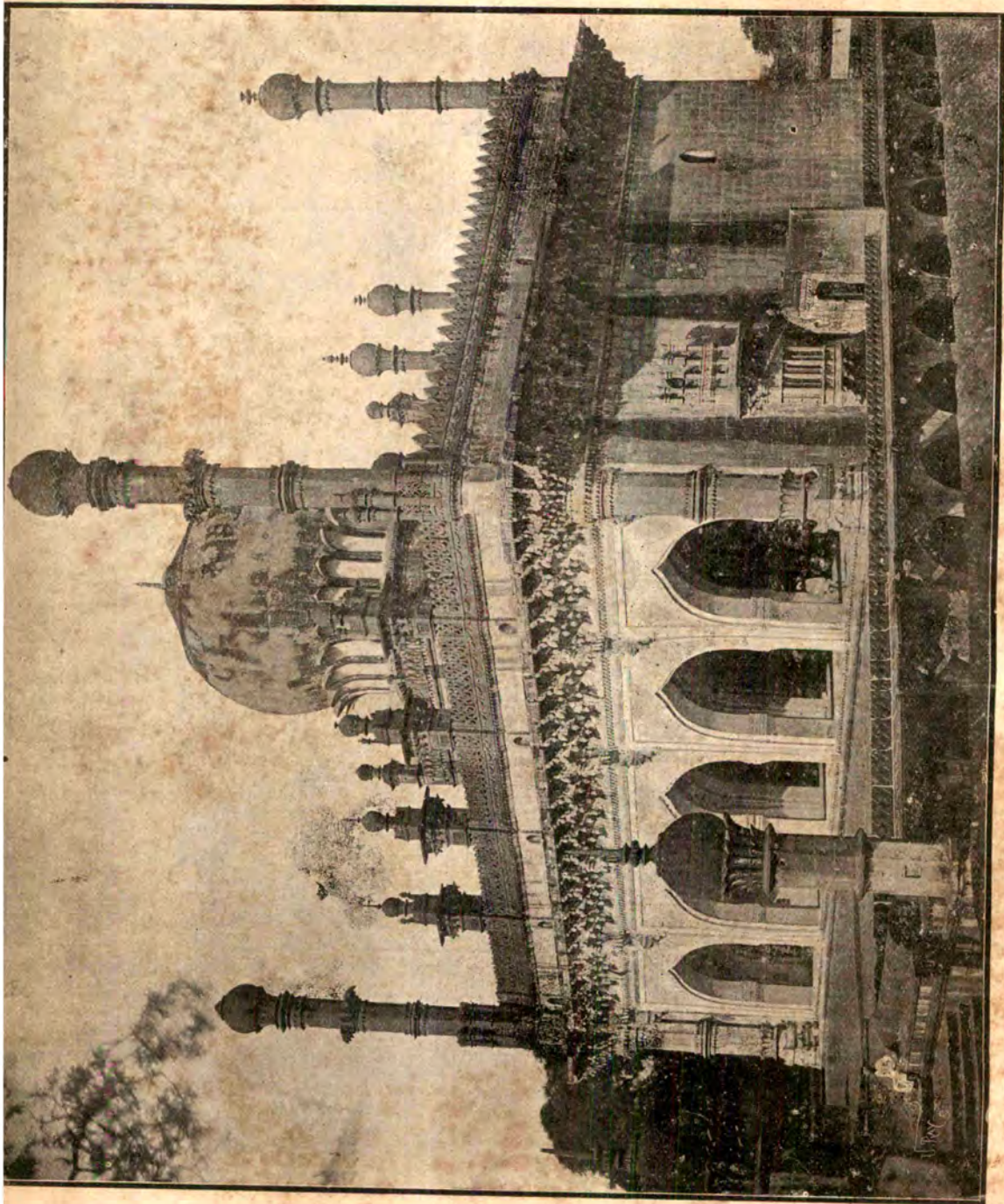
The Royal Library at Bijapur contained a large collection of ancient Arabic and Persian Manuscripts. These were for the most part theological and devotional, but works on Jurisprudence, Sorcery, Lexicography, Criticism, Etymology, Syntax, Logic, Mathematics (Arithmetic, Geometry, Astronomy, Astrology, &c.) and Moral Philosophy, were not unrepresented. In March, 1853, these manuscripts were forwarded by Government to the Court of Directors, for the purpose of being deposited in the East India House. Evidently—there is no use for good things in India, nor is India wide enough to contain collections of valuable books, and objects of historical value and antiquarian interest. Who knows in how many ways India has been and is being robbed and exploited?

† *Papers relating to the Satara Raj*, p. 242.

Supplement to "The Modern Review."



MALIK-I-MAIDAN.



IBRAHIM ROUZA.

INDIAN PRESS, ALLAHABAD.

In its flourishing days Bijapur contained a population of nearly 10 lakhs. Its wealth, beauty and splendour were known all over the civilised world. Travellers like Bernier and Tavernier have sung its praises. The Adil Shahi kings were Shiahs. There was very little bigotry in their constitution. They did not oppress the Hindus, but on the contrary employed them in many high posts.

James Douglas has written in his work entitled *Bombay and Western India* (Vol. II, p. 146) that Mahmud hung in the sky a dome larger in area than the Pantheon at Rome before the birth of Sir Christopher Wren, the architect of St. Paul's Cathedral; that when Roman Catholics were being burnt at Smithfield and Protestants at Goa, Chris-

tians were not persecuted at Raichur and Naldurg, but were, on the contrary, granted *firman*s which still exist; that courtesy and chivalry are indigenous to India; and that it is true, as the poet says, that civilization has travelled from the East. Yet we must believe that it is the English who are preventing Hindus and Musalmans from flying at one another's throats!

This article has been compiled from the following publications:—(1) *Bijapur*, by Henry Cones, M.R.A.S. (2) *The Bombay Quarterly Magazine and Review* July, 1853; (3) *An Account of the Ruins of Bejapoor* compiled by Alexander M. Cantrell (4) *Militia Reminiscences*, by Colonel James Wren; (5) *Papers relating to the Satara Raj*; (6) *Prabasi fir British*, 1811 B. E.

THE MANNERS OF NEW INDIA

A DOLESCENCE is proverbially a period of doubtful manners and we ought to be prepared to witness many unpleasant symptoms in Young or New India. At the same time even the devil, perhaps we had better say Frankenstein (!), must be given his due and angels also would probably rebel if false or unwarranted accusations were preferred against them. One of these unfortunate accusations it is our purpose to look into, in this paper.

It is a lamentable fact that with the process of awakening that is going forward with such remarkable velocity in our Motherland, the minds of a certain section of Anglo-Indians are becoming increasingly embittered against the rising generation of Indians. Let us acknowledge, with all due expressions of gratefulness, that some at least of those high-placed men in whose hands are supposed to rest the future destinies of our land, are not

at all loth to recognise that our national awakening was inevitable, considering the kind of education that a benevolent Government had introduced among us. Mr. Morley declared from his seat in Parliament:—

"Every one—soldiers, travellers and journalists—they all tell us that there is a *New Spirit* abroad in India. Be it so. How could you expect anything else? You have now been educating the people for years with Western Ideas and Literature. You have already given them facilities for communication with one another. How could you suppose that India could go on just as it was, when there was little high education and when the contact between one part and another was difficult and infrequent? How could you expect that all would go on as before? As for education, let the House think of this little fact. There is this year a Senior Wrangler from India, and I am told by the Master of Trinity that he was Senior Wrangler after two years' residence. We should be untrue to all the traditions of this Parliament and to those who from time to time and from generation to generation have been the leaders of the Liberal party, if we were

to show ourselves afraid of facing and recognising the *New Spirit* with candour and consideration."

This, we are thankful to acknowledge, is the spirit of some among our rulers. But what about the rest? Their spirit and their tone towards New India are betrayed by the following tirade of an old Anglo-Indian gentleman who signed himself "Fifty Years in India" (*Civil and Military Gazette* for August 21st, 1906):—

"Why is the English Press in India silent? Englishmen in India are not silent. Why is the English Press complacent? Is it that the Press is frightened to speak out, or is it that the Press is blind to what is taking place before its very eyes? What are Europeans asking of one another—in offices, in clubs, in dining rooms? What is the country coming to? Where is all this anti-Britishism going to end?Who that remembers the courteous, respectful native gentleman of 40 years ago, can feel anything but abhorrence for his decadent son or grandson, the 'Indian' gentleman of to-day, with his English education, semi-European garb, decided air of equality and impudent vicious stare... ..When Swadeshism degenerates into raffianism, unveiled disloyalty and racial antagonism, I say again Sjangbok!"

It is, therefore, clear that by a certain section of the "rulers" of our land, the manners of New India are regarded with the utmost and the most concentrated hatred. Having realised this in the most unmistakeable manner, two courses lie open to us—either to prove that New India is not as black as it is unfortunately painted, or to prove that those very people who rail most against New India are responsible for its evil and insubordinate behaviour, if any. It is our purpose to adopt the latter course and to prove that the much be-lauded "courteous, respectful native gentleman of 40 years ago" was, inspite of all his admitted and counted virtues, so badly treated by Anglo-Indian "gentlemen" who must have been young in those days and are now able to sign themselves "Fifty years in India," that it was natural for "the sons and grandsons" of those "native gentlemen" to

think of divesting themselves of the superfluous manners of their progenitors.

How, then, was the "Native Gentleman of 40 years ago," inspite of his excessive manners, treated by his *hakims* in his day? A book entitled "Notes on Indian Affairs," by the Hon'ble F. J. Shore, a Judge in the Service of the East India Company, printed exactly 69 years ago, furnishes the following idyllic scenes and descriptions:—

"The haughty superciliousness, arrogance and even insolence of behaviour, which the generality of the English (I chiefly allude to the Civil and Military officers) think it necessary to adopt towards the natives, by way of keeping up their dignity, is extremely great. This conduct appears to be rather on the increase, but to such a pitch has it already been carried that the feeling among most of the natives is rather to avoid than court intercourse with the English; as by even paying a visit to an English gentleman, the former are more likely to be treated with slight and neglect, than to meet with civility. It is not at all uncommon in society to hear a young man, who has been only a year or two in India, who is totally ignorant of the native character, or even language, beyond a little Anglo-Hindustani jargon, say that he 'hates the natives;' and insist that they have not a single good quality, but almost every bad one; that he considers them as a degraded race; and much more to the same purpose. I have even heard more than one say that 'he liked to beat a black fellow!' In England, such language as this, in regard to the inhabitants of any country, particularly if the speaker were a young man, unacquainted with the language and customs of that country, would procure for him the reputation of an illiberal blockhead or perhaps worse. But so far from this being the case in India, a man who speaks in this way of the natives, often has the greater part of the society in his favour and hears himself supported by sundry observations corroborating what he says. While a person who does know something of them, and consequently does not see so very great a difference between them and himself (*vide* Sir John Malcolm) can only venture to say a word in their favour, with the almost certainty of being ill-spoken of by the majority of his countrymen. One of the expressions very commonly used and meant as one of dissatisfaction is 'Oh, he is fond of the natives!' One would suppose the

principle adopted was, to treat the people as a degraded inferior race. This feeling at least shows itself daily and pervades, more or less, every thought and action. Few Englishmen return the salute of a native. They can hardly bring themselves to speak to them civilly. The slightest fault of a native servant is visited, if not as is frequently the case, with blows, with the most gross abuse; forgetting how degrading this conduct is to the person making use of such language. The language of Billingsgate is in hourly use towards servants in the situations of butlers, footmen, and even clerks; and very often for no fault beyond not understanding what their master said, who probably spoke unintelligibly. Servants are often beaten and turned away without paying their wages, for the same reason, the fault alleged being insolence; this being the usual reason assigned, when an Englishman loses his temper and ill-treats his servants without cause. Should a native of rank come to pay an Englishman a visit, on his being announced, the answer often is (in English) 'Damn the black fellow'; then (in Hindustani) to his servant 'Tell him I have no time to see him.' Should he be admitted, he is received with a negligent return of his salute, often without any at all; a chair is handed to him and perhaps a word or two is addressed to him in bad Hindustani, without those civilities of speech which are usual among men of rank. And this

perhaps, only if the Englishman is by himself. Should he have one or two friends sitting with him, they usually continue their own conversation in English and scarcely take any notice of the native. Should one of the company observe that as he has been admitted, it would be but civil to talk to him, the answer often is "Oh, damn the black fellow, I wish he would not come plaguing me!" Yet the native who is thus spoken of is perhaps a prince and the descendant of princes; or one who is well conversant with the history of India or perhaps, for I have known such instances, one who would put to shame most Englishmen by his knowledge of our own British Indian laws and institutions. While probably the Englishman, who thus speaks of him, may be one whose chief conversation is about horses and dogs, scandal or battalion duty, or promotion, should he be in the army; or conversant of anecdotes of his office, should he be a civilian?

In the light of what is written above, we ask the intelligent reader to judge whether, humanly speaking, it was at all possible for the sons and grandsons of those native gentlemen of 40 years ago, who were treated in the above manner, to have any slight modicum of "good manners" left in the moral constitution!

ABINASH CHANLRA GEORGE.

SAVE YOUR WOMEN

THE cry of *Swaraj* has been raised throughout the length and breadth of India, and it is certain that this cry will gain in volume and strength as each day succeeds another. The present repressive measures, unhappily adopted by an enlightened Government and sanctioned by an honest Secretary of State, are bound in the fulness of time to have the effect of strengthening our moral fibres. They should not be allowed to discourage us or fill us with despair. They should, on the other hand, make us more determined to win the battle which has just commenced. But there is one danger which

we should guard against. In the heat and excitement of the hour, one is apt to forget those real and perhaps hidden issues on the correct decision of which depends our chances of ultimate success. Has any nation ever risen by devoting its attention exclusively to matters political? Are there not other departments of human activity which demand our equal and perhaps greater attention? Is not, among other things, the present condition of our women a perennial source of weakness? I shall leave this question to be answered by all fair-minded persons.

I maintain with all the strength of which

I may be capable that our women are not wanting in those numerous virtues of heart which go to adorn an ideal woman. Their cheerful self-effacement for the objects of their love are beyond all praise. The late lamented Mr. A. M. Bose, who knew the character of Indian and English women equally well, said of an English wife that during the illness of her Hindu husband she behaved just like a Hindu wife,—no praise higher than which could he give. In charity, simplicity, modesty, constancy and devotion, Indian women may be safely held up as models for the entire world. But there is one part of her nature which has been woefully neglected. Our responsibility is awful, and no amount of sophistry can atone for our past sins.

Change is the law of God and it has brought into existence new forces in our society. We had to do little of travelling in ancient times, and women were seldom called upon to undertake long journeys. But for a variety of reasons, travelling by railway has now become as much a necessity for women as for men. But their utter ignorance exposes them to all sorts of dangers. We have just read of the outrage of a young Hindu lady at the Rawal Pindi station. The account of the horrible deed makes one's blood boil with rage and indignation. The serious cases may be reported in the newspapers, but the public do not hear of the many petty insults and indignities to which Indian women are so often subjected while travelling. Are we not indirectly responsible for their shame and humiliation? We bring them up under such conditions and in such an atmosphere that they become incapable of saving even their own honour. They are so ignorant that outside their own homes, they lose all their wits and cannot protect themselves. It is almost impossible to insult a young English woman in this fashion. Out of the numerous instances that I know, I shall cite only one. A young English woman unaccompanied by any other woman was walking

in the streets of London when a big hurly soldier touched her bonnet with a stick from behind. She turned round, gave a smart slap to her assailant and quietly resumed her walk. Imagine to yourself what a young Hindu lady would have done under similar circumstances. She would have fled home for her life and wept her eyes out of their sockets.

The deeds of self-sacrifice and heroism of the Japanese women during the last war have thrilled the whole world. But of course few people care to read the accounts of Hindu women of ancient times. They are dead and forgotten. But history will always bear testimony to the fact that Kshatriya women of old were brave and courageous and not unoften became the inspirers of their sons and husbands. Some of them even went to wars. We read how king Dasaratha was accompanied by his wife when he went to a war. But instead of such women, we have now got women who are unable to defend themselves against ruffians and miscreants. Whose is the fault? I say unhesitatingly, men's.

I say in sorrow that most of us who talk so glibly on public platforms about political emancipation do not move our little fingers when we actually see a woman being insulted or ill-treated. Take the Europeans whom some of us are so fond of running down wholesale. Show any incivility to a European woman, and any European man who may happen to be present there, will at once bring you to your senses. Of course, as a rule, he does not bother himself when only a "native female" is concerned. We Hindus have got enough of passive virtues, what we should now develop are active virtues. We should actively help the weak and the oppressed and our first anxiety should be to see that no countrywoman of ours is insulted either by our own countrymen or by foreigners. Let us create a public opinion that will cry shame on the man who suffers a woman to be insulted in his presence without doing his utmost to

prevent it. The weapon of boycott is very useful. Let us boycott those who have not got the heart or the courage to protect women against trouble, wrong or indignity. Let them be ostracised completely. It is only when such a feeling will grow up amongst us, and the dignity of womankind will be recognised that our women will be safe from the dangers that exist at the present day.

But in our desire for reform, let us not, for the sake of Heaven, make our ladies *mem sahibs*. It is bad enough, in all conscience, that we men are becoming *sahib logs*. That will be an unfortunate day indeed, when our women, too, will become thoroughly westernised. I do not wish to condemn western civilisation, but I do maintain that a scheme of reform which ignores our past and its traditions is bound ultimately to prove harmful. Let us preserve our ancient type of civilisation and proceed cautiously along national lines. Some people full of good intentions are bent upon making India a hundredth-rate copy of England. They have come under the spell of the material civilisation of the West and have been completely dazzled. They seem to have, for the moment, lost all power of discrimination, and things only of the European type appeal to their imagination. Nothing western can shock them. They would not, for instance, object to the exhibition of even "living statuary" on the Indian stage. They would not be in a mood to listen to Mr. Stead, who observes, that under the pretence of presenting a statue, "an obviously real, living, naked woman is posed in the full glare of the limelight as an excitement to lust." This tendency has luckily received a check, but its existence cannot be profitably ignored.

It is undeniable that the East has much to learn from the West. This appears to me to be one of the reasons why both have been brought by an all-wise Providence together in India. Let India follow the example of Japan. As a distinguished Japanese once said that everything his country learnt from others was first made Japanese. So let everything that India learns from the West, North or South, be made *Swadeshi* first. Therein lies our hope for progress. Imitating no one blindly, rejecting nothing valuable from whatever source it may come, we should go on improving our present social polity.

I have not noticed the numerous reasons that call for an immediate change in our treatment of our women. I have only mentioned one which seems to me to be a strong plea for this change. The others will suggest themselves even to a casual observer. Who does not, for instance, know how many of our poor ladies are robbed right and left by cunning men when they come to be in possession of either a large amount of money or a big estate? They are often incapable of managing their own affairs, and in spite of the special protection afforded by law they are unable to preserve their property. We are considering schemes of National Education for our boys. I should very much like to see a scheme of National Education for girls. With our women steeped in the very depths of ignorance, all talk of progress appears to me to be futile. The education of girls is not a matter of luxury but one of prime necessity. Agitate for political rights by all means, but first of all, in the name of all that is sacred, save your women.

SWADESHI.

MUNICIPAL INSTITUTIONS IN ANCIENT INDIA

A GOOD deal of misconception seems to exist in the minds not only of our English rulers, but also of a majority of our educated countrymen, with regard to the form of government that obtained in Ancient India. By Ancient India, of course, I mean the India that existed long before the Mahomedans came to this country and established their supremacy. It was an India in which the *regime* was Hindu, the civilization was essentially Hindu, the kings and the lawgivers were Hindus, and the subjects also were mostly Hindus.* Any account, therefore, of the form of government that obtained in Ancient India, must needs be drawn purely from ancient Sanskrit works, and chiefly from the old Epics, the Puranas and the Samhitas.

It may be argued that the description of any form of government, to be found in an Epic poem, would ordinarily savour of an ideal character, and would not necessarily prove its actual existence, except, of course, in the imagination of the poet. There would undoubtedly be some force in this argument, but for the fact that the poet's imagination, though it might soar high up in the heavens and become more and more etherealized in its upward flight, draws its materials from the earth, and is earthly in character. The picture, therefore, that is present before the poet's mental eye, is drawn and shaped from what appeals most to his fancy in his immediate surroundings. It may not be a faithful representation of the state of things as actually exists, but, nevertheless, it gives you a

pretty good idea of what those things are like, from which the poet draws his materials.

As regards the Samhitas, it may be said that though some of the ancient lawgivers mixed up in their codification of the laws of the country much that can be described as foreign matter, *viz.*, cosmogony and social and political ethics, yet unlike the poets they had to keep an eye more to the realities of life than to its possibilities, as it was primarily their business to help the king in the administration of justice and the enforcement of the laws of the country. The Samhitas, therefore, can be relied upon to a far greater extent than the epics for furnishing us with a picture of the state of society and of government, as it existed at the time when they were composed.

With these few observations, I will now proceed to briefly discuss the causes that have contributed to the existence of the present misconception with regard to the form of government that obtained in Ancient India. The first cause is the long period that intervenes between Ancient and Modern India, which entirely shuts out the former from one's ordinary range of vision. Ancient India lies deeply buried, as it were, in the darkness of the Past, and it will never stand revealed to anybody, unless he cares to plunge into the darkness and make a search for it, with the help of such light as is available in the pages of old Sanskrit works, and contemporaneous accounts. The task is laborious and tiresome to a degree, and is probably more difficult than that of the intrepid painter who has made up his mind to paint the landscape of the bottom of the sea in all its true colours, by means of a contrivance which enables him to use his

* The term "Hindus" includes also those among the people who professed the Buddhist faith. It does not appear that Buddhism modified, to any appreciable extent, the old political institutions of the country and the personal laws of the people.

pallette and brush below the waters. The second cause is that Mediæval India, which stands between Ancient and Modern India, was essentially a Mahomedan India which gradually obliterated most of the distinguishing landmarks of Ancient India, and imposed a form of government on the people, to which the Hindu system had to adapt itself as best it could. The result of this adaptation was a transformation of the Hindu system, to a very large extent, so that in its transformed shape, it was more closely allied to the Mahomedan system than to the ancient system of the Hindus. The third cause is that our early English rulers derived their knowledge of the people from the civilization that they had directly come into contact with, and it is the record of these their early impressions that is still helping our present rulers to form an estimate as to the capacity of the Indian people for self-government. No wonder, therefore, that even such an enlightened statesman as Mr. John Morley, the present Secretary of State for India, should authoritatively declare from his place in the House of Commons that the Indians are not yet fit for the boon of self-government and that even the educated section of the people cannot carry on the government of the country "even for a week"!

It is admitted on all hands, that the form of Government in India under Mahomedan rule was Absolute Monarchy. Popular representation was, of course, out of the question; but it cannot be denied that during this period, Local Self-government in the shape of Village Communities or Panchayets, played no unimportant part. We will presently show that the village community, or the latter-day panchayet system, was only a remnant of the system of government that obtained in ancient India. The establishment of English Law Courts in the country, and the power which was conferred on District Officers to meddle with, control and transform

everything within their jurisdictions, combined to root out a system which had its birth in hoary antiquity, and managed to survive the various changes that were introduced by the Mahomedan rulers. From time to time.

I will not detain my readers with any account of the system of village communities, with which all students of Indian history are pretty well familiar. But I will at once proceed to describe how it worked in ancient India, and for this purpose, it is necessary for us to seek the help of the Sanskrit.

Rai Bahadur Pandit Rajendra Chandra Shastri, M. A., of Calcutta, contributed, some time ago, to the *Buddhist Text Society's Journal*, a very interesting paper on "Municipal Institutions in Ancient India," in which he clearly demonstrates that municipal institutions are not an exotic growth in India, but that "they are an indigenous product which only requires fit soil to grow up and flourish." I cannot do better than describe the ancient municipal institutions in the words of the learned Pandit himself:—

"The chapter in all Smṛiti compilations, known as Vyavaharadhyaya, or the chapter on the Administration of Justice, has a section, dealing with *संवित् व्यतिक्रमः* *Sambit-Vyatikrama* or the non-performance of an agreement or the violation of a prescribed course of conduct, which was regarded as one of the eighteen Vivadapadas or causes for legal action. Now the *संवित् Sambit* or agreement which the section contemplates, is of two kinds, viz., *Rajakrita राजकृत* and *Samuhakrita समूहकृत*, in other words, that laid down by the king, and that by the different public bodies**. The body of learned men created by the king was known as *Rajakrita Samudaya* (or the body created by the king) and the prescribed course of duty which this body had to perform, was known as the *Rajakrita Sambit, राजकृत संवित्*. Although the royal edict, which created the body, simply enjoined its members to practise their moral and religious duties [*svadharmaḥ palyutam*; do you perform the acts enjoined by your religion], they had nevertheless to do, at times, things of a secular and political nature. Their main duties consisted, of course, in assist ing

towns-people in the discharge of their daily, occasional and optional religious duties, in officiating in ceremonies undertaken with a view to avert providential visitations and ensuring public peace and prosperity, and in giving authoritative decisions on doubtful points presumably connected with religion.* But they had also to perform duties, different from these, which they may have agreed to do at the time of their appointment, or which the king might require them to do in addition to their ordinary duties; provided always that they were not inconsistent with these main duties as specified above. These other duties consisted in protecting grazing grounds and watercourses, in looking after temples and other places of worship, and in performing acts of a similar nature. * * * As they were created by the king, the people had no voice in their appointment or dismissal. The king had, however, to see that they consisted wholly of learned Brahmans, and that the secular duties entrusted to them in no way interfered with an efficient discharge by them of their religious and moral obligations."

Such then were the duties of the bodies of learned men, created by the king. But there were also bodies or *samudāyas*, elected by the people, and their nature, constitution and functions were as follow:—

"According to Vrihaspati and Yājñavalkya,† villages, townships, guilds of merchants and mechanics, communities of Brahmans and heretics and other bodies, should, when expecting common danger or when inspired by a desire to properly discharge their secular and religious duties, or those relating to their trade or profession, in the case of mercantile or other guilds, enter into an agreement among themselves for the protection of their common interest and the proper performance of their duties. The duties, specified under their agreements which these bodies were required to execute in writing, (*yavaitallichitam patre, dharmyā sā samayakriyā*) and which thereby acquired a moral and legal sanction, were the repair of public halls, *prapās* (places where

drinking water is supplied to travellers, wells, cisterns &c.), temples, tanks and gardens, the performance of the purificatory rites for the poor and the destitute, and arrangements for the cremations of dead paupers, distribution of gifts among the people desirous of performing religious acts, and supporting people in time of famine and distress.‡ It is these duties which were known as *समूहकृत-संविद्* or the course of conduct or duty established by the public bodies. The *samuhās* were free to take up other duties also, provided that they were not inconsistent with, or antagonistic to their main duties."

"The next step, after the execution of the agreement, was to appoint executive officers (*karyachintaka*) for the discharge of the duties specified in the agreement.

"The numbers of these officers varied, according to Vrihaspati, from two to five.§ And having regard to the area of an ordinary Indian town or village, the number cannot be said to have been inadequate for the management of its affairs. In the case of big towns, the number of executive officers, or commissioners as we might call them, appointed by the people, added to the number appointed by the king, certainly sufficed for their requirements.* * These commissioners were responsible only to their electors, who could punish them in case of misconduct, with fine, dismissal and (even) banishment from the area over which they held sway. In such cases, they had simply to notify their decision to the king, who accepted it as a matter of course. The texts of Katyayana and Vrihaspati are explicit on this point. Says Katyayana:—

साहसी भेदकारी च गणद्वयविनाशकः ।

उच्छेद्याः सर्वं एवैते विख्याप्यैव नृपे भृगुः ॥

"That is to say, as is said by Vrihaspati, he who (among the *mulhyas* or headmen) is guilty of a serious criminal offence, who habitually creates disunion (among his colleagues) and who destroys public property—all of them should be removed, and the removal notified to the king."

‡ सभा-प्रपा-देवगृह-तडागारामसहाकृतिः ।

तथानाथदरिद्राणां संस्कारो यजनक्रिया ।

कुलायननिरोधश्च कार्यमस्माभिर्गताः ।

यो वैतल्लिखितं पत्रे धर्म्या सा समयक्रिया ॥

[Quoted in *Virāmitrodaya* and *Vivadaratnakara*.

§ द्वौ-त्रयः पञ्च वा कार्याः समूहहितवादिनः ।

कर्त्तव्यं वचनं तेषां ग्रामश्रीगणयाहिभिः ॥

* Vrihaspati as quoted in the *Virāmitrodaya* :—

नित्यं नैमित्तिकं काम्यं शान्तिकं वैष्टिकन्तथा ।

पौराणां कर्म कुर्वन्ते सन्दिग्धे निर्णये तथा ॥

† ग्रामश्रीगणयाञ्च सङ्केतः समयक्रिया ।

वाधाकाले तु सा कार्या धर्मकार्ये तथैव च ॥

चादचौरभये वाधाः सर्वसाधारणः स्थिताः ।

तत्रोपशमनं कार्यं सर्वं नैकेन केनाचित् ॥—*Virāmitrodaya*.

The text of Vrihaspati, when translated, runs as follows. :—

“Headmen (commissioners) residing in towns and forts, and managing the affairs of *Pugas* (mercantile and other guilds), *Srenis* (bodies of men, following the same trade or profession) and *Ganas* (communities of Brahmins or of other people distinct from the *Srenis*) should punish wrong-doers by administering rebuke or censure, as well as with social ostracism and banishment. And the favour or disfavour, thus meted out by them (to the people), when in accordance with the precepts of religion and morality, should be accepted by the king; for general approval had already been accorded to whatever these might do (in the ordinary course of their duties).” *

The above interpretation is in accordance with Vivádaratnākara which takes the passage generally as declaring the power of public bodies, duly constituted, to punish wrong-doers living within the limits of their jurisdiction, and quotes a passage from Vrihaspati to say that in cases of difference between the *Mulhyas* and the *Samuhas*, the king should interfere and compel each party to perform its respective duties.† But the Viramitrodaya takes the passage as referring to the punishment, in case of wrong-doing, of *Mulhyas* (commissioners) by the *Samuhas* (public bodies).‡

The learned Pandit, above referred to, draws from the above account the following just conclusions :

“It is, therefore, clear that Municipalities and other public bodies (in Ancient India) enjoyed large powers within their respective limits; that their duties were similar to, and in some respects, much more arduous and comprehensive than those now performed by similar institutions under British rule;

* पूगश्रेणिगणाध्यक्षाः पुरदुर्गनिवासिनः ।

वाग्धिगृहशङ्कपरित्यागं प्रकुर्वुः पापकाणिनाम् ॥

तेः कृतं यत् स्वधर्म्येण निग्रहानुमहं नृणाम् ।

तद्राज्ञा अनुमन्तव्यं निस्पृष्टार्या हि ते स्मृताः ॥

† मुख्यैः सह समूहानां विस्वसो यदाभवेत् ।

तदा विचारयेद्वाजा स्वधर्मं थापयेच्चतान् ॥

that they enjoyed considerable civil and criminal jurisdiction within their limits; that they could punish their commissioners in case of misconduct, even with banishment from their area, and that the government had to endorse their decisions, except when they were irregularly or improperly arrived at.”

It will thus be seen that the principles of Local Self-government were fully understood and acted upon by the ancient Hindus. What seems to have made Local Self-government eminently successful in Ancient India was its entire freedom from the control and interference of the king, except on rare occasions, and the very large powers which the public bodies enjoyed. The reason why Local Self-government has not been able to make any considerable headway under British rule, and has failed to make its advantages felt and appreciated by the people, is nothing more or less than that the Municipalities and the District and Local Boards are too much under official control, and are viewed by the people more with awe and suspicion, than with love and trust. They look upon these institutions as so many departments of the Government itself, and, therefore, do not feel any ardour or enthusiasm for them, as they otherwise would have done, if the institutions had belonged to them, and been completely under their control. Ancient India furnishes an admirable object-lesson in this respect to Modern England, which would do well to imitate the example of the former. The institutions which constitute Modern Local Self-government in India are half-hearted measures, and like all such measures, have proved failures. §

ABINAS CHANDRA DAS.

‡ पूर्वोक्तकात्यायनवचनेन समूहस्यैव मुख्यशङ्कशोचिकारस्य प्रतिपादितत्वात्, पूगश्रेणिगणाध्यक्षाः पुरदुर्गनिवासिनः इत्यादि वृहस्पतिनाम्यभिधानाच्च ।—*Viramitrodaya*, Vinayana Vidyasagar's Edition, p. 429.

§ Vincent Smith's description of the *municipa* institution of Pataliputra should be read in this connection.—*F1. A. R.*

FOLK-TALES OF HINDUSTAN

THE SHREW AND THE SHADE

ON an old banyan tree, there lived a ghost of a Brahman who had committed suicide in a fit of religious fanaticism. Near the tree there dwelt a family of Brahmans who were specially under the protection of the ghost. The ancient ghost belonged to the family, and always took great care to show his kindness to the old stock by diverse pleasant ways, such as throwing stones, bones, rubbish, dung, night-soil, &c.; making hideous noises, and terrifying the members by frightful appearances. Under such fostering patronage the family soon dwindled away, and nothing flourished with them, and one by one all of them died and joined the majority, leaving none to offer them water and cake except a half-crazed fellow whose existence the ghost thought it beneath his dignity to recognise. But though he was an idiot, birth, marriage and death come to all, as the Shastras say; and so all the neighbours held a *Panchayet* to consult about the marriage of the idiot. After due deliberation they unanimously agreed:—1st, that the idiot should be married, otherwise it would be a standing reproach to the whole community, and a disgrace to the neighbourhood; 2ndly, that he should be married to the daughter of a neighbour, a girl who had reached the most extraordinary age of fourteen years without being married, for she was a curst shrew and no one would marry her. So after all married he was, for the *Panchayet* had ruled it, and the Shastras declared that a man without a spouse is but the half of himself, and a house without a wife is a *masan* (a place of execution). Though the neighbours had done their duty

very conscientiously by bringing about the marriage, they very wisely left them to their resources to manage for their livelihood. The poor fellow of an idiot used to get his bread by begging, and could hardly support himself, and a wife was now to him an additional burden. The first thing which the shrew did when she came to his house was to give him a round box in his ear and order him out of the house to seek for a livelihood. The poor fellow went out and begged from door to door all the day, but no one would give him now even his usual dole of pittance, as the people were enraged with him, as he had not given the *Eiradari* the customary marriage feast. He went through the town all the day, and returned in the evening, weary and disappointed. No sooner did the shrew see him, than she cried out:—"Hast thou returned, thou lazy disgrace of Brahmans? What wast thou doing so long and what hast thou brought for me?" With this she rushed upon him, searched him and when she found that he had brought nothing, her rage knew no bounds. She tore away the turban of her husband, and taking it up threw it on the banyan tree, and then taking an old rotten broomstick thrashed him scoundly till he rushed out of the house howling with rage and pain. But the anger of the vixen was not yet pacified; so with the stick in her hand she rushed towards the banyan tree and began to strike it furiously, directing her blows towards the turban, which was out of her reach. The shower of blows accompanied by the more formidable volley of abuses frightened even the ancient ghost, and he also took to his heels, leaving the tree on which he had dwelt for so many centuries,

In the meantime the idiot had also run out of the city, and had resolved not to return to his home, so long as the shrew was alive. Now as he was walking sad and melancholy, he was espied by the ghost who was riding on a whirlwind and was also running away from the tyranny of the shrew. Misery makes common bed-fellows of us all, and the great spirit who had so long disdained to cast his eyes upon the idiot, now accosted him spontaneously:—"Ram, Ram, brother, do you not recognise me? I am the ghost who was your neighbour so long. I am also a victim of that shrew, your wife; and so henceforth I will look upon you as my brother, as we will seek out our fortune together. Promise that you will never return to her." The idiot was but too glad to get this timely help, and gave the required promise most willingly.

Thus they went on and on, till they reached a large city. Before entering it, the ghost said to the idiot:—"Brother, hear what I tell you and if you follow my advice your fortune is made. In this city there are two very beautiful girls, the daughter of the vazir, and the daughter of the Sultan. I will go and possess the daughter of the vazir and her father shall employ every sort of remedy without effect. You must also walk daily through the streets in the garb of a holy *faqir*, and when the vazir will come to you and ask you to cure his daughter, make any terms you think proper for your trouble. As soon as I shall see you, I shall leave her. Then I shall go and attack the daughter of the Sultan, but mind you never go there, for I love her and will never leave her. If you venture to go there, I shall break your neck." Saying this the ghost vanished, and the idiot entered the city alone and put up in an obscure lodging house.

The next day, the city was deeply agitated with the news that the beautiful daughter of the vazir was dangerously ill. Doctors, and physicians, *hakims and baidis*, saw her

and pronounced her case hopeless. The poor father was distracted with grief at the idea of losing his only child, and he offered half his wealth to anybody who would cure her. The idiot in the meantime, having besmeared himself well with ashes and mud, began to parade through the streets, occasionally crying out in strange, weird tones:—"Bhum, Bhum Bho; Bum Bhola Nath." The people seeing him in this attire, and struck by his speech and demeanour, took him to be a very holy saint, and reported him to the vazir. At once the latter came with all his train, and prostrating himself before the idiot, entreated him to cure his daughter. The idiot after much show of reluctance was prevailed upon to go to the house of the vazir. The girl was brought before him, with her hair dishevelled and glaring eyes, and howling and cursing and tearing her clothes. When he saw her, he cried out in a commanding tone—

"*Bhut, pret, pisach, dana,
Chhoo mantar, sab nikal jana,
Mano, mano, Shib ka kahana.*"

i. e.

"Sprite and ghost, goblin and devil
Hear the charm and fly away,
Obey, obey; thus Shiva doth say."

He thundered forth many more meaningless *mantras* till the ghost cried out, as if in mortal terror:—"I go, O Lord, I go, I go." The idiot then asked the *bhut*, according to orthodox fashion, to give some sign that he had left the girl. The sprite said:—"You will know for certain that I have left this girl as soon as you see yonder tree uprooted. That is the sign which I give." Saying this the ghost left the girl, and uprooted the tree in his passage. This news was soon circulated throughout the city, and the idiot was now an object of wonder and adoration for the whole town. The vazir also fulfilled his promise and gave him half of his wealth, and thus he began to live happily.

After a few weeks the *bhut* took possession of the princess; and as the fame of the idiot had reached even the king, royal emissaries were sent to fetch him. But the idiot would not come; he remembered what the ghost had threatened. Greatly was he tempted with offers of riches, honours and position, but he did not waver. At last the Sultan was enraged against him; and sent his executioners with orders to strike off his head if he would not come. After this the poor fellow could no longer refuse to go. He accompanied the royal officer to the palace, thinking and racking his poor brain about the means of saving his neck from the anger of the ghost. No sooner did the ghost see his quondam protege, than he cried out in great rage:—"Foolish idiot, why hast thou broken thy compact, and ventured into my presence? Thy days are numbered, and the gates of hell are open for thee. Behold I break thy neck." Then the idiot said:—"Brother *Bhut*, I have not come to torment you but to tell you a terrible piece of news. I must not utter it

in public, but must whisper it into your ears." Saying this, he approached the princess and said in a very low whisper:—"Alas! brother *bhut*, my protector, guardian and master, under the shadow of whose ægis, generations after generations of my family had flourished and thrived, and through whose kindness and affection I have risen to this affluence; alas, alas, we must leave this city soon; for SHE has come,—the dreaded shrew, even now she is coming towards the palace and will be here in a few minutes." And after this the idiot made a great show of weeping. No sooner did the ghost hear this than he screamed out:—"I go, I go, SHE has come even here, I go, I go. Break open the doors, pull down the walls. She has come, she has come, I go, I go." And there was great shaking of the doors and falling of walls, and the ghost departed in a hurry far far away and for ever. The idiot was after this made the son-in-law of the Sultan and succeeded to the kingdom on the death of the latter.

SHAIKH CHILLI.

NOTES

The Cloud Messenger Illustrated.

Two of Babu Abanindranath Tagore's pictures illustrating passages in Kalidasa's *Megha-duta* or Cloud Messenger are printed in this number. H. H. Wilson says:—

The subject of the poem is simple and ingenious: a Yaksha, a divinity of an inferior order, an attendant upon the god of riches, Kuvera, and one of a class which, as it appears from the poem, is characterized by a benevolent spirit, a gentle temper, and an affectionate disposition, has incurred the displeasure of his sovereign, and has been condemned by him to a twelve months' exile from his home. In the solitary but sacred forest in which he spends the period of his banishment, the Yaksha's most urgent care is to find

an opportunity of conveying intelligence and consolation to his wife; and, in the wildness of his grief, he fancies that he discovers a friendly messenger in a cloud—one of those noble masses which seem almost instinct with life, as they traverse a tropical sky in the commencement of the Monsoon, and move with slow and solemn progression from the equatorial ocean to the snows of the Himalaya. In the spirit of this bold but not unnatural personification, the Yaksha addresses the cloud and entrusts to it the message he yearns to despatch to the absent object of his attachment. He describes the direction in which the cloud is to travel—".

We give below Wilson's translation of the opening passage of the poem:—

Supplement to "The Modern Review,"



SIDDHAS OF THE UPPER AIR.

By Abanindranath Tagore.

INDIAN PRESS, ALLAHABAD.

By the courtesy of the artist.

"Where Ramagiri's shadowy woods extend,
And those pure streams, where Sita bathed, descend,
Spoiled of his glories, severed from his wife,
A banished Yaksha passed his lonely life
Doomed by Kuvera's anger to sustain
Twelve tedious months of solitude and pain.
To these drear hills through circling days confined
In dull unvaried grief, the god repined ;
And sorrow withering every youthful charm,
Had slipped the golden bracelet from his arm,
When with Ashara's glooms the air was hung
And one dark Cloud around the mountains clung ;
In form some elephant, whose sportive rage,
Ramparts, scarce equal to his might, engage.
Long on the mass of mead-reviving dew,
The heavenly exile fixed his eager view ;
And still the melancholy tear suppressed,
Though bitterest sorrow wrung his heaving breast ;
Reflection told what promise of delight
Sprang from such gathering shades to happier sight,

Where the worn traveller is joyed to trace
His home approaching, and a wife's embrace :
What hope, alas, was his ! yet fancy found
Some solace in the glooms that deepened round,
And bade him hail amidst the labouring air,
A friendly envoy to his distant fair :
Who, charged with grateful tidings, might impart
New life and pleasure to her drooping heart.
Cheered with the thought, he culled each budding flower,

And wildly waved the fertilising power ;
(For who, a prey to agonising grief,
Explores not idlest sources for relief ?
And as to creatures sensible of pain,
To lifeless nature, loves not to complain ?)
Due homage offered, and oblations made,
The Yaksha thus the Cloud majestic prayed :—"

These lines give all the help that is necessary to understand the picture of "The Banished Yaksha."

The passage relating to the "Siddhas of the upper air"

सिद्धदेवैर्जलकणभयाद्दीप्तिभिर्मुक्तमार्गः etc.,

has been thus paraphrased by Mr. R. T. H. Griffith :—

"In fear, each minstrel of the heavenly quire
Shall see thee stoop those watery stores to drain,

And fly thee trembling lest his daring lyre
Be robbed of music by the theater carlin.
Then from his airy watch-tower will he strain
His eager eyes the wondrous sight to view,..."

Student self-government in the University of California.

A very interesting article under the above heading has appeared in the April number of the *International Journal of Ethics*. The following extract gives some idea of the character and conduct of the ordinary and better sort of American College students :—

"Among many students and at many institutions of learning an unfortunate misconception of college spirit has long prevailed. Too much stress has been laid upon the outward things : some select it for their conduct be a true criterion, would probably conceive of college spirit as consisting in the disorderly rush and a general spirit of boisterousness on public occasions, in the inconsiderate hazing of fellow students, or the ill-advised pilfering of the treasures of fashionable cafés ; other students of more responsible character would be inclined to legitimate as college spirit the yell and the song and the general enthusiasm that goes with the football game or the field day. But if you were to approach the man of saner mind and healthier judgment—the man who leads the way in student activities, and whose word is as the voice of one having authority in the councils of his fellows—if you were to approach this type of the college man, and ask him candidly what college spirit is, he would hardly be inclined to accept the first or the second view just mentioned ; he would probably regard the rush and all else akin thereto as a form of college barbarism, and while he would no doubt assign to the college yell a very high and worthy place in student life, it would not be as college spirit itself, but rather as a healthy expression thereof. Then he would put into two words his own conception of college spirit as *unselfish service*—unselfish service to his alma mater, the doing of everything in his power to advance her welfare, and the leaving undone all those things, however innocent in and of themselves, that would mar her good name."

Are our students worse or better than are equal to their American brethren ?

We are told : "The members of the faculty are not really anxious to exercise a domineering sway over the students ; it is not

pleasant to play the part of the policeman." But in India, the inspector of schools, the teacher and the professor are expected actually, though not in name, to play the part of the policeman, the detective and the spy combined.

The writer of the article describes various agencies for building up "an effective student public opinion," leading on to student self-government, such as "the honor societies," "senior singing," "the student mass meeting," &c.

The following extract is interesting and instructive:—

"I shall mention one more incident as evidence of the presence and effectiveness of a student public opinion at the University of California. In the spring of 1903 there was a track rally. At its close large numbers of students under the influence of an over-exuberant enthusiasm for victory, invaded the town of Berkeley and boarded the local train. One thing led to another. Hardly knowing what they did, the students took full possession of the train and a thoroughly disreputable disturbance resulted, though the press report of a "train wreck" was of course an absurd exaggeration. But the very next morning—and this is the point I desire to emphasize—the students themselves, before the faculty could take any action, had called a meeting and had there by common consent admitted that the action of the preceding evening was wrong. There was no disposition to assume an independent or indifferent attitude, or to shirk the responsibility. One speaker tried to shift the blame to the freshman class and a dozen men were on their feet in an instant protesting and insisting that "we are all responsible for this misconduct; we should all share the result for better or for worse." Resolutions were adopted deploring the occurrence of the evening before, and steps were taken for raising subscriptions to pay the railroad company in full for the damage. I do not know of a better example of an alert student public opinion of a right order, spontaneously expressed, and effective in bringing about immediate action."

What a pity it is that California is not India! If she were, how many truthful correspondents would have sent bloodcurdling cablegrams to the London dailies relating to rebellious students, how many "Goorkhas"

would have been detailed to "pacify" them, what ordinances would have been passed, what circulars issued, how many prosecutions started, what a large punitive police force imposed on the locality,—in one word, what a grand thing it would have been!

But the Californians have no idea of dramatic effect. And so they left the matter to be settled by their boys; and right honorably did the boys settle it. Only it was not heroic, there being no display of tiger qualities.

The constant espionage to which our boys and young men are subjected must have a tendency to make sneaks and cynics of them, devoid of any enthusiasm for anything noble. It is our duty to save them from such a fate.

Self-government and Good Government.

Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman has laid it down that good government can never be a substitute for self-government. Many people wonder why. Evidently they do not understand the ideal and object of democracy. These are explained in an admirable manner in an article on "Women and Democracy" in the April number of the *International Journal of Ethics*, from which we give a few extracts below:—

In fact the supporters of democracy might well be divided into two classes: those who look to it merely as a barrier against oppression and idleness, and those who hold, over and above all this, that even an ideal despotism, where there was no idleness and no oppression, would in itself be inferior to an ideal democracy simply because it is better that every individual should direct himself rightly than be so directed by others. Those who grasp this ideal of self-government as more than mere good government hold democracy to be something more than a mere political system, as Maine thought it, and its goal more than "la carrière ouverte aux talents," as Napoleon phrased it. Further, this power of self-direction, being a good for man as man, they take as an ideal to be desired for all men alike. This, of

course, as has been pointed out again and again, is the true meaning of the demand for "equality." It is not the ridiculous fancy that every one has equal abilities, but the conviction that every one's self-development, whatever their abilities may be, is in itself to be taken as of equal importance. No one can have a special "right" to self-development and self-direction any more than to the enjoyment of pleasure or the exemption from pain.

Self-direction, then, like all other ultimate goods, like the rest of virtue and like happiness, must be shared, so far as possible, between all men alike, and every man if he forgets this need of sharing is lacking in his duty. But how far is it possible? Here, for practice, come the crucial questions that divide modern political thought. All men, plainly, are not capable of self-direction in the same degree; why, then, should we give them the same powers? No doubt it would be a desirable thing for everybody to develop a sense of beauty, but that is no reason why we should encourage every tyro to exhibit his daubs. But to this the democrat answers that life in a society is not, at any rate not in the modern world, a craft like painting, to be taken up or laid aside at the individual's discretion. It is, practically, forced upon us all. So complex and closely woven have social activities come to be that none of us can move a step without affecting the rest.

No doubt the details of political action must be settled by experts, but every broad question of right and wrong, touching as it does the lives of all individuals, must come up for settlement before them, on pain of stopping their growth. The line may be hard to draw, in fact many of the hardest problems in constructive statesmanship gather round it, but still the main principle is clear. It is no answer to say that the individuals will often decide wrongly; of course they will; the vital question is whether it is not worse for them to give up the attempt to decide at all and so be left like puppets to the opinion of others.

Repression.

Repression is still in full swing in the Punjab, United Bengal and Madras. The latest noteworthy item in the story of repression is the prohibition of the Faridpur Conference and the interdiction of the meeting to protest against such prohibition. This conference would have been a striking lesson in Hindu-Muslim

cordiality and co-operation. That is one reason why it was stopped. The reasons assigned by the bureaucrats for their acts we need not examine. They have power in their hands,—let that suffice. Let us not attach too much importance to repressive measures: they are concomitants of foreign rule, and may be treated as blessings in disguise. Let us steadily pursue our own object, devoting our chief attention for the present to Food, Sanitation and Education.

"Our enemies."

Mr. Morley has called the educated people of India the enemies of England. The description is neither true, nor just, nor magnanimous. The educated people of India do not belong to any of the nations which are called world powers. They are not a conquering class. Nor are they exploiters, colonisers or "civilisers" of foreign lands. They cannot, therefore, in the nature of things, be the enemies of England or any other country. Their efforts are directed to obtaining possession of their own birth-rights in their own native land, but not to injuring England or depriving Englishmen of their legitimate rights and possessions. Surely no just, fair-minded, or liberal-minded man ought to make it a grievance that people whom he rules want their birth-rights. They may in his opinion be foolish or mistaken, but certainly they are not enemies.

The interests of England and India may clash in the field of politics and economics; and it may, therefore, be considered by selfish and materialistic English patriots a disputed question whether India's gain is England's loss or not. Our own view is that material prosperity gained by sacrificing righteousness is the greatest calamity that can befall a nation. But, questions of power and self apart, in the far higher regions of the spirit, the interests of all mankind are the same. Here we owe allegiance to the same masters. True

it is that we claim that the West must also learn from the master spirits of the East, but we acknowledge no less our debt to those master minds of England, and Europe in general, to whom, whatever might have been the case in ancient India, in modern times at any rate we owe our awakening to no inconsiderable extent. Therefore, it is that though a selfish man of mean and illiberal spirit may call educated Indians enemies of England, one who tries to be fair and accurate must consider the description inapplicable to them.

It is true educated Indians are not angels. They sometimes criticise and denounce their rulers unjustly, and sometimes even abuse them. But, while condemning unfair criticism and denunciation, and abuse of any kind whatever, we must ask Englishmen to bear in mind that they, too, are not angels, and that whereas they have done us material injury, we have done them no harm. It does not require much discernment to perceive that the weaker party is naturally apt to be critical, and forbearance is equally naturally the privilege of those who consider themselves stronger. Speaking of Frederick the Great, Macaulay says:—

"Considered as an administrator, Frederick had undoubtedly many titles to praise. Order was strictly maintained throughout his dominions. Property was secure. A great liberty of speaking and of writing was allowed. Confident in the irresistible strength derived from a great army, the King looked down on malcontents and libellers with a wise disdain; and gave little encouragement to spies and informers. When he was told of the disaffection of one of his subjects, he merely asked, "How many thousand men can he bring into the field?" He once saw a crowd staring at something on a wall. He rode up and found that the object of curiosity was a scurrilous placard against himself. The placard had been posted up so high that it was not easy to read it. Frederick ordered his attendants to take it down and put it lower. "My people and I," he said, "have come to an agreement which satisfies us both. They are to say what they please, and I am to do what I please." No person would have dared to publish in

London satires on George the Second approaching to the atrocity of those satires on Frederick, which the booksellers at Berlin sold with impunity. One bookseller sent to the palace a copy of the most stinging lampoon that perhaps was ever written in the world, the memoirs of Voltaire, published by Beaumarchais, and asked for his Majesty's orders. "Do not advertise it in an offensive manner," said the King, "but sell it by all means. I hope it will pay you well." Even among statesmen accustomed to the license of a free press, such steadfastness of mind as this is not very common."

Therefore, the forbearance for which Englishmen take credit, is not peculiar to them: on the contrary, they can still with advantage emulate the example of Frederick, particularly as they live in the midst of a disarmed and emasculated people. Moreover, they should bear in mind that it is not criticism, denunciation or abuse that can permanently estrange the minds of the people from them, but only their own mistakes and unjust acts and measures: just as we are learning the lesson that it is not by criticism alone or chiefly that we can obtain our rights, but by our own achievements;—not by hatred of the foreigner, but by loving our countrymen with the love that knows not the boundaries of creed, caste or race, the love that prompts to self-sacrifice and devoted service, service not in the spirit of a condescending patron or deliverer, but in that of a brother.

Mr. Morley on Plague.

Mr. Morley, taking the whole population of the Indian Empire, has found the incidence of plague deaths to be 3 per thousand of the population. This shows that statistics can be made to produce any impression one likes. If he had taken the whole of Asia, the incidence would have been smaller still. But the question is, what is the extent of the havoc done in the affected villages and towns? Is it so insignificant as to encourage cynicism and indifference? Is it not really appalling? Mr. Morley has said that plague is engaging his serious attention. We have tried to show

again and again that plague is a poor man's disease. Unless the material condition of the people of India improves, armies of European and Indian doctors with regiments of rat-killers will not be able to check its ravages. "It will be out of place here to discuss whether our poverty is growing or stationary or is decreasing. The real fact to be recognised and attended to is that there is great and wide-spread poverty in the land. Here is the testimony of an unbiassed observer :—

"India leaves on the mind an impression of poorness and melancholy, even if in certain districts cultivation is luxuriant, and if, after the rains, the country is brilliant with blossoms which no meadow in England can produce."

"Sadder than the country are the common people of it. They are lean and weary-looking, their clothing is scanty, they all seem poor, and "toiling for leave to live." They talk little and laugh less. Indeed, a smile, except on the face of a child, is uncommon. They tramp along in the dust with little apparent object other than to tramp. Whither they go, Heaven knows, for they look like men who have been wandering for a century. Their meagre figures are found against the light of the dawn, and move across the great red sun as it sets in the west, and one wonders if they still tramp on through the night."

"They appear feeble and depressed, * * ."

"The country would seem to be overrun by a multitude of men, women and children, all of about the same degree, a little below the most meagre comfort, and a little above the nearest reach of starvation."

"... At night there is no dark alley without the sleeping figure of the homeless man."

"These are some of the great hordes who provide in their lean bodies victims for the yearly sacrifice to cholera, famine, and plague. Plague will slay 20,000 in a week, cholera will destroy ten times that number in a year, and the famine of one well-remembered time accounted for five-and-a quarter millions of dead people."—*The Other Side of the Lantern* by Sir Frederick Treves, Bart., Surgeant-Surgeon to H. M. the King, Surgeon-in-ordinary to H. R. H. the Prince of Wales.

Caste and the position of Indian Women.

Incidentally we may here quote the opinion of Sir Frederick Treves on what caste and the

position of Indian women have to do with our prevailing melancholy : says he :—

"Another encouragement to melancholy in the native of India is the terrible incubus of caste which keeps the man of low degree from ever rising from the mire, and stamps out from the stoutest heart any pulse of ambition. Born a sweeper, you shall be a sweeper, your children shall be sweepers, and there shall be ever upon your brow a mark as clear as the mark of Cain, but it shall be made in dirt instead of blood. Such is the form of curse under which millions start forth on the journey of the world in the heyday of life."

"Finally no little of the gloom which hangs over the people is due to the degrading position which women are made to hold, as well as to the customs and traditions which deprive their lives of opportunities for pleasure and of facilities for advancement."

Indian Statesmanship in Modern India.

Speaking of educated Indians, Mr. Morley says :—

"They see things working smoothly under a British Government and they think they would work them equally smoothly. In my opinion they would not work them for a week."

We do not wish to emulate Mr. Morley's dogmatism, but would urge the following considerations :—The Filipinos are working their own constitution. The Cubans have independence. Persia has a Parliament of her own. Are we really the least capable people on earth ? Are we not fit even for the beginnings of self-government after a century and a half of enlightened British rule ?

Self-government, said Mr. W. J. Eryan, is only a relatively good performance at the best. No people do it perfectly, no people are altogether incapable. To prevent a people from exercising their right to it and then say they are unfit, is like tying a cart-horse to a post, and then blaming him because he cannot outrun a racer going at top-speed. Self-government is to be qualified for only by practice.

Modern India, even in the days of her decadence, has produced many statesmen of

eminence, like Sir Salar Jang, Sir T. Madhava Rao, Sir Dinkar Rao, Sir Sheshadri Iyer, Gaurishankar Udayshankar Oza, &c. If they all belong to the Native States, it is not the educated British Indian who is to blame. Regarding the last named statesman who was Prime Minister of Bhavnagar, Max Muller says:—

These words contain a rapid survey of the work of a whole life, and if we were to enter here into the details of what was actually achieved by this native statesman, we shall find that few Prime Ministers even of the greatest states in Europe had so many tasks on their hands, and performed them so boldly and so well. The clock on the tower of the Houses of Parliament strikes louder than the repeater in our waistcoat pocket, but the machinery, the wheels within wheels, and particularly the spring, have all the same tasks to perform as in Big Ben himself. Even men like Disraeli or Gladstone, if placed in the position of these native statesmen, could hardly have been more successful in grappling with the difficulties of a new State, with rebellious subjects, envious neighbours, a weak sovereign, and an all-powerful suzerain, to say nothing of court intrigues, religious squabbles, and corrupt officials. We are too much given to measure the capacity of ministers and statesmen by the magnitude of the results which they achieve with the immense forces placed at their disposal. But most of them are very ordinary mortals, and it is not too much to say that for making a successful marriage-settlement an ordinary solicitor stands often in need of the same vigilance, the same knowledge of men and women, the same tact, and the same determination or bluff which Bismarck displayed in making the treaty of Prague or of Frankfurt. Nay, there are mistakes made by the greatest statesmen in history which if made by our solicitor, would lead to instant dismissal. If Bismarck made Germany, Gaurisankar made Bhavnagar. The two achievements are so different that even to compare them seems absurd, but the methods to be followed in either case are, after all, the same; nay, it is well known that the making or regulating of a small watch may require more nimble and careful fingers than the large clock of a Cathedral. We are so apt to imagine that the man who performs a great work is a great man, though from revelations lately made, we ought to have learnt how small—nay, how mean—some of these so-called great men have really been. *The Brahmaputra* for February, 1899, p. 291.

The Stronger and Weaker Races of India.

In the course of the Budget Debate Earl Percy stated two facts in which, according to him, lay the impossibility of granting Parliamentary institutions to India. The second fact is

that in this congeries of races Nature had chosen to assign all the qualities which made for physical predominance to the races which were neither intellectually the most versatile nor the largest in point of numbers. And the result was, as it seemed to him, that any attempt to govern India on the principle of Government by majority must lead to a government of the strong by the weak, a government which could not exist for a day except by the support of British bayonets.

By the stronger races he evidently means the fighting races. We have shown in an article in our last number that the Marathas, for instance, are not now enlisted in the army, though they are undoubtedly a fighting race and intellectually quite the equal of any Indian race. As for the Sikhs, let them have the advantages of English education for as long a time as the Bengalis, for instance, and they are sure to show what stuff they are made of. Englishmen themselves admit that their rule has in India the tendency to deprive warlike races of their martial instincts (though curiously enough English rule does not produce this effect in Great Britain):

"And undoubtedly the more southern and eastern races of India have each in turn lost their martial instincts, as security to life and property due to British rule has rendered reliance on their own arms unnecessary." "The best method of recruiting the Indian armies" p. 261, *Journal of the United Service Institution of India*, July 1897.

Besides, in Austria-Hungary and other countries inhabited by various races, which are certainly not of equal mental calibre or equal in number, parliamentary institutions prevail. And then, is it everywhere the fighting and physically strong races or elements of the people that govern? The Highlanders of Scotland are believed to be the best soldiers



THE LATE RAI BAHADUR PANDIT
LAKSHMI SANKAR MISRA, M.A.,
PRESIDENT, N.-P. SABHA.



THE LATE BABU RADHA KRISHNA DAS,
SECRETARY, N. P. SABHA.

Supplement to "The Modern Review."



HON'BLE PANDIT MADAN MOHAN MALAVIYA.

INDIAN PRESS, ALLAHABAD.

in Great Britain. Earl Percy will certainly be able to enlighten us as to the proportion which Highlanders have furnished to the ranks of British cabinet ministers during the present and past centuries.

The "ambition" of Indian agitators.

"Indian agitators were not impelled by a desire to benefit the peasantry but rather by ambition to govern."

So says Mr. A. E. W. Mason, M. P.; and Mr. Morley also has spoken to the same effect. We know the accusation is not true. But let educated India give the best of all replies—deeds, the logic of devoted service rendered to the masses.

The pension rules of the Native Indian Army.

We are glad to note that the pension rules of the native Indian army have been made more liberal than before. We hope the position and efficiency of the sepoy will be improved in other respects also.

The Calcutta Theological College.

The opening of the Calcutta Theological College, of which we print the inaugural address in this number, marks an important stage in the history of religion in India. It is under Brahmo management and will be thoroughly unsectarian in character. The scriptures, history and fundamental principles of all religions will be studied and investigated in this institution in an unbiassed spirit. It is inclusive, not exclusive in spirit. Hence it should appeal to all who are interested in the study of religious problems, irrespective of creeds. The Maharajadhiraj of Burdwan has done a noble thing by making a grant of Rs. 300 a month in aid of the institution. His example is worthy of imitation.

The Council of the Secretary of State for India.

The following extract from Sir C. Ilbert's "The Government of India" will give some idea of the duties and powers of the Council,

and what good we can expect from the appointment of one or two Indian members:

"The duties of the Council of India are to conduct, under the direction of the Secretary of State, the business transacted in the United Kingdom in relation to the Government of India and the correspondence with India. The Secretary of State is president of the Council, and has power to appoint a vice-president.

Every order proposed to be made by the Secretary of State must, before it is issued, be either submitted to a meeting of the council or deposited in the council room for seven days before a meeting of the council. But this requirement does not apply to orders which, under the old system, might have been sent through the secret committee.

"In certain matters, including the expenditure of the revenues of India, orders of the Secretary of State are required by law to obtain the concurrence of a majority of votes at a meeting of his council, but in all other matters the Secretary of State can overrule his council. Whenever there has been a difference of opinion in council any member has a right to have his opinion, and the reasons for it, recorded.

"The council is thus, in the main, a consultative body, without any power of initiation, and with a limited power of veto. Even on questions of expenditure, when they arise out of previous decisions of the Cabinet, as would usually be the case in matters relating to peace or war, or foreign relations it would be very difficult for the council to withhold their concurrence from the Secretary of State when he acts as representative and mouthpiece of the cabinet."

Purity of Language

A grave danger is the use of a temperative or otherwise objectionable language in certain journals which profess to be servants of the national cause. We would point out that writing of this kind actually creates a class of readers who batten on it. Originally bought for their spicy seasoning and the sensations of surprise which they arouse, such newspapers end by making the markets they at first seek to attract.

It is perhaps worth while to say that if our eyes our whole cause is exactly as sacred

as the united characters of its disciples make it. And there is no other single force whose potency for undermining character, lofty will and imagination, spiritual fervour and noble ideals can be named in the same breath with impure and violent language. This is the truth that our ancestors expressed in such sayings as that the word is greater than the thing, the name of God is more than God and the rest.

It is perhaps worth while to point out that unless this fact is taken grave note of, woman can by no means become a factor of importance in our civic and national life. Such life is built on the basis of all that is noblest and best in common humanity. It is not served by anything which is not fit for the

open and sincere consideration (and discussion if need be) of all. That which would bring a blush to the cheeks of his sister, that from which a father would strive to guard the ears of his daughter, is not language fit for public circulation and perusal. Men cannot themselves cultivate with impunity that which would horrify them in the women of their households. Noble and fine men must be at least as noble and fine as good women.

At the same time it is not for English journals to complain. They are, with rare exceptions, often more reckless and wicked in their frank enmity and in the use of power to express hatred instead of love, than any Indian publication known to us.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

ENGLISH.

A History of India, by Mahamahopadhyaya Hara Prasad Sastri, M. A., (Blackie and Son, 1907), 2 s.

This is far and away the best work of its kind and misses perfection only by reason of the fault noted below. Nobody, not even Mr. R. C. Dutt, has brought to the writing of a school history of India such deep, original and up-to-date knowledge of the subject as Mr. Sastri. The vast advance in our knowledge of ancient India that the last forty years have seen is best evidenced by comparing Sastri's Hindu Period with that in Lethbridge or Wheeler's manual. The meagre and imperfect outline, full of wide gaps, which the latter give is here replaced by a crowded and moving pageant of kings and ministers, poets and preachers. We have life and spirit, where there was an arid desert before.

The Hindu Period is Mr. Sastri's *forte*. Any other writer than he would have merely given an epitome of Vincent Smith's monumental *Early History of India*. But Sastri's account is at once fresh and original; it is also more full of the philosophy of history than the two subsequent divisions of his work.

The Muhammadan Period, too, is brightly written and marked by much fresh information and new presentation of old facts. Indeed, in the pages of most historians of India, the middle ages are a blank as far as the Hindus are concerned, all later writers having repeated the original sin of Elphinstone in this respect. But here we have a refreshing change. We believe that Mr. Sastri is the greatest living authority on *mediæval* Sanskrit literature, and he has most added to the world's stock of knowledge by his researches in this field. He is the only man who can write a history of this period that would worthily supplement and continue Vincent Smith's.

His British Period, however, cannot command our praise. It is much too cramped, too much of an outline, and too deficient in reflections. There is also scope to differ from many of his views and statements here. We know hard things will be said of him for his *entirely* ignoring the British defeats in the Gurkha war and mentioning the British victories only! The latest authority on the mutiny, Mr. Forrest, has shewn that the cartridges *were* greased, though Sastri denies it. In short, this part of his book suffers most by

comparison with Mr. Dutt's admirable treatment of the same period in his *School History*.

But our chief quarrel with Mr. Sastri is about his style and method. True, there is no glaring mistake of grammar, but the English is not always simple; big Latin phrases have been used where short English words would have done, (e.g., 'matrimonial alliances,' 'taking umbrage at,' etc.) There is a singular lack of sweetness in the style. It will probably be said that one can as soon extract sweetness from a school history as sunshine out of a cucumber. But several short histories of Rome and England that we could name weaken such a defence. Mr. Sastri is so full of new facts,—acquired after a life's patient study of original materials,—that he cannot resist the temptation of cramming his work with proper names, while the need of compression leaves him no space to write much about them. Hence the dry and scrappy character of much of the book. The reader rises from its study with a reeling brain, with blurred and rapidly shifting images chasing each other in the mirror of his mind. No clear and definite idea, no vivid portraiture of historic personalities is carried away by him.

If we may venture to advise Mr. Sastri, we should recommend him to give us less of proper names and more of character-sketches, reflections, and histories of thought. He should pause oftener in suitable places, recapitulate the political narrative that has gone before, and give us its inner meaning and bearing on the life of the nation. Of his power to do this we have some admirable examples in this work; we only wish for more. He gives us the geography of India, but not the influence of this geography on history, which is more important. As the model of a small history, he may study Newberry and Garstang's *Short History of Ancient Egypt*, (Constable & Co., 3s. 6d. net.) It is idle to argue that Egypt had unity of race, climate and history, which rendered Newberry and Garstang's task so easy, while India is a mere geographical expression.

We have pointed out these defects in no spirit of fault-finding but only to suggest how, with a little change of method, rejection of obscure names, and expansion of certain parts, this, the best school history of India yet written, might have been made an ideal work.

Sometimes we have caught our Homer nodding: P. 128, l. 20, Dara did not *personally* lead the army that

defeated Shuja at Bahadurpur near Berhres, but he stayed by the sick-bed of Shah Jahan. P. 129, l. 7, 'the Jam of Jun' should be 'Malik Jiwan, Zemindar of Dadar.' Is not the Taj called a "Dream in Marble" (P. 129, last line)? P. 131, Aurangzib's treaty with Shiva was made in 1665 (not 1666), and he did not agree to pay *Chauth* for any *Mughal suba*; Shiva fled in a basket from *Agra* (not from *Delhi*), and there is no reason to hold that Aurangzib "plotted for his assassination." L. 28, *jizya* was reimposed in 1679 (not in 1671.) P. 133, Aurangzib did not take the last Sultan of Bijapur captive in his city, he came out to surrender.

P. 135, the inner history of Prince Akbar's rebellion is incorrect, the stratagem was Aurangzib's and not that of the Rajputs. P. 136, l. 6, "Aurangzib's second son, Prince Azim," should be "third son, Prince Azam." P. 151, why assume that Shiva murdered Afzal Khan, when there are equally valid arguments for holding the opposite view? P. 188, the Ronillas did not *pay* the Nawab of Oudh forty *lacs*, but only promised to do so.

We note the following misprints for a second edition:—

P. 3, last line, *Daftas* (for *Daflas*); P. 7, l. 9, *the hymns* (for *hymns*). P. 11, l. 13, *the guidance* (omit *the*); P. 19, l. 15, *was* (for *were*); P. 30, l. 15, *Baāl* (for *Budh*); P. 33, l. 4, *cloud messenger* (for *Cloud Messenger*); P. 39, l. 2, *Asvalthama* (for *Asvatthama*); and *Drona* (for *Drona*); ll. 4-5 should form one sentence; P. 41, l. 25, *Bagirathi* (for *Bhagirathi*); P. 51, l. 7, *Bisac* (for *Biswa*); P. 84 read *Malik-ush-sharq*; P. 105, l. 2, insert *and* before *Kavira*; l. 5 form one sentence; l. 7, *shows* (for *show*); l. 18 *Rukhta* (for *Pakhta*); P. 103, l. 2, *Khursa* (for *Khasru*), l. 4, *vernacular* (for *vernaculars*); l. 12 *Tukarsam* (for *Tukaram*); P. 130, *Shah Tomash* (for *Tahmasp*), *Dara Shaikh* (for *Shikoh*); P. 152, l. 17, *Nyayadrishh* (for *Nyayadhisht*); P. 215, l. 3, *reported* (for *reported against*); P. 238, l. 3, *Indies* (for *Indus*).

The illustrations are antiquated wood-cuts. The only map supplied is a mere toy. An index is badly needed.

To spell 'Ranajit Sinha' and write of Rantambhor in 1570 as *Ranastambhapur* is pedantry, and the pedantry is not consistent as we have *Chatter Sinha* and *Zulfi-kar* (for *Zulfiqar*), *Sharki* (for *Sharqi*), and *Amirani* (for *Amiran*).

Time passes noiselessly but inexorably. Old age is stealing on Mr. Sastri. It would be a national loss if his wonderful knowledge of ancient and mediæval India were to perish with him. May we venture to urge him to write a larger work (of the size of Green's *Short History*) on Hindu India down to 1600, and thus leave a lasting monument of a life devoted to the pursuit of knowledge with true Brahmanic diligence, perseverance and singleness of aim? Surely, Vincent Smith has not said the last word on the subject.

JADUNATH SARKAR.

The Churches and Modern Thought, by Philip Vivian.
Popular Edition, 3/6 net. Watts & Co., London.

This is the second edition of a book which was first published in January, 1906, and reprinted last January. The author may be congratulated on the apparent success that has attended his labours. There must be a large number of people in England who delight in such merely negative and destructive matter as this book contains. We fear it is not so here. The Indian mind is more positive and constructive, and finds little delight in mere negations. By "The Churches," Mr. Philip Vivian seems to mean only those unscientific and more or less ill-informed people who know nothing of the recent historical criticism of the Bible. He thinks that when he has shown that the Bible is not a historical book, properly so called, he has demolished Christianity and proved the needlessness of keeping up such a thing as the Christian Church. Our conception of Christianity and the Christian Church being very different from our author's, we do not think either the one or the other is much affected by his criticisms. Mr. Vivian is one of those ardent and impatient spirits who take no pains to closely study the literature of the subject they deal with. He is acquainted with the writings of only a few old-fashioned Christian Apologists. He knows nothing of such a constructive work on Christian ethics as *Eccle Homo* or one of historical criticism and reconstruction as Dr. James Martineau's *Seat of Authority in Religion*. His criticisms, therefore, will do no harm to those to whom Christianity is a stern historical and spiritual reality notwithstanding the historical inaccuracies and scientific errors which are to be found in both the *Old* and the *New*

Testament. By "Modern Thought" Mr. Philip Vivian understands nothing better than that cheap Atheism which, because it has found one or two school books on the evidences of Theism to be unsatisfactory, thinks that there is nothing more to be known about God and his relation to man and the world. Here, too, Mr. Vivian shows his impatience of deep and close study. He ventures to write on a subject about which he knows almost nothing. On the one hand, he is quite innocent of that deeper scepticism, such as Hume's, which, while it doubts the existence of God, sees also that, from its standpoint, our belief in the continued existence of what is called the material world and of thinking beings like man, is equally groundless. Mr. Vivian has no doubt of the existence of Matter, Force and Man, and has no idea of the real nature and implications of these conceptions. On the other hand, the only books on Theism that he seems to have read are *Paley's Natural Theology* and *Flint's Theism*, and of these also, though they are only popular treatises, he seems constitutionally incapable of following the arguments. He understands nothing of Flint's Cosmological, Teleological and Moral Arguments, and, therefore, his criticisms of these arguments are quite beside the mark. Paley's book has long been condemned by competent Theologians as the work of a very superficial thinker. Flint's book is indeed much better, but it appeals to the popular understanding and does not undertake any close analysis of knowledge and thought. To be really satisfactory, books on the evidences of Theism must be *philosophical* books. Happily, there are not a few such books in the English language. But Mr. Vivian knows nothing of them. He knows nothing of Dr. Martineau's *Study of Religion*, of Principal Caird's *Introduction to the Philosophy of Religion*, or of Professor Royce's *Religious Aspect of Philosophy*, not to speak of the purely metaphysical works of such writers as T. H. Green, Edward Caird and F. H. Bradley. Our author might have read and tried to understand the books named, before rushing to publish his shallow and ill-informed Atheism and repeating the current platitude about the unintelligibility of the German philosopher, Hegel. The books we have named are all original works in English and the philosophers last named are all constructive English thinkers. Those who have not the

patience or the capacity to study such authors, should be more modest than Mr. Vivian, should consider religion as beyond their sphere of criticism, and should not try to shake men's belief in it by thrusting their shallow and immature thoughts on them.

SITANATH TATTVA BHUSHAN.

The Private Journal of the Marquess of Hastings, reprinted from the Second Edition, (Panini Office, Allahabad, 1907), Rs. 2.

The Panini Office deserve the thanks of the public for placing before them a reprint of this very interesting work at about a quarter of the price of the original. The paper is fairly thick, but as it is not glazed and the sheets were not hot pressed, half the effect of the good type and printing has been lost. The misprints are remarkably few, being mostly *u* turned upside down. An accurate reprint should have given a facsimile of the title-page (with the date of first publication) and the paging of the original edition (within brackets). But that is a minor point, and we note it only for future enterprises of the publishers in the same line.

Two additions to the original would have been welcome: a sketch of Lord Moira's career in India (preferably extracted from the *Dictionary of National Biography*) and an index of proper names and general subjects, especially widow-burning (to which we have noted six or seven references in the course of our reading), English education, animals, Oude affairs, the Pindaris, the Nepalese, Hindu mythology and character. The last of these is amusing as betraying the ignorance of the noble diarist. A very helpful change might also have been made by printing in thick type the names of the places visited or topics discussed at some length, where they first occur in the text. In the copy we have used we have underlined such words in red.

This candid picture of India ninety-four years ago, has interest not only for the student of history and of manners, but also for the traveller, the *shikari*, and the natural historian, Lord Hastings's notes on animals being of no small value. A very pleasing light is thrown on the great pro-consul's character when we see him strictly enjoining that no harm should be done by his camp-followers to the villagers on the

way, almost weeping to see that banana rees had been uprooted and used in lining his *contes*, being visibly touched at the silent but respectful welcome of the crowds of Indians on his return to Daulata, or breaking down at the inevitable parting from the dear ones who must be sent Home to escape the heat of the land of exile. We see in his dealings with native princes that he was a gentleman above everything else; we wonder that it was left for him to discover that in ruling subject races sympathy is the best policy.

The diary refutes the current story that the first appearance of cholera was in his camp on the Tarbada, on the eve of the Pindari War. We here learn that it had begun to rage in Bengal before that time (p. 315).

Comic touches are not wanting. The fat Rajah of Sumptur sticks fast in the chair given to him at a *darbar*! Beggars sham blindness to get a few extra rupees of His Excellency's dole at Lucknow.

JADUNATH SAEKAR.

Ideals and Applications, by Henry Van Dyke (Hodder and Stoughton.)

We heartily wish that the contents of this book were as finely suggestive as its title. It would then have been a source of pleasure blended with instruction, and would have more forcibly appealed to the reader and not merely tickled his passing fancy. It is when the onward path of life seems dreary and meaningless, when the light burns low, and anarchy and gloom gain the upperhand that man turns towards his ideals to quicken, invigorate and sustain him, and to save him from moral collapse and spiritual shipwreck. It is in fact, a man's ideal that is his distinguishing mark: it not only tickets off his individuality but strengthens and upholds him in hours of weakness when the entire scheme of the universe appears to be a hopeless riddle and Time "a maniac scattering dust." The value of a life is in proportion to the dominance of an ideal over it. The worth of our accomplishment is measured by the greatness of our dream: the triumph is judged in accordance with the height of the aim. It is not, as has been rightly said, a crowning conquest but unending pursuit that should fill us with satisfaction. Moreover, amidst the present

state of affairs when things are driving one knows not where, and the goal is hidden away, when education is in a transition stage, and old beliefs and traditions are crumbling under the stress of scepticism, there must be some shining star on high not palpitating with human frailties and passions but fixed, tranquil, immutable, letting down balmy rays to cheer the darkened way and to light up "the bewildering mazes" of conduct. "The great need, in modern culture," says Mr. Morley, "which is scientific in method, rationalistic in spirit and utilitarian in purpose, is to find some effective agency for cherishing within us the ideal." The very name of the book under review, therefore, comes as a challenge to one's habitual lethargy, and awakens intelligent curiosity to see if there is any new point of view, any fresh light thrown upon the subject, any bright method described to incarnate an ideal for actual application to the conditions of modern existence. The perusal of these pages, however, reveals the fact that no central thought has been worked out and developed, and the twelve essays, which make up the volume, though they touch upon topics that now and then demand a solution, are not knitted together, part coherent with part. The random nature of the questions dealt with spoils the effect to a great extent, and there is almost a sense of irritation at finding so little of the main theme in its rousing, ennobling aspect.

Dr. Van Dyke's style is neither ornate nor stiff with laboriously wrought embroidery. It is simple and easy-flowing, relieved here and there by a smart epigram or an expression of poignant irony. An American writing about his country's social and political institutions generally betrays his partiality for them and glows with praise of their beneficent use. Dr. Van Dyke is no exception. But he is one independent thinker and has probed with loving care the evils that threaten the integrity of society and constitute a menace to the well-being of the State. In his essay on *Ruling classes in a Democracy*, the author remarks as follows:—

"What democracy says is that there shall be no locked doors between these classes. Every stairway shall be open. Every opportunity shall be free. Every talent shall have an equal chance to earn another talent. I think we may claim that this is the case in the United States at least to a larger extent than ever before in the history of the world."

"Three chief perils," he continues, "attend the democratic method of selecting the ruling classes:—

- (1) The red peril of the rise of the demagogue;
- (2) The yellow peril of the dominance of wealth;
- (3) The black peril of the rule of the Boss"...

"If our naval and military expenses" he says in another place, "ever surpass or even equal our educational expenses, we shall be on the wrong track. If ever we put the fortress and the fleet above, or even on a level with the school-house and the university, our sense of perspective will be out of focus. If we ever spend more to inspire awe and fear in other peoples than to cultivate intelligence and character in our own, we shall be on the road to the worst kind of bankruptcy—a bankruptcy of men."

In the paper on "The Powers that be" occurs the following pregnant passage:—

"The home comes first because it is the seed-plot and nursery of virtue. A noble nation of ignoble households is impossible, our greatest peril to-day is in the decline of domestic morality, discipline and piety.....shew me a home where the tone of life is selfish, disorderly or trivial, jaundiced by avarice, frivolized by fashion or poisoned by moral scepticism; where success is worshiped and righteousness ignored; where there are two consciences,—one for private and one for public use; ... show me such a home, and I will show you a breeding place of enemies of the republic. To the hands of women the ordinance of nature has committed the trust of training even for their country's service. A great general like Napoleon may be produced in a military school. A great diplomatist like Metternich may be developed in a court. A great philosopher like Hegel may be evolved in a university. But a great man like Washington can only come from a pure and noble home. The greatness, indeed, parental love cannot bestow; but the manliness is often a mother's gift."

The above extract may be pondered over with advantage by those interested in Indian social reform and the attention now paid to matters of less urgent nature may properly be diverted, in part, at least, to the crying need of lifting the status of Indian women by widening their intellectual and moral horizon. Then and then only would some of the vexed problems confronting us approach a near solution, and the tragedy of a nation's slow but sure death be averted!

HIRA LAL CHATTERJI.

URDU.

Nasihut ka karanphool (نسیحوت کا کارن پھول), by Muhammad Husain Azad—*Khali'fa Seyed Mohommad Salim, Manager, Azad Book Depot, Akbari Mandi, Lahore. 4 annas.*

This is a book which was written by Azad in 1864, most probably at the request of the Punjab Government, for the furtherance of "Female Education,"

and is now published for the first time. It is the story of a Persian merchant called Mirza Sharif who comes and settles in India and marries an Indian wife. After sometime a daughter is born and Mirza Sharif before starting for China, where he goes in connection with his trading business, arranges for the education of his daughter. But before doing so he has to convince his wife of the need and usefulness of "Female Education," and this conjugal dialogue is one of the most interesting portions of the book. In one of his letters Mirza Sharif gives a description of the correct method of teaching the Alphabet, and this description is both instructive and interesting. The book is written in very simple Urdu and may well be prescribed as an Urdu text book for Girls' Schools in Upper India.

Tuzien-ul-Akhlaq (تذیین الاخلاق), by Moonshi Lal, M.A.
Rifah Am Steam Press, Lahore, 2½ annas.

This is a small brochure published by Shraddhey Prakash Deva Ji of Lahore. It is the translation of an English book called "Character-building and Thought Power", and deals with the subject of Thought-culture succinctly and clearly. The language of the book is clear, vigorous and, as a whole, free from Punjabi provincialisms. We hope that one or two unidiomatic expressions like *بدی کی بڑھوتری* and *دیاسلائی کی تیلی* would be carefully excluded, if a second edition of the book is called for.

Ahl-i-bait (اہل بیت), by Aslam Sirajpuri. Faiz Am Press, Aligarh, 10 annas.

In this small brochure the author has given short but well-written accounts of all the wives and daughters of the Prophet. The author says in his preface that he has consulted the best authorities, and his account of the lives and characters of these ladies of the Prophet's family is free to a considerable extent from those exaggerations and over-valuations which generally mar such books. There are not many books in the Urdu tongue containing such well-written accounts of a noted group of oriental ladies and we think that the author deserves encouragement for having undertaken this task. Of course there are "supernatural" incidents, but they are few and far between, and we must make some allowance for the

faith and piety of the author. We have to remember that Higher Criticism has not yet been heard of in the Islamic world.

HINDI.

Lucknow ki Nawabi.—In 1855 a book called the Private life of an Eastern king was published by one of the European courtiers at the court of King Nasir-uddin Haidar of Oudh. Some years ago an Urdu translation of this book was published in these provinces, and later on the first few pages of it appeared in the *Saraswati* of Allahabad, and now Babu Thakur Prasad of Benares has published in Hindi the whole book, divided into two parts. The original is written in a very interesting style and combines in itself the engrossing interest created by a work of fiction combined with historical facts. It depicts the true picture of the reckless and licentious life led by the Muhammadan kings of Oudh and shadows forth the inherent causes of their subsequent fall. To a cursory reader the book will appear to be merely a fictitious novel, but there is no doubt the book affords food for a thoughtful student of history. The account of the 'man-eating horse' is simply wonderful and surpasses the imaginative invention of a romantic mind. The Hindi translation is excellent and shows signs of a very hopeful addition to the rank of Hindi writers. It would have been a wise thing on the part of Babu Thakur Prasad if he had devoted attention to the production of such useful and interesting books, thereby raising the taste of the Hindi-reading public, instead of publishing in Hindi such worthless, demoralising books as the *Mysteries of the Court of London*. The taste of Hindi readers has to be elevated, and we can only do so by issuing books subservient to that end.

Akbar ke Rajatwa kal men Hindi.—This is a critical essay written by Pandit Suraj Narain Dikshi, B. A., of Kheri (Oudh). It has been published by the *Nagari Pracharini Sabha* of Benares, which awarded a medal to the writer for his production. The essay deals with the Hindi poets who flourished during the time of Akbar. The following poets are dealt with:—

Birbal, Khankhana Rahim, Ganga Sarnani, Rasekhani, Kadir Baksh, Mubarak, Haroton Das, Deva Sur Das, Tulsi Das, and Kesava Das.

The introductory portion of the essay is full of historical facts which show great research into the History of Hindi and does credit to the writer for the way he has put them together. There may be difference of opinion in the criticism which the writer has offered on the works of the great Masters of Hindi, but it must be said that Mr. Dikshit has done full justice to the subject of his essay and deserves great credit. It is regrettable that the editing of the paper is defective and careless. Mr. Dikshit would be doing a yeoman's service to the cause of Hindi Literature if he could write a history of Hindi on the lines on which he has dealt with a portion of it.

GUJARATI.

Life of Garibaldi: with a map and four pictures: by Narsinhbhai Ishwarbhai Patel: Virkshetra Mudralaya, Baroda: cloth bound: pp. 415: Price Re. 1 (1907).

The wave of patriotism, typified by the phrase *Bande Mataram*, has been beating against Gujarat too, and the above work is but one out of many material signs of it. The book is headed *Bande Mataram*, and opens with the song printed *in extenso*. It further manifests the feeling of unification that runs through the country, inasmuch as the author has chosen to print it in Devanagari character, and has stated on the title page, that any one who likes may publish the book "for the good of the country" (*desh-hitarthe*). The get-up of the work is superior, and the printing alone must have cost much, but the price is kept advisedly low, so as to bring it within easy reach of all. The work is based on the Bengali version of Babu Jogendranath Vidyabhushan, M.A., with some help taken from Marathi and English authors. The life of the Recluse of Caprera was full of stirring incidents and romantic episodes, the lesson that it taught has been written for all ages on the page not only of the history of his own country, but of the world, and the object of the author—who has most successfully managed to preserve the interest of the original, which never flags from cover to cover—has been solely to present to Gujarati readers a faithful picture of what self-sacrifice can do towards the regeneration of a fallen country. If the study of

such biographies can help, and it does help, to instil into the mind of the reader habits of self-sacrifice and self-abnegation for the good of the many, the book is certainly calculated to do it.

It is written in a style which is neither high nor colloquial, and which at all times keeps an even level. There was want of such a good biography in Gujarat and the present writer has supplied it, and we feel grateful for the same.

Laghu Bharat: Part IV., Parvas VI to XI (in verse) by Ganpatram Rajaram Bhatt: Nirmala Printin press: Ahmedabad, cloth bound: pp. 505: Price Rs. 2-8-0 (1907).

This is the fourth part of a work begun nearly a decade ago. It has condensed in verse the story of the Mahabharata, in a way in which no Gujarati writer of present times has done or could do it. The tendency of modern Gujarati verse has been toward English classical poetry like that of Shelley and Tennyson and Wordsworth. Three generations ago it was not so. It followed older writers like Premanand and Girdhar, and in this production we seem to hear the pleasant echo of those far-off times again. Indeed while reading it, we feel wafted back to the age of those classical poets: we forget we are perusing the verse of a modern poet. The charm, the grace, the easy flow, and even the peculiar diction of the older generation is there, and what is most striking is that all this seems to be no imitation, but comes as naturally out of the *Kavi* as water from a spring. The influence that the Mahabharata exercises over our lives and our every day affairs, hardly needs recital. Every vernacular of the country has its Ramayana and Mahabharata, in prose and verse, and the words of the popular writers have been burnt deep into the heart of the Indians. Kavi Ganpatram has written much but we think that this work, on which he is spending the closing years of his life—devoted more to literature than anything else—is bound to exert an abiding influence on this class of the literature of Gujarat. It is a book which deserves to be kept and read by every family. It is cheap enough at the price, and a *sine qua non* of a good library.

K. M. J.



RAPHAEL'S ST. CECILIA.

INDIAN PRESS, ALLAHABAD.

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CHILD-HEART

Go forth, little one, and meet life
Strong in the strength of freedom from self,
The strength of purity,
The strength of love.

Link thee with the great souls of the past,
By reverence and worship.
One thee with the great deeds of the present,
By love and admiration.

Protect them that are without protection.
Serve whom thou rulest.
And to them that know not how,
Teach thou a way to defend themselves.

Be thy words few: speak through thy deeds.
Rest in no compromise.
When the hour cries out for sacrifice,
Be thou not deaf.
Strike swiftly: pardon generously:
Be wise withal.

Scale each ideal to its height.
Touch thou the stars.
Seek Truth as the end in itself.
Ask only for the Love that stays.
Work, questioning not as to victory or defeat.
Thirst thou after Perfection, with a quenchless thirst.

Very little art thou,—yet say ever
"Victory to Mother! Salutation to the Terrible!"

The prayer is prayed, and we who love thee
look out upon thy future,
We ask, what shall there be for thee of Happiness,
Of play,
Of love?

Lo, O Beloved, art thou not the Free of Heart?
Shall not life be to thee unshadowed play?—
All laughter, all lightness, all merriment, all-glee?

To thee—to know great woes, and cease thereby
from all mean fretting!

To thee—to know vast joys, and cease thereby
from all gross pleasures!

To thee—the strength and gentle-heartedness
of Destiny,

Own babe to the Divine Mother,

Child-Heart!

Child-Heart!

Child-Heart!

THE CHARGING OF THE NEW-BORN BY THE DEAD.

The dead speak:

Come up, O thou New-born, to thy high seat,
And look thou out upon the glories of thy heritage.
Ours is the voice of all the dead, who die not.

Behold thou all that we have learnt and suffered.

Hear thou all that we have thought and sung.

Look thou upon the works our hands have wrought.

Lo, *thine* are all these, and for thee.

Known and unknown are there here amongst us ;
 Names like stars, and unnamed builders
 of the pyramids in Egypt ;
 Royal names and nameless scribes, baking bricks
 in Nineveh ;
 Unnamed singers, of how many lands and peoples ;
 Unnamed women, pre-historic, making great
 the nations ;
 Not by our *names* do we desire to be remembered.
 In *thee*, O thou New-born, in thee do we demand
 Existence !
 In this *thy* will do all our wills demand a weapon !
 We charge thee, O thou little One, thou nursling,
 seeming yet so weak and helpless,
 Let not our dreams die.

Let not our harvests waste, nor let our fire go out,
 Let not our tools lie rusting, nor let our sword
 grow blunt.

Singing not our songs, sing thou newer, better.
 Thinking not our thoughts, think thou bolder, truer,
 Dream thou not our dreams, but dream thou
 as we dreamt.

Eat thou of the bread of our toil.
 Drink thou of the wine of our consecration.
 And be thou anointed with the chrism
 of our anointing,—

For here into thy hands do we commit our banner,—
 The banner of the Future of Humanity,
 —the banner of all the dead.

A HOLIDAY IN KASHMIR

THE Himalaya mountains, we all know, run from north-west to south-east, in great parallel folds; between the first two of these folds lies the valley of Kashmir. The Pir Panjal range divides it from the Panjab, and the traveller approaching from the south comes into touch with Kashmir when he gets past Lahore and sees the snowy summits of the Pir Panjal rising across the plain. It is not easy to cross them, certainly not in April, and the general plan now-a-days is to go north as far as Rawal Pindi, and enter Kashmir by the Jhelum valley. The road is long and tedious—two hundred miles long,—and the scenery most of the way is dull. There is some interest in the cuttings, which are the deepest on any road in India. The valley is extremely narrow, and the mountains are formed of conglomerate rock, a sort of gravel pudding with large boulders in it. Thus the side of the road is a wall, sometimes a hundred feet high, with stones large and small sticking out everywhere and

threatening to tumble down. This they occasionally do, especially in the spring, when the snow is melting; landslips are also common, bridges disappear, and the early traveller is saved from brooding over the tedium of the way.

He arrives in Kashmir at Baramula, and makes at once for his objective. As every taste suits itself, so it may be that he is a sportsman, with a long march still before him, or a society man, with his eye on garden parties, or a loungeur, needing nothing but a house-boat, or finally, like myself, a tourist in search of experiences. In this last case he may do what I did—he can do nothing better—take his tents and his coolies and his staff in his hand and march off to the Lolab valley.

For the shape of Kashmir is such that the bottom of the chief valley is a flat plain, while the mountains which encircle it are full of winding glens. These are the beauties of Kashmir. By each of them you may ascend the mountain chains; if you persevere you may

cross them and leave Kashmir behind you; or you may ascend one of them and cross the spur of the mountains and return to Kashmir by the next. You may do this many times before you have seen all the valleys of the country, and they are all worth seeing; but within the space of one vacation you must make a choice. Now Kashmir has been fully explored, and there are many guide books; but they all agree that the Lolab, the Sind and the Lidar valley are first among their peers. So I started with the Lolab valley, which is nearest to Baramula.

Cockburn's agency, (whom I can recommend), had arranged for tents and stores to await me, together with a head man, Azad Bat, and a cook. They made their salaams at the Dak Bungalow, shivering like all the rest of the world, for there had been three days rain, and the weather was chilly. It cleared up next day; we hailed the sun with joy and tramping over the Jhelum dived into the hills.

Now I had said to myself many times, "I will not be victimised by Kashmir; I will not expect anything one way or another; I will wait and see what the place is like." And when I got there, on that very wet day at Baramula, with nothing visible but pools and pollard willows and mist and clouds, I said "Even now it is too early to judge." But two or three hours after I left Baramula, I had permitted a verdict to present itself, and by the evening it was the verdict of all my five senses ratified by that presiding spirit, the *manas*, which surveys and co-ordinates their reports. I never questioned this verdict, all the time I was in Kashmir, and at this moment I find I have nothing to do but choose emphatic language, and record it.

There are three types of Kashmir scenery, that of the valley, the lower hills, and the snows. That of the valley is not without its own charms, and they are such as the Anglo-Indian is willing to enjoy. There are fields of

grass enamelled with flowers, brooks and pools, and groves of mighty trees. First among these is the great chenar, that no tree in the world excels for spreading majesty and shade. Give it light and air, rich soil, and water, which it loves, and a single chenar will fill the landscape. Ten men shall not clasp its trunk, and a hundred herons shall lodge within its boughs unseen. Beneath it a company of soldiers may encamp, and no ray of sunlight shall fall on them from morn to eve. It lives from generation to generation; the chenars that burgeon in the spring to-day were planted by the Great Moghal. They are chief among the arboreal monarchs of the valley, not even the elms of Bawan match them, nor those poplars that skirt the Srinagar Road, and imprison the sky for sixteen miles.

It is the trees that ennoble the Kashmir valley, but I do not forget the great *er* that stretches northwards of Srinagar. Let the mountain and the forest boast themselves as they will; there is a charm they cannot possess; the charm of the solitary *fen*. I have Tennyson with me:—

Some blue peaks in the distance rose
And white against the cold-white sky
Shone out their crowning snows.
One willow over the river wept,
And shook the wave as the wind did sigh;
Above in the wind was the swallow,
Chasing itself at its own wild will,
And far through the marish green and soil
The tangled water courses slept
Shot over with purple and green and yellow.

Where did he see it? In his mind's eye, I suppose; not in Lincolnshire certainly. But he might have seen it in Kashmir, had he been with me one day there, from Kanlikal to Gunderbal. And when he wrote his *Recollections of the Arabian Nights*, had he ever in the spirit visited the Dal Lake, where that same Great Moghal made himself, like Haroun Al-raschid, palaces and pleasure gardens? All of them now swept by decay's affacing fingers, but eloquent of their golden prime!

Whatever be the visitor's interest in Kashmir, he should spend a few hours in the Dal Lake and its gardens, and a few hours on the river elsewhere will not be amiss. There is a special point of view from the water's level; he should not fail to take it in. But I think in Kashmir it is less interesting than elsewhere, certainly between Srinagar and Islamabad, where the river flows between high artificial banks. And in any case there is not much to be seen from the house boat, except the muddy Jhelum swirling past; the beauties of Kashmir are accessible only to the pedestrian. Let us return then to the Lolab valley.

The mountains that surround it are comparatively low, though in April there is plenty of snow about. At points you have views of the higher ranges; indeed my first day from Baramulla was the only time I saw Nanga Parbat. The weather was clear after the rain, I was well placed, and had all the Himalaya to admire, pre-eminent in the distance being the silver crest of the great summit. But the Lolab is a sylvan glen that rises slowly from the plain. It is strewn with a great variety of little heights and knolls; sometimes you pass a defile, sometimes you survey a plain. The forest is most beautiful. What the chenar tree is in the valley, the deodar is on the mountain side. Pictures have made us familiar with it; yet only the sight of it reveals its grandeur. In the Lolab valley there are still forests on which no woodman has laid his hand, where the veterans of centuries look down on the seedlings, and giant trunks slowly mouldering to earth show the wheel of nature full circle in its revolution. Ascending and descending amid these forests every sort of view presents itself, long vistas between the columns, and glimpses of the sky and snow. The air is filled with aromatic fragrance, and lest any sense should complain of neglect, the ears are occupied with the quaint amusing noises of the birds. So I went on, rising day by day, till I crossed a higher

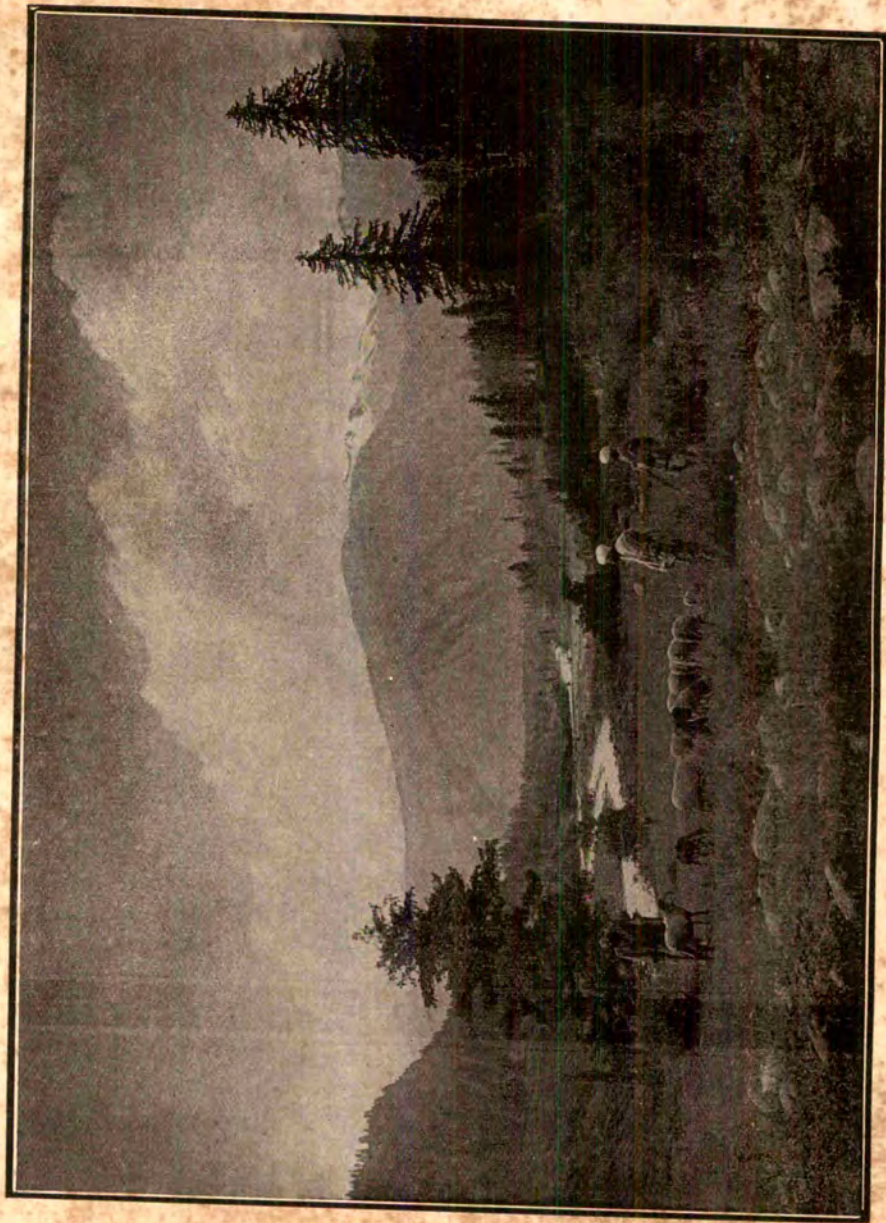
ridge and looked down on the Woolar lake. To this I descended, and taking a *kisti* with seven paddlers crossed to the opposite shore. The lake was in a good humour. As the boatmen know, it is easily provoked to anger, and you should consult the omens before you start. Many hands make light labour; in one hour and a half I was landed on the opposite side and ready to start from Bandipur up Erin Nala.

Here I went a little higher, and it is time to speak of the higher scenery of Kashmir. Nothing in it struck me so much as the size and bold conformation of the rocks. The conglomerate of the lower ranges gives place to good honest stone. What more could the eye desire in the way of mountains? Cliff rose above cliff, that neither Pelion nor Ossa could have equalled, till one could only laugh at the sight of them, laughing perhaps at the innocence which had never dreamed of such things. One might have stowed the Matterhorn in a corner of the Sind valley, and Mr. Whympers would not have noticed it. Deodars and pines flourished everywhere, disposed in fringes and clumps, according to the ground, or marshalled in spreading forests. There was plenty of snow, not eternal snow nor quite so radiant as that snow is, but deep and lustrous, and yet unvanquished by the summer sun. At short intervals fresh snow kept falling on the heights, till it veiled the deodars once more in white, while further below winter was slowly retreating.

In the Sind valley there is a high upland meadow, Sonamarg, (which was under snow when I went there), leading to the Zojila Pass. To the east of this Valley there is a glen leading to the cave of Amarnath. I remember it as the climax of all that I saw in Kashmir. The strata of the rocks rose and fell in wild contortions, the pines were rooted in incredible places, and the masses of snow were stupendous. Great avalanches had fallen across the glen, perfect mountains in themselves,



EVENING ON DAL LAKE AT GAGRIBAL, SRINAGAR.



BOLAHOI, PULGAM VALLEY, SHEEP, KASHMIR.

blocking all the communications. Here lay my path to Amarnath, if I meant to go there. The design was not practicable and reluctantly I gave it up. So, too, I had to give up Gurgurbal Lake, and the only consolation is that if ever I return to Kashmir later in the year there will still be something new to see.

However, I did get up the Zojila Pass. By this one escapes from Kashmir into the high land of Baltistan, which is no longer India, but Central Asia. This indeed is why I went there, I wanted just for the sake of the thing to say I had been in Central Asia. So early one morning, about 3 o'clock, I sallied forth with Azad Bat and struggled up the ravine of the Zojila. It was full of snow; the road along the hill side was not yet open, and all travellers went straight up the ravine. On both sides of them were perpendicular cliffs; beneath their feet unseen flowed the river. There was no difficulty, the winter storms were over, and at that hour there was no chance of avalanches. These come on later in the day, and if we had been inclined to chance them, there was an ominous stake in the snow to caution us, which marked the spot where five coolies lay buried. On the Kashmir side the ascent was steep; beyond, there was a broader valley and a very gradual fall. I went as far as Machihoe, and stayed at night in the bungalow. The weather was intensely cold, nothing to what it had been, but trying enough by contrast with Bombay. I walked about, and viewed the scene and made the reflections I intended to make. "Here," I said, "I am no longer in Hindostan. Beyond that crest of the Zojila the genius of Hinduism has not advanced its flag. Here neither has Parasurama lifted his axe, nor Krishna piped to the enamoured Gopis. Below in yonder cave sits Mahadeo throned in ice. Thenceforward to Kanya Kumari all is his; not a corner of the land but holds a shrine of him or his compeers. And truly if patient toil gives any claim to possession, his followers

have won it him. Who can count the miles that pilgrims have travelled, reconnoitring and annexing territories for the Hindu faith? But all within the sacred limits of Bharat-varsha. And long long ago, in the days when Panini with the same inquisitive care wrote his Grammar, and Vatsayana the Kama-shastra."

To stimulate these reflections I was provided with a contrast, in the shape of a train of Hajis returning to Yarkand. One year they had been away; and now they were nearly home again. They were mostly men, but I saw two women among them. They rode on stout little ponies, that picked their way unerringly through the streams and across the snow slopes. Tall stalwart men they were, in sheep skin coats and caps; their high cheek bones and oblique eyes presented the classic type of Asia. I found an interpreter and had a little talk with them. They reported a prosperous journey; no trouble from plague regulations in Bombay, only six of them died on the steamer, they had kissed the Kaaba and seen the beatific vision. One of the ponies fell lame going up the Zojila; it was clear that his travelling days were over. Accordingly they sanctified his carcase by cutting his throat, as the Law prescribes, then they flayed him and dissected him and gobbled him up. His shoes they took off, for some other pony; his skin they dried, and not a morsel did they leave for the disappointed crows. I watched the man nearest me coiling his snare of entrails in a pot; neatly he packed it with snow, lit a fire, and sat down to watch it stewing. A furious snowstorm came whirling up the pass, but the Tartars only crouched a little closer over their cooking. All kinds of weather were alike to them, and I dare say they felt quite jolly going over the Karakoram Pass. But the fact is human nature soon grows hard leading an outdoor life and associating with animals. Books of all kinds become unintelligible; your principal topic is your belly and

how to fill it, and you cease to trouble about "dirt." You enter houses with suspicion and reluctance, and I can understand how it is that the Tartars erect their tents inside the room of inns when they have to use them.

However, there remains to be finished off the subject of Kashmir scenery. I have said nothing yet about the flowers. They abound in the greatest plenty and variety. There is hardly an old English friend that does not meet one; the eye-bright and pimpernel raise an enquiring glance and ask if you have forgotten them; buttercups and dandelions recall the decorated fields of England. Strangers by their side are the tulips and tiger-lillies, and the clusters of purple iris that bloom in Mahomedan grave-yards. Directly the snow melts millions of crocuses twinkle like stars among the grass; marsh marigolds and primulas fringe the streams. If you turn into the woods, you find violets and ferns emulating each other in luxurious growth wherever the wild strawberry concedes them room. Nor should I forget the edelweiss, that carries no burden of tiresome tradition in Kashmir.

Thus we have in this strange country a happy mixture of the temperate and tropic zones. There are some things one misses; there are no daisies, and no parrots. But there is more than enough, and all accordant well. The lark sings as sweetly above the rice fields as ever he does above English corn; the bees hum their melodies over fields of clover and bushes of fragrant hawthorn. There were moments when I felt unable to bear the magic, the intoxicating splendour of the scene.

There were other moments when I felt again the emptiness of all this natural beauty. Indeed, I believe that natural beauty is never long tolerable except as the background of some activity. Or shall I rather say that we could not much respect the man who spent all his life looking at it? So deeply is this

true that when you have determined to dedicate a holiday to scenery, you are much in danger of forsaking it for some subordinate end. The very goal of your daily march becomes the chief object of the day; to reach it in good time becomes an ambition. You pass by the most magnificent views because you feel you would be wasting time if you stayed to look at them.

Conversely, when you have something else to do, the beauty of your surroundings often breaks in upon you. I remember when I was a volunteer officer, on the parade ground—even in the fateful hour of the General's inspection—I used to grow so absorbed in the beauty of the trees around us that I had the greatest difficulty in attending to our evolutions. What a confession! And so much for the "harmonious life," which some educationists preach, certainly not a life to be lived in this world.

Talking of dandelions, I may say, they are much eaten in Kashmir as a spinach. I learned this in the following manner. For several days the cook produced no vegetables; so I made a complaint of this and asked whether nothing edible grew in the jungle. He replied that there was indeed one plant which grew there, and was freely eaten both by Sahob log and aborigines, but this year people were not allowed to consume it. Last year the Maharajah's son had died; and this year the plant in question had grown up spontaneously on his grave. The Maharajah, therefore, had ordered that for one year it should be spared from the pot. When I asked to see this sympathetic vegetable, he produced a dandelion.

Of birds and beasts Kashmir has now less than its fair share, big game having mostly been exterminated. Still, there are plenty of black bears left, and a few mischievous leopards. Ibex and markhor have retreated beyond the Zojila, where they are protected by stringent regulations. You may take out

a license and shoot a fixed number—if you can get them. To accomplish this you must do a good deal of climbing and the man who returns with a few trophies has certainly earned them. I was not shooting myself, but had the good fortune to see some ibex near the Zojila. They were feeding in the sort of place they love, a bare patch among the snow, about a thousand feet above us. Precipitous rocks are their native element, and like all creatures in such circumstances their certainty and grace of movement are delightful.

The crow and the pie dog and the moorgi abound in Kashmir as elsewhere. The crow is fatter and more consequential; the moorgi more succulent, and the pie dog as great a nuisance as he always is. Whatever you leave about in your tent at night, if it is edible, some pie dog will find it out before morning. I had to mourn a pound of cheese on one occasion. But that is a small matter. I could forgive the creatures for practising their only possible means of livelihood. But why do they bark in such a fearful manner? Wow—wow—wow—wow—wow! A long quintuple bark with an accent on the last syllable, repeated by every pie twice a minute all the night through. *Why* does the pie dog do it? Nature does nothing in vain; and this wretch, of all her family, has least energy to spare. Yet there he goes yelping all night long outside your tent; and in the morning when you stir abroad and begin to think ruefully of your day's march, he and his friends are wrapped in slumber a few yards away,

“taking their fill

Of deep and liquid ease, forgetful of all ill.”

Among the pleasant places of Kashmir not to be forgotten are the springs at the south-east of the valley. The largest is at Vernag, the acknowledged source of the Jhelum. The volume of water is very great; it was enclosed by Jehangir in a tank of masonry, forty feet deep with octagonal sides. Round it he

built an arcade, crowned with a ~~mansion~~ on one side. Underneath this the water flowed out into a garden, where the Emperor spent many delightful hours. An inscription near the tank recalls this bit of history. “The King of Seven Kingdoms, the Minister of Justice, the Father of Victory, Nur-ud-din Jehangir, halted at this spring in the fifth year of his reign. This building was created by order of his Majesty.

The Angel Gabriel suggested its date* :—

“May the mansion last for ever and the spring flow till the end of time!”

Alas, for the architect's hopes! The spring flows still, and may flow as long as he desired; but the mansion is a heap of ugly ruins. The stones have fallen and been carried away, and no one has cared to protect or replace them. The *semper eadem* of India.

One of the arches is occupied by a party of Brahmans, who have set up a *ling* there. The sight would have made Jehangir stare, but heedless of this reflection they celebrate their *pūja* morning and evening with great zeal. I watched the evening service with much pleasure, listening to the weird notes of the *shuikh*, the clash of their cymbals and the beautiful music of their songs. I asked them to translate these songs, but they politely declined on the ground that they did not know enough Hindostani to do so. When I suggested that Azad Bat should help them out, they rejected the proposal with genuine horror: never, never, would they translate Sanscrit within range of a Mohammedan's ears. They brought me on the first day two books to sign, and when I left, and made a contribution to their funds, I found they were divided into two hostile camps. Every other point had been compromised except one, the division of the proceeds. For one camp numbered three followers, the other two; and the question was, whether eight annas in the rupee should go to each side, or $3\frac{1}{2}$ annas to each ~~man~~. So I

* This is one of the usual chronograms.

left them wrangling over this and went my way.

"How paltry!" some one may say. True; but viewing all things in a just perspective, was this a less exalted dispute than that of the Scottish churches?

I should not forget the mad man who came to the Vernag spring and danced and sang and chuckled to the fishes there. He was an old man, like Father William, but amazingly active, and he filled the air with strange noises. Madness is one touch of nature which makes the whole world kin; and I think the Brotherhood of Man is evinced more clearly in asylums than anywhere else. There are no asylums in Kashmir, however, though there are plenty of lunatics. In one village they showed me a naked little boy, about eight years old, stout and well-built, but hopelessly mad and possessed by a spirit of dumbness. He had some glimmerings of sensible impulse, at least he understood enough to hold out his hand, and on being conducted to a *chapatti* shop seized two *chapatties* without hesitation. They told me he was an orphan and had invented for himself the plan of seizing pie dogs—bitches, perhaps I should say,—and sucking their teats, *zubberdastise*. Later on, very likely, he would be induced to carry loads, and repay the expenses of his education.

At Achebal there are more springs, and more gardens. The water there rises up in little fountains, and flows away in the usual artificial channels. There are the usual gardens, with glorious chenar trees; and bowers of roses where the bulbul—if not the nightingale—sings willingly enough. So much of Moore's poem is true: if he had seen the real Kashmir, I doubt if he could have written the rest of it. However it matters not; in those old gardens, with the panorama of nature round one, the hills and the cedars and the snows beyond them, one is not obliged to listen to Moore's banjo, or to think

of him with any other feeling than unliquidated pity.

Then there is Bawan to visit, smallest but clearest of all these springs, whose reservoir is tenanted by crowds of sacred fish. Two maunds of rice a day they eat, consuming two rupees of solid silver. When visitors arrive, *chapatties* are produced, over which they fight strenuously, making a prodigious uproar, and shouldering each other out of the water. The elms and chenars of Bawan are unsurpassed, and as I sat beneath them in the moonlight, I blessed the memory of Jehangir, who set them there.

At Bawan I met a Brahman boy about thirteen years old, who spoke English and went everyday to Islamabad to school. Distance, about ten miles there and back; he said he found it good for his health. We had a pleasant conversation on the state of education in Kashmir. Next morning, he reappeared, with two annas in his hand, and complained that my cook (under instructions from the lambardar), had taken wood from their house worth two annas and a half, and had only paid two annas for it. The cook, on being questioned, averred that this was the precise value of the wood. Much and long did he and the boy and Azad Bat dispute concerning the matter, till at last, moved by the recollection of our pleasant conversation, I bestowed half an anna on the boy and satisfied him. Result, a sulky demeanour on the part of the cook, who did not recover his usual good humour till next day.

But here I have lighted incidentally and almost prematurely on the subject of travelling in Kashmir, and ways and means thereof. It is a country that has escaped the blighting influence of western civilisation; there are no roads in it, no hotels, and scarcely any Dak bungalows. You must take your tents, and your stores, and you must call on the local authorities for coolies. These you will get without difficulty. Kashmir is ages behind

other places; as long as there are coolies about they *have* to come. Their pay is fixed by the State; four annas a day for a march of twelve miles or so; six annas for one of fifteen. This is not much; perhaps it is enough; in many places it would not tempt coolies to come at all. Kashmir in fact would remain unknown if the traveller had to make his own bargain with the coolies everywhere. So I will not object to the system, but I regret that all visitors are not duly considerate to the coolies, and forced marches, excessive loads and actual danger from snow and ice are sometimes imposed on them. If these evils are in some cases inevitable, they should be compensated by liberal pay. It would be as well to remember this before the spirit of progress emancipates the Kashmiri cooly.

I am not myself anxious to see his chains unwound too soon. Let me relate an episode from my journey back to Rawal Pindi. Twenty-three miles from Murree, in the Punjab, I found a commissariat driver lying in the road with his thigh shattered. He had fallen off his waggon, and the wheel had passed over him. His companions had tied his leg up with a handkerchief and there he lay. What was to be done? I put a rude tourniquet on his leg, and my first thought was to march him into Murree on a charpoy. Looking down the valley (a desolate spot), and perceiving one or two houses in the distance I went off to procure the article. The tenant of the house was at home. I explained the situation; requested the loan of a charpoy and promised to pay for it. He replied that he hadn't one. Entering the house, however, I perceived that he had two; so with the aid of my syce I picked one up and marched off with it. Then I asked the man to come and help us, repeating the promise of payment, but he only answered "I am not a *boje-wala*; you are carrying off my charpoy by violence, I shall *not* come." (He did come, however, keeping at a safe distance.) Well,

we went back to the man; and I found three or four labourers assembled. We lifted him on to the charpoy, and then I said to them, "Now, march him into the next village, I will pay you for your services, and get some fresh coolies there." "What will you pay us?" said they. "An anna a mile, each of you" said I. If it had not been for the matter of principle, I would have given them more, but I was not going to let them profit by their inhumanity. "It is not enough," said they; "this is six men's work"—there were only four of them present, besides my syce. Luckily there were large stones lying on the road in great abundance, and seized with a happy inspiration, I picked them up and rained them at those coolies. Whereupon they rose sulkily and took up the charpoy and proceeded with it. Now had these Punjabis lived in Kashmir, they would not have needed telling twice to pick up that charpoy. So I doubt if it will be better for them than for the enslaved Kashmiri on the *Roz-i-khiamat*.*

Well, travelling in Kashmir, as I said is easy enough, there are coolies and supplies everywhere. But if you are a conscientious person you will be much perplexed over the grand problem of payments. If you like to leave things to your servants, you will have no trouble yourself, but coolies and villagers will make little out of you. If you determine to do justice to them, you will be always fighting with your servants, and a thousand inconveniences will spoil the pleasure of your holiday. *Vide supra*, the episode with my little friend at Bawan. I made my own compromise on the point, always paying the coolies myself, but leaving supplies to the cook. After all, it behoves the Kashmiris themselves to be reasonably bold towards the cook of an unofficial traveller.

* As for the driver, I had to take him off the charpoy presently and put him in the tonga. We made the best possible arrangements but the jolting gave him great pain, and he writhed and howled and cried out continuously "Alla-hu! Alla-hu! Give me something to make me die!" He died just as we entered Murree.

Violence I deprecated, but Mr. Azad Bat would have been unhappy if no discretion of personal chastisement had been allowed him. One day I saw him cuffing a cooly's head, and on my enquiring into the man's offence, I learned that he had falsely reported a certain bridge to be broken and led us to take a detour. "The fact is," said Mr. Bat, "this man is not a real Mahommedan but a Shiah, and that is why he told us a lie, and that is why I give him a slight licking."

The history of Kashmir naturally throws some light on Kashmir life to-day. It is all written in Sir Walter Lawrence's admirable book, and I will only cast a brief glance at it here. It begins of course with the Hindu kings, whose achievements are chronicled in the *Rajatarangini*. * *Lalitaditya* is the greatest of the early names; he was a warrior, who crossed the high passes into Thibet, and subdued some part of Central Asia. His date is about 700 A.D., and he was followed three centuries later by a great queen, *Didda*, whose name the antiquarians know. This we may believe to have been the Golden Age of Kashmir. Then followed Islam, the Kashmiris were converted and produced a native race of Mahommedan kings. One of these was the stern Puritan, *Sikandar* (1400 A.D.) who burned seven maunds of threads of slaughtered Brahmans. Under him the dice box and the wine cup were interdicted, and the use of all music forbidden. His successor, *Zain-ul-uddin* was more liberal, he tolerated Hinduism, and for fifty-two years paid all his own expenses out of a copper mine which he discovered himself. Herein he set a great example, but who has ever followed it? Not the Moghals, who soon afterwards entered Kashmir.

Akbar stayed there but a short time. He met with some resistance and is said to have made the Kashmiris adopt their present feminine dress as a punishment for their insolence.

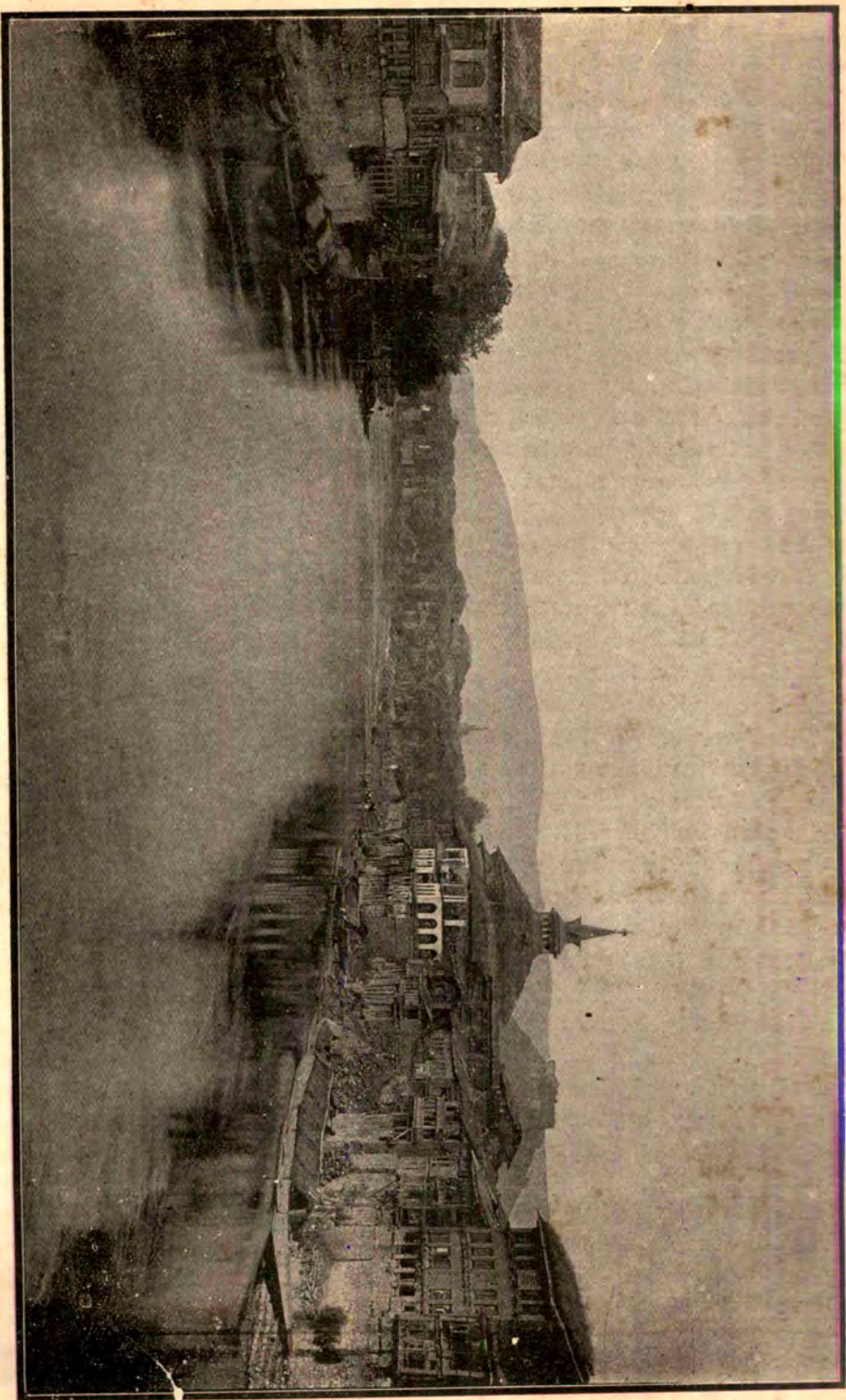
* The only Hindu Sanskrit historical work.

Be this true or false, he built a strong fort at Srinagar, which commemorates his stay, and *Todar Mull* fixed the revenue of the country. *Jehangir* came often to enjoy the scenery, travelling over the *Pir Panjal* with all his court. † He planted chenar trees everywhere in Kashmir, and built palaces and made gardens by the lakes. There in fifteen yearly holidays he and *Nurjehan* fled away the time, till death overtook him on a last journey across the mountains, murmuring the name of *Vernag* and desiring to die in his mansion there.

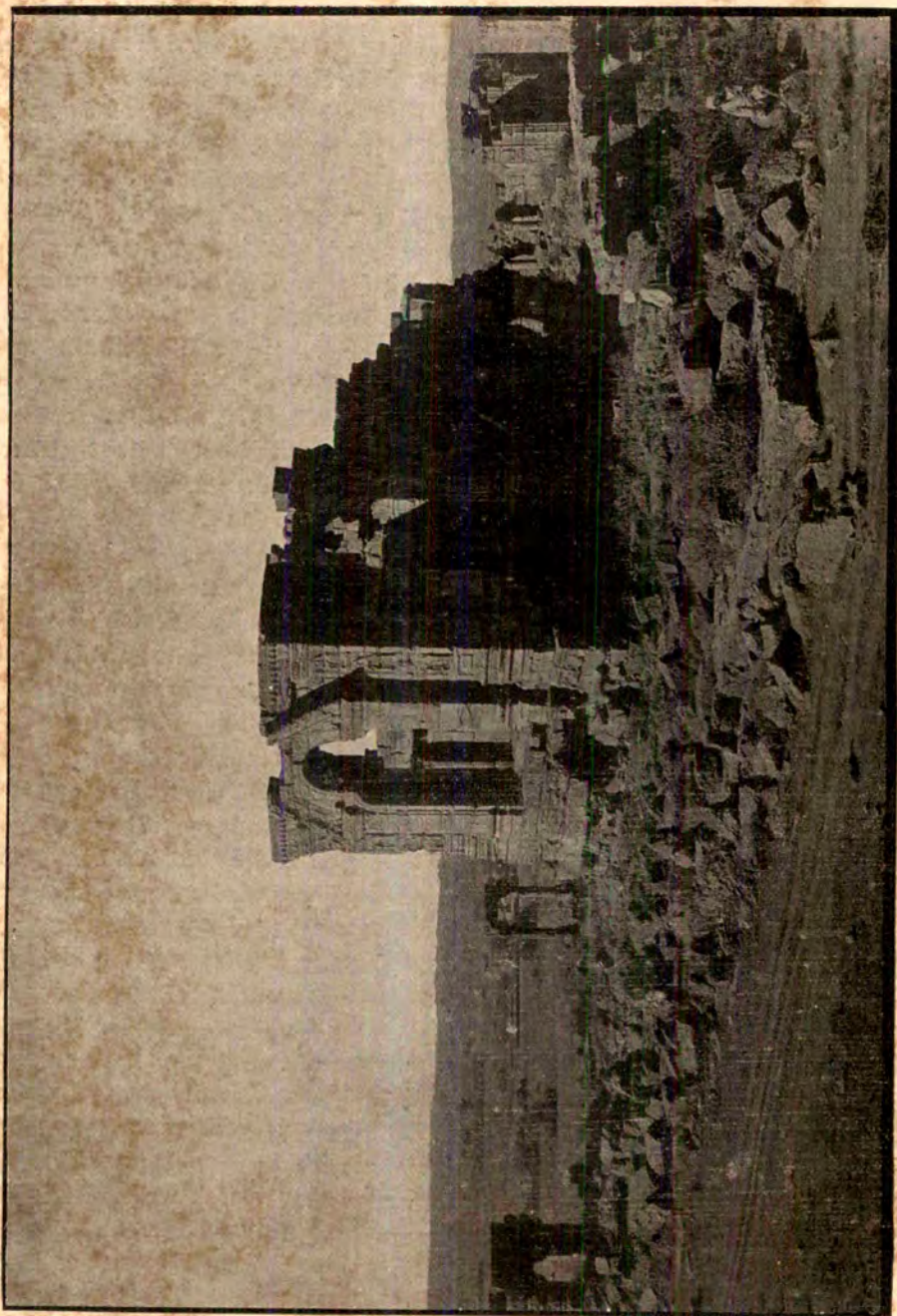
Very likely the Moghal rule was not uncomfortable, and it introduced the well-known art industries of Srinagar. Of the Pathans who followed, neither the Kashmiris nor the English writers who have followed them, speak well. Sir W. Lawrence tells us they esteemed it a jest to set a pot of ordure on a Brahman's head and pelt it with stones till it broke.

But then no Pathan has written the history of Pathan rule, and when some Pathan arises to do so, no doubt, he will set matters in a different light. History is what we choose to make it, and I have long since decided that historical truth cannot be ascertained; if ascertained, it cannot be communicated, if communicated, it cannot be used to any profitable purpose. On my return from *Rawal Pindi*, I travelled with an old Pathan gentleman who had an estate in Kashmir, and whose grandfather, no doubt, had seen Pathan rule flourishing, before the Sikhs upset it. We had much pleasant conversation, touching the recent riots and other topics, and he quoted a Persian proverb which means "You have set me on a plank in the ocean and told me not to get my clothes wet." I do not think he would have consented to an unfavourable account of Pathan rule in Kashmir; but he would have had to admit that the Sikhs drove out the

† Bernier, the traveller, went with him once and witnessed the death of sixteen elephants, who all fell down a *Khud*, with sixteen loads of ladies on their backs.



SERINAGAR FROM FATEH KADAL BRIDGE.



TEMPLE OF MARTAND.

Pathans in the nineteenth century, and re-established Hindu rule. When the Sikhs succumbed to the Feringhee, Kashmir was presented to the Raja of Jammu, to whom it now belongs. He has a private road over the Banihal Pass, by means of which he visits Srinagar every summer. When I was at Achabal, the Rani Saheb was expected on her way thither, and a vast concourse of coolies had been gathered to express their loyalty in terms of personal service, by carrying her baggage and paddling her boats to Srinagar.

These vicissitudes in the history of Kashmir have left their marks on the country. The earliest ages are represented by the ruins of temples. The traveller is recommended not to overlook them, for the most perfect of them he must actually pass on his way along the Jhelum road at Rampur, and the largest, Martand, is easily accessible from Islamabad. In point of antiquity they are perhaps the oldest buildings in India; and their style of architecture is peculiar to Kashmir. To one familiar with Chalukyan or Dravidian temples it is a revelation; where did it come from? I know not, save that the fluted pillars of the colonnades suggest a fading reminiscence of Greece. But the general effect is not Greek: it is just that of its own style, like all architectural effects, and must be seen to be understood. It has little ornament, though that little is quite Hindu; and it has more the effect of a building conceived as such than most Hindu temples convey. Martand is rendered impressive by its size, which has rarely been exceeded by Hindu temples; and it stands amid remarkable surroundings. Behind it rise the mountains at the southern end of the valley, before it is spread the plain, surveyed from the plateau on which it stands. On either hand are the lateral ranges; and the proportions of the valley are all distinctly visible. It is a noble scene, and harmonises with the severe grandeur of the temple. Other ruins of Kashmir, all in the same style, only

just fall short of Martand in dignity. The temples of Wangat rise at the head of a deep narrow valley beneath the eternal snows of Haramukh. Payeeb, small but perfectly preserved, is set in a little glade on the border of a village. They are all in different ways remarkable; and all slowly disappearing. They are safe to-day from the hand of the iconoclast but the rain and sunshine, the frost and snow are implacable enemies, and time brings against them from age to age the assaults of earthquakes. It is a wonder there is anything of them left still there: they are, fragments of a Kashmir more populous, more powerful and more civilised than the valley is to-day. Other such fragments are the lines of old canals and popular tales of what sleeps beneath the Wular lake cities and palaces of ancient kings.

Modern Kashmir comprises, it begins with the Kashmir peasant and the village he lives in. It is not unlike an old Swiss village, a group of wooden huts, buried in fruit trees and walnut trees. Picturesque in the extreme, not uncomfortable, but as dirty as such places always are, whether in Switzerland or Kashmir. Near it probably is a ziarat or tomb of a saint, with a small enclosure and a few elm or chenars. Just outside it is a burial ground, with mouldering heaps of turf and beds of iris.

The villagers are all Mahommedans. They wear an overall, with an opening for the neck and two wide sleeves; it is dropped over them, so to speak, like an extinguisher. If you make their acquaintance on a cold day, you will be surprised at their goodly portly appearance. This is due to the presence of a *kangra* concealed under each tunic; a wicker basket containing a clay vessel with some charcoal in it. I suppose this is comfortable to the stomach, like the "small boys" which Lord Bacon recommends, or like the scaldion of the Italians. "What Laila was on the bosom of Majnun, such is the *kangra* to the Kashmiri"; so says the proverb; and Italian ladies to

facetiously call their article "*il mio marito*"—my spouse. It is a treacherous friend to the Kashmiri, who often gets shockingly burned by it in the winter. In that season, moreover, he protects his feet from the snow by "grass shoes." They are made of rice straw, very ingenious and cheap and excellent for use on the mountain side.

In appearance the Kashmiri is tall and dignified. Of his female folk I saw little save garments streaming behind them as they fled from my approach. What little I saw did not account for the tradition of Kashmiri beauty. Slatternly in the extreme, they were also extremely ugly; the hard field life which often elevates the faces of men being unfavourable to female charms. Perhaps the upper classes of Srinagar may contain some good looking damsels, such as in earlier days were fattened and perfumed for the Moghal harem. But these are left to the tourist's imagination, aided by the picture post-cards; and I do not fancy that any man on the spot will realise Lalla Rookh from the experience of a house-boat.

Village life wears various aspects, according to the situation of the village. Some villages are miserably poor, and all the people of Baltistan are poor. I had a good chance to view them assembled one day near the Zojila pass. I thought I had never seen so wretched a concourse of human beings. I could not help recalling Dante:—

Poscia vid'io mille visi cagnazzi
Fatti per freddo; onde mi vien ribrezzo
E verrea sempre, de' gelati guazzi.

Starved features, stunted forms, ill-protected by their miserable rags, they seemed to have been born in Hell and lived there all their lives. Though goggles for protection against the snow cost only three annas each, they could not afford to buy them, and almost every man of them suffered from suppurating eyes. They lived in Baltistan on their little patches of coarse innutritious grain, and

descended into Kashmir to earn stipends as coolies. What a contrast between them and the people of Rozloo,—a Kashmiri village in the south-west of the valley. I sat there one day and said to myself, "Now, is there anything Providence could give these people that they haven't got? Excellent land, arable and pasture; unfailing crops, scores of cows, hundreds of sheep; poultry as many as they like to keep; beehives attached to every cottage; a river full of fish not far off; fruit trees, walnut trees, deodars for timber within easy reach; no floods, earthquakes comparatively unimportant, and cholera easily avoided, for they draw their water from perennial springs. And what use do they make of all this? Not one of them can read, or wants to read; they sit around all day long; they have never even made any sanitary arrangements, but ease themselves just outside their village, here and there and everywhere, like animals. Is this satisfactory?" Possibly one might reply, "at any rate they are comfortable, their virtue will pass muster, and civilisation is generally admitted, by those who have tried it, to be a failure." I leave the argument to the reader.

My own experience is, that the more I reflect on these subjects, the more cautious I grow about offering advice to other people about changing their habits or their views or anything else that is theirs. I can see some respects in which I have got to change myself, if I am to make any progress towards the Ideal. But is not all progress, as some sages say, an illusion of the youthful West?

Let us turn our eyes from the villages to Srinagar. It is a large town, containing about a hundred thousand souls. It stands on both sides of the Jhelum, which flows swiftly and silently through it, like a sleeping lion, as the saying runs; for every now and then he wakes and res and springs on the city. Then houses go down by hundreds, and bridges vanish, and people are drowned

in large or small numbers according to the year.

It has always been so. There was a time when the whole valley of Kashmir was a mountain lake, whose beach is still visible on the mountain side. In the course of ages the water found its way out; the Jhelum was formed and the valley of Kashmir was drained. But the Jhelum is a narrow outlet, and when heavy rain accompanies melting snow on the mountains, a flood is inevitable. A few years ago the water in Srinagar rose eighteen feet in two hours, and the Jhelum lower down rose in its channel forty feet. At present a scheme is on foot to dredge it, and deepen the channel. This will cost a very large sum, but a saving will be effected in the end if the Kashmir floods can be prevented.

The houses in the city are mostly of brick and wood. Their wooden roofs are covered with earth, as a protection against fire, and from the earth springs a crop of tall grass, mingled with poppies and mustard. None of them are really solid, most of them are wretched and dilapidated. The streets are small, crooked and narrow, and the chief means of communication is the river. It is spanned by six bridges, the piles of which are huge square baulks of timber, taking up a sixth part of the river channel. The roadway is in every case new, the upper portions of the old bridges having perished in various floods.

The finest architecture in Srinagar is that of the Moghal mosques. The best example is the Shah Hamadan Masjid* by the river side. One glance at it tells the visitor what he is looking at, there is no mistaking the work of the Moghals. The material is entirely wood; but the structure has in the fullest degree the amplitude and grace of Agra. So has the Jumma mosque, whose roof is supported by columns of single deodar trunks, thirty feet high. It is now of course neglected and perishing.

* I am not sure this name is right.

So much for Srinagar's outward parts. I leave to the sociologist some other topics, its police, its morals and its sanitation: the C. M. S. School, and the C. M. S. hospitals; and I proceed to speak of its arts. They have spread the name of Kashmir throughout Europe, and one is naturally curious about them. In the first place, then, it is worth remarking that they are none of them native to Kashmir. By ancient tradition it is about the least artistic country in the world. Its arts are all centred in Srinagar, and they were all developed in the service of the Moghal court. The Moghals brought with them from Persia and Turkestan their ideas of fine art and its application, they brought with them also artisans, who settled in Srinagar and afterwards taught the natives there. The place was found a good centre for artistic work. It lies on the chief route from Asia to India. Caravans brought from China the wool of the Thian Shan goats and the precious stones of Ladakh. The former supplied the material for the shawls, the latter some of the colours for the papier-mâché work. Labour was cheap and the water of the Dal Lake, it is said, had a peculiar softening effect on the wool. Hence the art industries once located in Kashmir continued there, and flourished under the patronage of the court.

The largest and best known is the shawl industry. Napoleon's court brought the shawls into fashion in Europe, and they continued fashionable till the fall of the Third Empire. French agents lived in Kashmir, and co-operated with the Kashmir Government in keeping up the standard of work. The secret of excellence lay in careful choice of the wool and invention of the pattern. The weaver's part was unimportant; he worked under directions, quite ignorant what pattern he was producing. He made a narrow strip of the shawl, which was afterwards sewn to other strips, completing the wick. His wages were one anna a day, which was just

precisely what he could manage to live on. When the famine of 1877 followed the loss of the French market, 20,000 weavers died in Srinagar. The whole industry is now extinct.

One may say, why was it not supported by demands in India and Asia? This I do not quite understand, but probably, as far as India goes, modern tastes have rejected the shawl; a good overcoat is a more convenient article than a shawl, and it costs less. The West has driven out the East, and the rajah of to-day, I suppose, would sooner buy a motor car than a shawl. In the same way the papier-maché industry has suffered; there is no demand now for its coffee sets or its cumbrous old Kalamdams.

On the other hand, papier-maché can be used for many small articles, such as boxes, which are useful in all ages. There is a great demand for them, and they are largely manufactured in Srinagar to-day, along with jewellery of an inferior sort and wood carving. The country is still, as ever, favourably placed for these industries, and much money and some reputation might be made out of them. Unfortunately, progress is hampered by two opposite causes which work harmoniously to the same effect, the unreasonable expectations of visitors and the hopeless dishonesty of Kashmiri dealers.

Of the first, first. The floods of visitors to Kashmir are mostly intent on buying "presents," and they are all imbued with the idea that oriental art work should be cheap. I do not quite know the history of this delusion, but it is certain that *good* Indian work, instead of being cheap, compared with art work elsewhere, is rather expensive. The fact is, however, that finished art work never is or has been inexpensive anywhere, in an open market. Work produced in feudal ages has appeared to be such, because the artists took a part of their pay in security; and work produced in distant countries, when the money in circulation is small, has been sold at low

prices, in those countries. But never in an open market has finished art work been cheap, and visitors to Kashmir, who demand what is cheap, must naturally take and do take what is nasty.

On the other hand there are some visitors who want what is good, and are also willing to pay the proper price for it. A good article they may, from one or two dealers, obtain. There are one or two merchants of repute, amongst the hundreds in Srinagar, who are not anxious to sell the visitor the worst article he can be induced to buy. But they all exact the last anna in the price, and you are foolish to make a deal unless you have expert knowledge or an unlimited purse. I do not write for millionaires, and to all others I would say, beware how you enter these Kashmir shops. In a heedless hour you may listen to one of their touts, and step into his boat and go shooting down the Jhelum to his shop. There you find the venerable chief of the concern, with three or four or five or six of his relatives. There is nothing in their demeanour to waken suspicion; open-eyed recititude transpires from every countenance. Their manners are at once deferential and dignified, such as emperors and noblemen appreciate; and if you are a base plebeian, as I for my part am, you feel at once flattered and embarrassed. But having taken a part in the comedy you must, like the Emperor Augustus, sustain it to the end. Nothing is wanting to the warmth of your welcome; what would you like to see? You would like to see everything; and everything is shown you. Embroidery from Bokhara, and homeless specimens of old Kashmir shawls, they are unfolded and waved before your eyes and tumbled in a bewildering heap on the floor. You try—or pretend—to make a choice; What might the price of this one be?—Fifteen hundred rupees. Well, certainly, you like it; but the price is a little steep. "Perhaps another one would suit you better; will you have

a cigar? or a cup of Russian tea?" When you hear these offers, which are a regular move in the game, it is time to indicate politely that to-day at any rate you will not be a purchaser. Then comes the moment when your fortitude will be tested. A cloud settles on the brows of all the company, a cloud of grief and disappointment. Evidently, they have been deceived in you; who would have thought it possible? Can you bear to be such an impostor? I am sure there are many people who cannot; who wildly buy something to save the situation. But I generally escaped myself. Apoplectic with conflicting emotions, I tottered to the door and sneaked into the boat (the firm's boat, the very boat that brought me), and found a sort of relief in stupor and exhaustion, while I made a shameful retreat.

The merchants who came to my tent were as plausible as the magnates on the river, but much greater rascals. I must relate the episode of the "foccus"-skin. Azad Bat, my headman, gave me a word of warning when we reached Srinagar. "Be on your guard"; said he, "what you hear in the villages is half true and half false; what you hear in Srinagar is wholly false; and especially do not trust these merchants, and if you want to buy any skins, ask me the proper price." I did not want to buy any skins, and I thought myself secure from danger in that quarter. However, one evening, when Azad Bat was out, there came to my tent a skin merchant, who offered to show me skins. I explained the whole situation to him; I was not interested in skins, but only in old brass; moreover, I did not know the price of skins and had promised Azad Bat not to buy any. He replied, that my attitude was very sensible, that he would not even attempt to sell me any, but he saw no harm in my looking at some. He had the pleasantest face and the most insinuating voice in the world; and his recommendations spoke with bated breath of his extra-

ordinary honesty.* His skins, too, were perfectly beautiful, and at last my eye dwelt for a moment on that of a Yarkand fox. He detected at once the wavering of the balance, and mentioned quite casually the price—Rs. 7 annas 8. Woe is me! I succumbed to it; I counted out the shekels, and he departed. The skin I put away in my trunk, thinking to conceal my guilt. Half an hour afterwards Azad Bat reappeared, and in firm tones addressed me and said, "I hear the Presence has bought a "foccus"-skin; where is it?" I drew it forth from my trunk, and displayed it, and he asked what I had given for it. "Rs. 7 annas 8," said I; "but observe what a magnificent——" "The proper price of this skin," said he, disregarding my plea, "is three rupees: you have brought this on yourself." I looked a doubt I did not venture to express; but every day afterwards, as long as I stayed in Srinagar, Azad Bat introduced a different skin merchant, who offered to sell me a "foccus" skin for three rupees.

You may also buy in Kashmir, and it is a good thing to buy, a specimen of the turquoise jewellery from Central Asia. It is popular jewellery, crude and unfinished, but unerring in taste and design. How much more pleasing is this than the spurious, which abounds in Kashmir and wherever else in the world education has begun to affect men. For one of the first fruits of education is a pretension to taste and culture, which is too ignorant and often too mean to spend the necessary money on these things and contents itself with spurious affectations.

The true popular art of Kashmir is music. There is much beautiful music lingering in the villages, and the tourist may easily hear it, at the cost of a little persuasion. Many a time I had a party of "zemindars" sitting round my camp, after nightfall, delivering

* Every trader in Srinagar has a volume of recommendations from visitors, residents, Residents and princes, all testifying to his excellent work and unimpeachable honesty.

the darkness with songs. Some were amorous, others religious; when I asked for their significance, I sometimes received no other answer than an uneasy grin; sometimes, "Death comes at last to all men; therefore, transgress not." I thought it would be well if the state would encourage this country music by annual "estedfodds." They would cost little; surely they would be popular. And what deserves encouragement better than popular music in a country like Kashmir? By its agency the spirit of art elevates a life which whether hard or comfortable is always sordid, monotonous and void of outlook. Moreover the music which exists and is enjoyed there is genuine and elevating art. Would we had its like in England! Once indeed we had, in the days of the Tudors; but we are now a fallen race. Whether in the music hall or the drawing room we are content with the vulgar and the spurious; and the prospects of the future are too plainly indicated by the vogue of the gramophone and the pianola.

Of education in Kashmir I saw little, merely two schools that presented themselves by the roadside. At one village there was an establishment of twelve little Hindus and two Mahommedans who were learning English on the syllabic plan. They were seated in the open air, with the sunlight streaming on their books. The predominance of Hindus was natural; Mahommedans have their own course of study. Passing along a lane in Islamabad I heard a confused tumult arising from the earth, and stealing up a yard and down a step or two I found a small Mahommedan academy. They were buried in darkness; about a dozen boys learning the Koran. Learning, that is to say, what it sounded like, for the meaning neither they nor their pedagogue understood. Nevertheless, they were pleased to display their powers and picked out the Arabic symbols with ready skill. I understand Mrs. Besant is building

on these foundations, and she has planted a Theosophic School and College at Srinagar. Her strategic eye has not overlooked the importance of Kashmir or the serious mischief which is being done by Christian missions there.

Having said much of the beauties of Kashmir, and the ease of life there, let me now paint in the shadows of the picture. To begin with there is the winter. Even in Srinagar snow sometimes lies on the ground for weeks; in higher districts it lies for months. This means great misery for the poor, and the poor abound everywhere. Still, the winter is an evil that recurs, it can be foreseen and provided for. What is worse is the train of natural calamities that harass the country. There is no natural evil that does not constantly threaten it, and on a gigantic scale. Floods I have mentioned; they sometimes drown all the lower ground, and carry off miles of crops as well as thousands of houses. In the wake of floods and exceptional rain or snow come famines, which have plagued the country from time immemorial. An account of one is given in the *Rajatarangini**:—

"There was a heavy fall of snow all unexpected in the month of Bhādrapada, when all the land was covered with rice-crop ready for harvesting. In that fall, of snow, white like the smile of the fiend of destruction, the hopes of the subjects for finding the means of livelihood perished along with the rice-ears. Then ensued the ravages of a famine, which filled the earth with famished and emaciated skeletons. The people in the pangs of hunger forgot shame, pride or rank. The father or the son preferred to feed himself, though the other was in his last gasp for hunger. Loathesome skeletons fought with each other for food."†

* I am indebted for this translation to a writer in *East and West* for, I think, April.

† It may be interesting to quote here the account given in the same work of the famine relief operations. The miraculous element in it cannot obscure the sterling sense of duty of the King and Queen.

"25 In this dire plight, the tenderness of heart of that Lord of men was alone manifested. 26 Dispensing with his escort, he relieved

All this—and worse—must have been seen in Kashmir many times since, especially in 1877, when things were so bad that some people even ate their cows and were sentenced to penal servitude for life. The population on that occasion was reduced by two-fifths. But the Jhelum valley road having made the importation of grain possible, perhaps famine will be less felt in future; we cannot be so hopeful about cholera. This appears to be a feature of modern times in Kashmir, perhaps due to that same road, in accordance with the natural law that one worldly evil succeeds another. It appears in frightful epidemics, one of which was raging during my visit.

I had proof of it in many new graves among the iris, and in a curious ceremony by the roadside on one of my marches. I found three large pots of rice boiling, with a village squatting round them. Asking what was up, I learned that this village had escaped from the epidemic hitherto, and that morning

prayers had been offered for the future, and after the prayers alms were to be distributed, to wit, this rice, which all travellers were invited to partake of. A proceeding laudable in spirit, anyhow; and it recalled what I had once met with in Southern India, a rite for exterminating small-pox. This was effected by making a suitable image, performing mantras which drew the *devi* to reside in it, and wheeling it round the boundaries into the fields of the next village. I suppose the next village would pass the creature on; just as the *malis* of contiguous bungalows throw small reptiles over each other's walls.

Medical knowledge, though much needed, hardly exists. Accidents of all kinds are common; so are cancer, skin diseases, and sore eyes. There is a firm popular belief in the medical skill of white men, which often embarrasses the tourist. He has the physician's robes thrust upon him. If he pleads ignorance, the plea is not accepted. I did not wholly decline the office myself, trusting chiefly

the distress of the sufferers by personal visits. 27 Having purchased food with their own treasure and the accumulations even of their ministers, the King and Queen saved their subjects from starvation. 28 Not a single soul suffering from hunger, whether in forest or cemetery or streets or in his own dwelling, was neglected. 29 When all his means were exhausted and no food left in the country, the King one night, in the anguish of his heart, addressed his Queen thus:—30 "O Queen! Verily through some sin on our part, this terrible calamity has befallen our unoffending subjects. 31 I lie on my luckless self, that my people are in distress and, finding no protector on earth, are dying when they deserve commiseration. 32 What have I to do in life when I am unable to save my people from this danger, when they are forsaken by each other and have no one to befriend them? 33 Somehow, all these days, the people have been fed by me, and none has succumbed to starvation. 34 (But) on account of evil times, the land has lost its virtue, and its greatness being gone, has become poor. 35 What then is the means to save the people from being swallowed up in the surging sea of calamity? 36 The Sun being obscured by a dismal day, the world seems to be robbed of light and is plunged on all sides in the darkness of the night of destruction. 37 The high roads leading outside the country being blocked and made impassable by the snowclad mountains, the people are now as helpless as birds shut up in their nests. 38 See how the brave, the intelligent, the learned, have all been made powerless by evil times. 39 . . . 40 No resource being now left, I prefer now to offer this body to the fire than look on this destruction of my subjects. 41 Fortunate are those rulers of men who, looking on their subjects as their own sons, and

seeing them happy in every respect, can sleep at ease at night." 42 Having said this, and being overcome with emotion, he covered his face with his upper garment and laying himself down on his cot, sobbed piteously. 43 The Queen, on whom the steadily burning lamps were peering as if in curiosity, thus replied:—44 "O King! What delusion has come upon you through the misdeeds of your subjects, that you wish to do what is fit only in ordinary mortals? 45 If one has not the strength to overcome great distresses, then, O King! what is the distinguishing mark of greatness? 46 What power can Indra and Brahma or that pitiful Yama have to disobey the orders of men who are true to their vows? 47 Devotion to their husbands is the duty of women, fidelity is the duty of ministers, and whole-hearted devotion to the welfare of their subjects is the duty of Kings. 48 Rise, therefore, O best of rulers, when have my words proved untrue? O King of men, your subjects have no fear of starvation." 49 Having uttered these words in the enthusiasm of the moment, she prayed to her deities, and there was a shower of lifeless pigeons in the courtyard of each house. 50 The King having seen this in the morning, desisted from his intended self-immolation, and the subjects lived from day to day on the pigeons which fell down each night. 51 Verily, the virtuous Queen caused something else to be precious than pigeons for the subsistence of the subjects. 52 Because, it is impossible that the meritorious life of those who are distinguished for their unfeigned humanity towards all beings should be stained with the sin of slaughter. 53 By the austerities of the Queen, the sky in course of time became clear and famine left the land with the grief of the King."—Editor, *M. R.*

to castor oil, quinine, and boracic acid, and if I may believe all I heard, these remedies are more potent than we generally suppose. I was called in once to a baby; she was gravely indisposed, they said, and had long declined all food. I found her swollen into a perfect globe, with hardly a trace of features or limbs. I do not know what complaint produces these symptoms; and I said so, but I prescribed castor oil and faith in Providence. Fortunately, on passing that village a week later, I learned, at least I was informed, that she had made a good recovery, and gone for a change of air. This was satisfactory; but the most satisfactory of all my medical experiences was different in its character. One day by the roadside I saw a little boy with his face damaged, and plastered over apparently with cow-dung. It appears he had been herding goats the night before, and tumbled off a rock. Now I do not much believe in cow-dung, whatever its mystic virtues may be, and I had my zinc ointment handy, so I halted the expedition and prepared to treat the case, (not having been asked to do so). Within a few minutes a concourse of people had gathered, including the father of the boy, and I thought it a good opportunity to inculcate in their rude minds the virtues of scientific cleanliness. So I had some water boiled, and a nice strip of lint prepared, and when everything was ready I sat down to wash off the cow-dung. But behold! it was not cow-dung at all, but chewed grass, of a kind esteemed for this purpose. And I found it made an excellent plaster, adhering very firmly, possibly curative, and certainly calling for no interference. So I left it alone; and I doubt if the assembly appreciated the higher wisdom of this course.

But it was a pleasant thing to find them able to do something for themselves. And I doubt after all whether anything is of much value to people except what they do in this way. Charity is no doubt an attractive programme. When we enter a mission hospital,

and witness the stream of helpless misery that flows into its doors, and the immediate relief that is often given, our hearts, be they hard as adamant, are powerfully touched and melted; we may even recall and half accept the uncompromising rule—sell all that thou hast and give to the poor. But the spirit of doubt, that is equal to the task of undermining much stronger convictions, does not leave this impulse alone. What is the fruit of all this charity, unless it rouses some virtuous efforts in those who accept it? If charity fails to effect this, (and does it ever succeed?) what is it but a gratification of our own sensibilities? You may answer, we must act without heeding the fruits of action; and these words seem to comfort many people in this country. But their true application is a problem; and they are wrongly used if used, as they sometimes are, to justify a charity which is contented to have relieved the immediate wants of ants, crocodiles and beggars.

If the state of Kashmir wants to do good amongst its humble subjects, I should say, let it find a few responsible men, equip them with simple medicines, and send them to tour among the villages, living in each of them a week or two, and patiently teaching the people a little about diet and hygiene. The day is not come for pompous reforms in these directions. But people might learn that it is not safe to plant a latrine in the middle of a stream and draw your water a yard or two away. Rivers are faithful servants of mankind, providing them with drinks, and carrying off their excrements, but it is possible to impose on their generosity.

It is getting time I brought this chronicle to a close. I will not do so without paying a tribute to Azad Bat. He is not likely to read these pages, so I may say what I like about him. He is then, at this present time, a young Mahomedan, of a well-to-do family, who makes his living as a shikari. I daresay he is

a very good one, at least he is properly imbued with the idea that the pursuit of shikar is the serious business of life. More than once he exhorted me to take it up. "You should procure a gun," said he, "and shoot two or three bears, and put their skins in your house. Every one is sent into this world to achieve something. On the Day of Judgment everyone will be asked what he has achieved. If a man can point to something, he will be all right." In vain I represented that three hundred miles of Kashmir, measured out with my Bombay legs, ought to count for something. He would not admit this, for he looked on walking as not less natural than breathing; and we had to differ on this point. But we had few other differences. He was a most excellent servant, faithful in all matters, incessantly active, enduring and courageous. He was also intelligent, tactful and good humoured, so that altogether I remember him less as a servant than a friend. We resolved on another excursion together, contemplating Yarkand and the Karakorum Pass. But whether creeping age and the infirmities of my purse will consent to this, or the authorities permit it, I cannot at present say.

One day near Amarnath, we found ourselves in a towering valley, which seemed to me the very culmination of mountain grandeur. Right opposite where we stood was a precipice of several thousand feet. The strata upon its side rose and fell in mighty billows, so coloured and discoloured by many forces of Nature that we felt the presence of countless centuries. And half to myself and half to Azad Bat I said, "How were these mountains formed?" Now he need not have answered the question at all; and he might have said, "who knows?"; but like a true Mahomedan he answered, without a pause, "By the power of God," (*Khuda-ke-hasrat-se*). I was greatly pleased with this; the substratum, as it were,

of his convictions cropping out on the surface. For this is the chief truth that the Semitic races have taught the world; the Arabian and the Jew alike. "The heavens declare the glory of God, and the firmament sheweth His handiwork." It is a common principle among the discordant systems of Christianity; and those who hold it need not be altogether hostile.

Kashmir of the future may not be quite the Kashmir of the past. It may become richer, when people learn to use its innumerable sources of wealth. Then perhaps the forests will be thinned out, and the bowels of the mountains explored for minerals. Roads will be made, and motor cars will run to and fro. The Woollar Lake is already being drained. Perhaps mountain hotels will rise up and perhaps Srinagar will become the Lucerne of the East. Certainly if the Swiss had the country, it would be very different from what it is. But whatever happens, for good or for evil, it will never become, for the active and reflective tourist, a more charming place. It is sufficiently accessible, without being spoiled by intruding luxuries. *Procul O procul este profani!*

P. S.—Should the reader desire any advice as to the time for visiting Kashmir, I think, on the whole the best season for a short visit is the spring. There may be some wet days, but the weather is cool, even in the lower districts, and the Lolab valley can be thoroughly enjoyed. The snows will still be low down; and the aspect of the country altogether that of an English spring. The fruit trees will be loaded with blossom; the chenars bare, but breaking into leaf, and nature everywhere stirring after the winter. The season will advance with magical speed; in June the foliage will be perfect, and the hillsides purple with roses. To visit the higher hills it is necessary to wait till July.

PHILOSOPHY IN POETRY

YOU gave me an opportunity, only a few days ago, in connection with a "literary evening" of your Society, to listen to some beautiful papers on the Philosophy of Tennyson. Now when I am called upon to give a talk on "Philosophy in Poetry," I feel keenly that I am at a disadvantage in respect of the naming of the subject. It is easier far to speak about a single poet, or a number of poets in succession that one might make a choice of, than to speak about "poetry" in the abstract. *They* are human beings that one loves to think of as one's companions,—amongst the choicest that one is privileged to have in life; or it may be, as "kings," if we take Ruskin's word, whose "treasuries" are thrown open to every one who comes and knocks with the right sort of "open sesame" in his mouth;—at any rate, they are beings of flesh and blood in relation to whom eye can look into eye, and heart beat with heart, whereby even its deepest secret may be yielded up to the inquirer. But it is not so easy directly to win her secret from the Muse herself, the nymph, the goddess, the Spirit,—filling and speaking through, and yet beyond and above all flesh and blood; not easy even to get a glimpse of her in her own person—the nameless One, having her secret haunts on the "Aonian mount, or the top of Oreb or Sinai or Mount Sion," or the groves and Asramas of Ind.

With all our monotheistic notions, it might still, I believe, with propriety be asked: Is the goddess of Poetry indeed one? Where is her home; what is her race, her colour,—what is the language she speaks? Is it Greek or Italian, or Sanskrit, or some dialect of the Teutonic speech? Has she indeed any philosophy

to teach; and is it the same philosophy that she has been uttering or singing forth, from age to age, from generation to generation?

As expressed in this universalistic form, the subject is undoubtedly of the deepest interest. I wish we had somebody amongst us, with the gift and the culture to speak to us about this Universal Spirit of Poetry; to interpret the divine language breathing through Sanskrit and English, Greek and Latin, German, French and Italian, but identified with or lost in none, soaring above and beyond all;—to unriddle the one divine message and philosophy it teaches; to put together and set to music, by co-ordinating into tones of a divine symphony,—the many-voiced songs of the ages—of Valmiki, Kalidasa, Bhavabhuti; of Homer, Æschylus, Sophocles; of Virgil and Dante; of Shakespeare, Milton, Wordsworth, Tennyson, Browning, Goethe.

It would, of course, take a course of several lectures to expound and elucidate the subject from such a standpoint; for the subject, as thus understood, would mean the Universal Spirit of Poetry, and yet not Poetry in the abstract. I am not aware that any serious attempt has been made in this direction. Whenever any critic of the type of Matthew Arnold undertakes to interpret the Spirit of Poetry—to elucidate its significance, its appropriate subject matter, its bearings upon life—he usually starts with a conception of Poetry which is more or less purely ideal, resting upon some abstract definition of Poetry wherefrom its characteristics and the main principles of its treatment are deduced with always some references to actual poets indeed, but in the choice of them following simply the pleasure of the critic and using them only

by way of illustration. In a few cases perhaps, critics have been able to light upon some concrete unity of principle, and have tried to trace a continuous development of thought, the evolution of some self-unfolding Idea in a succession of poets belonging to a particular school, or age or country. I might mention, for instance, Stopford Brooke's "Theology in the English Poets," a book which, by the way, I remember, students of our generation read with the greatest delight and profit, but regarding which, I doubt very much if it is made much use of by our students of the present generation. But what I am thinking of is entirely different. Following what has been done in so many other departments of enquiry at the present day, I might say that what I mean is a transition from the pure abstract and deductive method (or if I might be excused for adopting a word German writers are fond of, the ideological method) to the historical and comparative method in the treatment of Poetic Criticism.

What I mean is that even when our object is to understand the significance of Poetry in itself and not the teaching of any particular poet, let us not trust solely to what ideal conception of Poetry we may have in our mind. Let us not, like the Platonists, think of the Universal Spirit as living in a world altogether beyond the world of the concrete, the world of individual existences, where the pure thought of the philosopher alone can pursue her. Let us not, on the other hand, when we think of individual poets, lose sight of the fact that the individual poet by himself is nothing, his whole significance lies in this that he is a breath of the Spirit of Song which is universal. Let us seek the Universal *in* the individuals, the abstract *in* the concrete, the one *in* the many. When this method is applied to the appreciation of Poetry, we shall find endless instruction and profit in the thought that the poets are many, and the schools of poetry are many—but there is one Spirit, one Genius, one

Goddess of Poetry—and through the ages, she sings the same song for the nations.

For observe that the lives of the nations, at least in those cases where these lives rise above the sordid or the mere commonplace, have been moulded in the main by two forces—their scriptures and their poetry. The voice of God, it is claimed, speaks through both; a claim of inspiration is made for both. But curiously enough, in the judgment of the world, it seems that a markedly discriminative treatment has been accorded to the world's scriptures and the world's poetry.

First as regards the scriptures and religions of the world, the most prominent fact about them perhaps is their relation of mutual exclusion and antagonism, their denial of one another; in many cases a bitter, relentless persecution of one another. It is only in recent times, that the idea of a toleration has dawned which has been throwing off one limit after another, growing more and more comprehensive, even world-embracing; so that now perhaps a sort of peaceful neutrality is established between the religions of the world, with even some degree of mutual recognition, and in rare cases even some mutual intercourse. But even now would it not sound as a startling announcement to many,—though when one comes to reflect ever so little upon it, one must be at a loss to make out why it should be so startling, and not one of the simplest propositions offered to the human reason,—that though the scriptures and religions are many, there is one God who speaks through them all, even the One without a second who is from everlasting to everlasting?

Let us contrast this with the treatment that is accorded to Poetry, almost universally. I mean, of course, only Poetry of the highest kind. She seems to have lighter wings, her power of penetration is subtler. The bounds of race, colour, nationality seem to offer no resistance to her footsteps. The vesture in

and man, and oftener than not, a serious source of *mis*-understanding. Let this not be taken as a disparagement of philosophy. It is of the very essence of the intellect, when left without restraint from other principles of our nature, to hunt out niceties and invent endless riddles and enigmas in order to give zest to its pursuits, particularly when making sallies into the regions of the unknown, and handling questions that ever tempt and ever baffle all powers of solution. I believe Milton meant no harm to philosophy itself when he makes his fallen angels discourse about it in Hell. On the contrary it shows his genuine insight into the nature of philosophy as well as that of the so-called fallen angels, with a real sympathy, full of a subtle kind of pathos, for both; and it might be shewn that his view is applicable to schools of philosophy everywhere,—in India or ancient Greece, or mediæval Europe; and as a matter of fact he must have been thinking of the latter two schools when he composed those lines about the fallen angels, who, in their prison-house in Hell where Heaven's *freedom* was not,

Wandering, each his several way,

* * * as inclination or sad choice

Leads him perplexed, where he may likeliest find

Truce to his restless thoughts, and entertain

The irksome hours * * * *

* * * *

Apart, sat on a hill retired,

In thoughts more elevate, and reasoned high

Of providence, foreknowledge, will, and fate,

Fixed fate, free will, foreknowledge absolute,

And found no end, in wandering mazes lost.

This kind of philosophy, whatever its value and use, is not a fit subject for poetry. There have been poets perhaps who have introduced a good deal of controversial philosophy and dogmatic theology into their poetry, if not taken them up as special subjects for treatment, but in so far as they have done this, it might be said they have failed as poets.

But there is another kind of philosophy, in itself *musical* and *mystic*, *undogmatic* and

spiritual, which is of the very essence of poetry. Let me again quote from Milton to describe what it is:

How charming is divine philosophy !

Nor harsh, and crabbed, as dull fools suppose,

But musical, as is Apollo's lute.

And a perpetual feast of nectared sweets,

Where no crude surfeit reigns.

And as a fine illustration of what this "divine philosophy" means, "musical as Apollo's lute" here is a short passage from what immediately precedes, upon which in fact the above remark is based:

"So dear to Heaven is saintly chastity,

That when a soul is found sincerely so

A thousand liveried angels lackey her.

Driving far off each thing of sin and guilt,

And, in clear dream, and solemn vision,

Tell her of things that no gross ear can hear:

Till oft converse with heavenly habitations

Begin to cast a beam on the outward scape,

The unpolluted temple of the mind,

And turns it by degrees to the soul's essence,

Till all be made immortal"

Here we have the true ring of inspiration—a perfect blending of thought and expression, the subtle weaving together of insight, beauty, love and hope which is a mark that the whole soul of the poet is in full bloom and upon that Lotus-flower, as in the beautiful imagery of Hindu mythology, stands the goddess with the Harp!

It would be hard and, it might be thought, cruel even, to put this kind of philosophy to the test of a critical analysis. Insight and beauty can be appreciated only by insight and love of beauty responding from within. And so the message of the poet works upon the soul of the reader. It comes out in the full soul, and not any fractional parts thereof (as controversial philosophy or dogmatic theology does) and so makes its appeal to the soul of man, wherever there is a soul to appeal to, and is understood, and appreciated and responded to irrespective of creed and colour and nationality.

And yet a criticism which undertakes to analyse and elucidate such poetic philosophy has a value of its own. It makes for the reconstruction of philosophy itself in accordance with the revelation of poetry, and puts our everyday thinking into deeper harmony with the inner secrets of the soul. But what is the source of the poetic revelations themselves? Is poetic inspiration something that lies altogether outside the philosopher's ken? This is the deeper question for us to answer.

Plato, whose name, as Emerson makes out, stands identified with that of Philosophy, sets up a sort of antagonism between Philosophy and Poetry—and in his teaching, the former is glorified as the highest wisdom, the one end worthy of the pursuit of man,—the latter is degraded and described as a string of fancies and fables, not worthy of belief or serious notice, or a place even in the curriculum for the education of youth, worthy in many cases only to be shunned and discarded. Much of the poetry of Plato's time, and for the matter of that, of all time perhaps, must be open to this charge. But Plato had another view also. In his own way, he believes in poetic inspiration, subjects it to a sort of analysis in one of his dialogues, the "Ion,"—and behold, what we call inspiration or genius is nothing but a form of madness! The poet utters things noble and beautiful,—but he himself knows them not,—for he cannot discuss them and set forth their meaning in a philosophical way to the satisfaction of the philosopher! Like the priestess of Apollo at Delphi, he is but *an unconscious channel through whom and not from whom* divine communications come to men.

This also is a view which we at the present time cannot accept, and which the history of poetry does not tend to justify. Admitted that in our day, genius and inspiration continue as inexplicable as they were in Plato's. How shall we think of them? Some *breath* from above or from within for which the spirit

must wait but which it cannot command; strange *reminiscences* blooming into consciousness at the touch of some impulse, but which are really brought from some other world whence "trailing clouds of glory do we come, from God who is our home"; images and ideas crossing the "threshold" at the bidding of some hidden power and starting into life out of the "*un-conscious*," "*sub-conscious*" or "*subliminal self*,"—out of the hidden depths within whereof the evidence is clear and convincing to the Spiritualist, but which common psychology knows nothing of? Whatever the explanation, we have to mark this. The images and ideas, or reminiscences and suggestions, or whatever they may be,—these divine communications, no matter where they come from, must be communicated through a *spirit* which must be in a fit condition to receive them, and must also be a fit channel to communicate them to others. They may not be the everyday thoughts of the mind of the poet; but, on the other hand, that mind must, to begin with, have some adaptation to them; and must, in the long run, be also more or less subdued to its own ideal; for "oft converse with these thoughts and moods must begin to cast a beam upon the mind which they visit, and turn it by degrees to their own essence, till all be made immortal." Whatever Plato might have thought, the long array of poets whom we can contemplate,—Valmiki, Sophocles, Dante, Shakespeare, Goethe, Victor Hugo, Tennyson, Browning,—must make it once for all impossible to think that the poet is but an unthinking, unreflecting channel; that the things he communicates are not his own. It is *his own spirit* that he communicates, every breath that comes from him is and must be a *part of himself*—only it is a transmitted, transfigured self, touched with some glory which is not his own. Let us make ourselves perfectly clear on the point, that "inspiration" is *not* "to madness near allied,"—it is the highest wisdom,—it is "divine

philosophy" itself. Plato himself was a poet-philosopher filled with such inspiration—witness his "Apology," his "Phædo," his "Symposium."

We are in danger of being on the wrong track sometimes, in consequence of the misuse of the term philosophy so current in modern times. We are almost in danger of losing sight of the true meaning and hence the substance of philosophy itself. Philosophy is now identified with discursive, analytical science, and so we speak of the science of psychology, and science of ethics, and science of religion, and science of society, as all included under philosophy, while we never think of what philosophy in its essence means. But this is not what Plato meant by philosophy, this is not what the Hindu sage meant by it. The word in Sanskrit corresponding to philosophy is *Darsana*, which means, sight, vision, insight,—and philosophy is that through which the soul gets a true sight of, a true insight into itself,—its own nature, the roots of its being. Such an insight or vision can come only through *spiritual realization*—which is a process essentially synthetic, wherein the soul must put forth its activity with all its mind and all its heart, and all its strength, and whereto all processes of analysis can but serve as a preparation.

It is such philosophy that is the end of the Poet also, for what he seeks is the *living realization*, and not a mere scientific study, of what the human soul is in its own nature,—of Love, Faith, Hope, Despair, Sorrow, Sin, Death, Immortal Life. Breaths and whispers of he knows not what stir in the hidden depths of his bosom, in the world around him, and he keeps his spirit in readiness to catch them, to record them. He has the "vision

and the faculty divine" to see things which others see not,—he has within him

"The light that never was on sea or land
The consecration and the poet's dream."

He realizes that the world is in its essence *spiritual*,—governed by spiritual laws,—by love and hate, by faith and passion,—from a marriage to a blazing French Revolution. He chastens his spirit, holds converse with humanity, communes with the eternal deep—in order that he may discover and publish the secret of the working of these spiritual laws.

It seems to me that the poets have their right place by the world's prophets, the difference perhaps being, that men have doubted and quarrelled amongst themselves as to whether the prophets had indeed all the same message to deliver, but with regard to the poets a general agreement appears much more easily to be possible. They have touched this frail framework of a "temple" which we call the life of man with a gentle, loving hand, with combined reverence and compassion; they have not wanted to take the veil off the face of the "Great Mystery," to uncover the Holy of Holies to vulgar sight; the cold, stern face of the Sphinx they have lighted up, not killed her with a peremptory answer to her riddle, with a beam from their own eyes. They have set the soul of humanity to music. They have helped the triumphs and sorrows, the loves and hopes, the faiths and sorrows of men to burst forth into a life of song. And I doubt not, if a day comes when men, all the world over, shall understand one another better, love one another better, serve one another better, the flower-offerings of a grateful world shall be laid first at the feet of the world's poets.*

BENOYENDRANATH SEN.

* Paper read at the College, Y. M. C. A., Calcutta, July 17, 1907.

MODERN INDIA AND FRANCE IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

MR. A. O. HUME, the accredited father of the Indian National Congress, on the eve of his departure from India in 1892, addressed a confidential letter to some of his friends in India in which he alluded to the French Revolution, when the hungry mob of Paris created disturbances with cries of 'Bread, Bread.' This letter was eagerly seized and published by some Anglo-Indian journalists. It is not necessary to refer to the means to which they resorted to gain access to this letter and their want of scruple in making public what was marked confidential. These journalists thought that Mr. Hume's allusion to the French Revolution was intended to incite Indians to do what the French people did to get rid of the oppressors of France. It was the guilty conscience of these journalists which made them think of things which in all probability never entered Mr. Hume's mind when he penned the letter. As the people of India are without arms, and differ very much in temperament and social organisation from the French, it is not likely, too, that there will ever be in India a bloody revolution like that in France. Indians are for the most part not a turbulent and blood-thirsty people. The horrors and anarchy of a bloody revolution are neither to their liking nor to their advantage. But, unless averted in time by true statemanship, none can say whether there may not be a revolution of a different sort, the exact nature of which it is not at present possible to prophesy. Mr. Hume knew all this as much as any other European.

The aforesaid journalists perhaps thought there existed parallels between the state of things in modern India under British rule and

that in France before the Revolution. That revolution was as much due to economical as to other causes. The people of France were so much ground down to poverty by taxation that famines were of very frequent occurrence in that country in the 18th century. Thus Lecky writes in his *History of England*:—

"Unpaid labour was exacted twice a year for making and repairing the roads. The sale of salt was a strict monopoly of the Government, and its price, making full allowance in the alteration in the value of money, was eight times as high as in the present day. Bread was made artificially dear by the restrictions on the internal commerce of corn; similar restrictions were imposed on the internal commerce of wine and brandy, * *. Endless tolls and restrictions and ancient privileges, interlaced and impeded industry at every turn, and between ignorance and poverty and oppression, agriculture, over a great part of France, was little more advanced than in the Middle Ages. * * * *

"In this manner, France, in spite of its extraordinary advantages in soil and climate, its admirable geographical position, and the great energy and skill of its manufacturers, continued to be a poor country, and while its towns ranked among the most brilliant in Europe, every bad season reduced a great part of its country population to absolute famine * * * *. In 1789 and 1740 the distress was such that D'Argenson expressed his belief that in those years more Frenchmen died of misery than in all the wars of Louis XIV * * * *.

Turgot described Normandy, Flanders, Picardy and the districts around Paris and Orleans as flourishing, but he added that at least four-sevenths of France was cultivated by tenants who were absolute paupers who held their land for the most part by the metayer tenure, and who were very generally reduced to the most abject misery through the burden of the 'taille' and the oppression of the middleman."—Vol. VI, pp. 290-292.

What is the state of affairs in modern India? Every drought produces scarcity, which often

turns to famine. In fact, famines have become so frequent in India, that it has been calculated that more than 32 million persons died from it during the 19th century.

Many diseases follow on the wake of famine. No other country in the world offers such a field for the study of famine-diseases as India.

It has been said above that from its geographical position, France should not have been visited by famines. Does not the same remark apply to India? In one of his speeches, the late Mr. John Bright said :—

"I must say that it is my belief that if a country be found possessing a most fertile soil, and capable of bearing every variety of production and that, notwithstanding, the people are in a state of extreme destitution and suffering, the chances are that there is some fundamental error in the Government of that country."

The same causes which were responsible for the frequent occurrence of famine in France before the Revolution exist in India to-day. Land is very heavily assessed. Tenants in India also are mostly paupers and they are also reduced to misery through the oppression of the middleman. In some cases the middleman happens to be a foreigner. In the inaugural meeting of the *Anna-rakshini Sabha* held in Calcutta in the beginning of March, 1907, one of the speakers referring to the condition of the cultivators of Bengal truly said that the demand for cash has encouraged foreign merchants to advance money to cultivators on the produce of their lands. It makes the cultivator undersell his raw produce to foreign merchants and purchase rice for the maintenance of his family at a very high price.

Owing to the land being very heavily assessed, the cultivator is hopelessly in debt, and this has made the Government legislate for the ryot in many parts of India. But all these pieces of legislation are palliative measures, they do not touch the root of the evil.

Then, again, in India to-day, salt is a monopoly of Government and is besides very heavily taxed as it was in France before the Revolution.

The salt-tax did not produce such evil consequences in France as it is doing in India. India is primarily an agricultural country, and salt is a necessity for the very existence of both man and beast. But owing to its being very heavily taxed, both man and beast in India are anything but in robust health. Cholera and plague, which are in some measure due to the salt-tax, are devastating the land and claiming victims by hundreds or thousands every year. These diseases were unknown in France during the period which preceded the Revolution.

Then there is the system of *beyar* or compulsory labor in some provinces of India, which closely resembles that of *corvée* labour in France in pre-revolution days.

India in the pre-British period possessed what are called village communities. Every village had its self-government and it was a self-contained and contented unit. But now under British rule, these communities have disappeared, which means that indigenous local self-government has ceased to exist. Such was the case in France also in the days preceding the Revolution. Lecky writes :—

"France had at one time possessed a very large amount of local and provincial self-government, but the institutions around which it centred had been one by one either annihilated or reduced to impotence."

How these remarks are also applicable to India!

Machiavelli (*Discorsi Sopra Tito Liv. lib. I, c. 26*) has said that when a sovereignty has been acquired by a usurper without right, and when he does not wish to govern by fixed laws, he can find no better way of maintaining himself upon the throne than by revolutionising at the very beginning of his reign all the old institutions of the State.

Much of the above applies with great force to the British connection with India. Most of the old institutions of India have been destroyed, unintentionally or otherwise, by

the modern rulers of India. According to Rousseau

"It is national institutions which form the genius, the character, the tastes, and the manners of the people; which give it its distinctive and exclusive type; which inspire an ardent love of country, founded on habits that can never be uprooted, which make life in other lands an intolerable burden."

So owing to the destruction of the old landmarks, the people of India have to a great extent become denationalized and depressed in spirit.

The French revolutionists were led to proclaim the "equality" of man because they suffered horribly by the cruel and oppressive treatment of the privileged classes. The privileged classes were exempt from taxation and possessed power which more often than not they abused. Mr. Lecky writes:—

"No maxim in politics is more certain than that, whenever a single class possesses a monopoly or an overwhelming preponderance of power, it will end by abusing it. Whatever may be the end of morals, 'the greatest happiness of the greatest number' is undoubtedly the rule of politics, and a system of government which throws all power into the hands of one class, of the smallest class, and of the richest class, is assuredly not calculated to promote it."

The privileged classes in France were, however, Frenchmen. But in India we find power monopolised by a bureaucracy belonging to an alien race, having little sympathy with the

people of India. The condition of India then in this respect is worse than that of France in pre-revolution days.

In France the officers of the army were recruited from the ranks of nobles. Men of the middle class could never aspire to become officers. In India the commissioned ranks of the army are closed against all children of the soil irrespective of rank or education.

Many of the causes which brought about the French Revolution are present in India to-day. And as the medical man knows that preventive medicine is the order of the day, that the causes which produce disease should be removed, and that precautionary measures are always the best to adopt, so political wisdom and real statesmanship should lead those to whom the Government of India has been entrusted to take a lesson from the history of the French Revolution. They should remove all those causes which are creating discontent and disaffection and have made possible the frequent occurrence of famine and the lifelong semi-starvation of millions of people in a land which nature intended to be a garden and granary of the world. If the object of history is to illuminate the present by the experience of the past, then the lesson to be derived from the French Revolution should not be lost on the present rulers of India.

Let us see that, whenever we have failed to be loving, we have also failed to be wise; that, whenever we have been blind to our neighbours' interests, we have also been blind to our own; whenever we have hurt others, we have hurt ourselves much more.
—Charles Kingsley.

We believe that obedience to duty is the way of life, and no one can do wrong without suffering. We believe in truthfulness, honesty of conduct, integrity

of character, wise and generous giving, purity of thought and life. We believe that no real harm can befall the righteous in life or death.—C. F. Dole,

I, too, weak, humble, and unknown, feeble of purpose and irresolute of good, have something to accomplish on earth—like the falling leaf, like the passing wind, like the drop of rain. . . . I feel that I am free, though an infinite and visible power overrules me.—Longfellow in *Outre-Mer*.

PANDIT BISHAMBAR NATH

ONE by one the old sturdy veterans have been departing from our midst. The latest to depart was Pandit Bishambar Nath, who passed away on the morning of the 9th of August at the age of 75. A life lived so long and so well as his cannot but be of the highest interest to the rising generation; it ought never to forget the obligation that it owes to these men—good and true—who in their day and according to their lights laid the foundation of our progress. We may not always agree with their views or their methods, their ideals may not always have been the same as ours, their manners and their very speech may appear to us as somewhat old-fashioned, but still they were the pioneers, among us, of those ideas which are moving us to-day, they were the first to develop the germs of public life, which we have yet further to develop, they were the first on whom the rays of light from the West fell. Is this not enough to make us reflect on their lives?

Pandit Bishambar Nath was born at Delhi on the 7th of November, 1832. His father was Pandit Badri Nath, a well-to-do and highly respected member of the Kashmiri Brahmin community of Delhi. His grandfather, Pandit Sada Sukh, was known to be a man of considerable culture, and had held in Hyderabad the important post of a Revenue Commissioner. On his mother's side, too, he was well descended. His maternal grandfather, Pandit Lachmi Narayan, enjoyed the reputation of a literary man. Both on his paternal and maternal sides he inherited literary traditions, and the traditions of the community to which he belonged were also distinctly literary. Nowhere more than in Kashmir has Mahom-

edan civilization and culture made a deeper and a more permanent impression. Whether the Kashmiris in Kashmir took to Mahomedan literature and culture voluntarily or whether it was forced upon them, will perhaps serve no useful purpose at this distance of time to enquire. But the fact remains that they achieved considerable success as writers of Persian prose and poetry, and the eminent position which most of them attained to under the Moghul Emperors was largely due to their literary talents. In the early part of the nineteenth century and perhaps right up to the Mutiny, a good training in Persian was considered to be a *sine qua non* for even Hindus in Delhi and Lucknow. So complete was the conquest of Mahomedan culture over the Hindu mind, that the very study of Sanskrit fell into disrepute among the Hindus living at the centres of Mahomedan influence and power. It is, therefore, not difficult to see why Pandit Bishambar Nath received his early education in Persian. That was the way with all Hindu boys in Delhi in those days, and he went the same way. He studied for a few years in a private *Maktab*, and showed great capacity for acquiring knowledge. Within a very short space of time he traversed a wide field in Persian literature. But just then the Delhi College was also beginning to attract the Hindu youth. It had trained half a dozen young men and careers of a new character had opened out for them. It was training others and they felt the change from the *Maktab* as distinctly invigorating. But being a new institution, it had to conquer some prejudices. One of the prejudices against it in those days was that it was a *khairati* College, that is to say,

it did not charge any fee. The father of Pandit Bishambar Nath was, however, prevailed upon to send him to the College and he joined it accordingly in 1843. The College was in these days divided into two sections or 'departments.' One was the oriental and the other English. Young Bishambar Nath first joined the oriental department and then received further education in Persian and Arabic for four years under such distinguished Indian and European *savants* as Maulvi Sabhai and Dr. Springer. He gave the greatest satisfaction to his teacher with his progress, and he became specially noted for his efficiency in composition. After winning many prizes in that department, he went over to the English in 1847. There, too, his progress was equally remarkable. The subjects of study were not many, and the nightmare of oft-recurring examinations did not oppress the students in those days. There was more personal contact between teachers and pupils. The names of Cargill and Taylor are still dear names to the surviving few of old Delhi boys. In about six years' time Pandit Bishambar Nath was able to read a good deal of English literature, mental and moral science and history. Shakespeare, Milton, Pope and Dryden, Bacon, Addison, Hume, Adam Smith, Abercrombie, Paley, Macaulay and Elphinstone held the field then as some of them do even now. Even assuming that he read only the best in them, is it not remarkable that he should have been introduced to these authors within such a short space of time? It takes a student at present ten year's time to pass the Matriculation Examination, and all this is in the name of efficiency and thoroughness! Perhaps there was less of red-tape in those days, and perhaps, too, there was less of what is called 'inspection' and more of real instruction! If one of the tests of a person's proficiency in a foreign language is his power of expression in it, the Indian youth who received their education in English before the

Universities sprang up, cannot be said to have been an inferior lot. Confining ourselves to Delhi College alone, we know that it produced many Indians who wrote English remarkably well. It would be difficult to condemn men like Pandit Sarup Narayan, Pandit Moti Lal Kathju, Ramchander, Shahamat Ali, Chandu Lal and Pandit Bishambar Nath as writers of what is now called 'Babu English.' But it was not only in this respect that the students of these days excelled. Some of them turned out to be men of an adventurous disposition, *e.g.*, Mohan Lal and Shahamat Ali. Both of them were experienced and accomplished travellers. Not only did they see much of Asia but they also travelled over parts of Europe. It is true that it was mainly due to their official circumstances that they had to go out of the country, but it must be remembered that it required extraordinary courage to overcome popular prejudices at that time. Both of them and specially Shahamat rose to great eminence in the political department. The success of Pandits Sarup Narayan and Dharam Narayan was not less remarkable. The former rose to be a Political Agent. Ramchander acquired fame as a great mathematician and it was not confined to this country alone. Mookund Lal rose to be one of the most distinguished doctors and Bishambar Nath to be one of the most distinguished lawyers in Upper India. Delhi College was thus represented and represented well in nearly all departments of activity.

In 1953 Pandit Bishambar Nath left College. The District Judge of Arrah wanted a young man for the office of translator and the choice of the Principal of the Delhi College fell on Bishambar Nath. It was not without regret that he left College—for his education was not yet quite complete. But as he often told the present writer, the pang of separation from Delhi was great. For, though the imperial glories of Delhi were gone, and it was no more than a mere district, it was still the

home and centre of a culture and civilization, the spell of which had not yet vanished. The King of Delhi was still there, though he was a king without a kingdom. In his person he presented a rallying centre for all literary talent. Zank, Ghalib and Momin still vied with one another in singing the praises of the Great Moghul who had fallen on evil times. From their poetry people derived their literary inspiration, and the poetic jousts in which these masters took part were a recognised institution of Delhi and afforded much innocent pastime to the easy-going Delhivites. There were others, too, better known to fame in their day, who kept the flame of the old culture still burning. The very idiom of Delhi, its manners, and its historical associations and social life must have caused grief to the unfortunate youth who had to leave it in quest of livelihood. The poet Ghalib has a beautiful couplet in which he refers to this idea. But they were already becoming painfully conscious of the change in the conditions of life which was gradually coming on.

There is not much of interest in Pandit Bishambar Nath's life at Arrah. He soon became a favourite with his judge, who appreciated his literary abilities. The judge and the translator read together some Shakespeare and one evening the former proposed to the latter that he should go to England at the former's expense to complete his education. He, however, declined it politely. In 1856 his father died and he left Arrah for Delhi. He had not long been at Delhi when he was appointed translator in the Judge's Court at Agra. Shortly after, the Mutiny broke out. For a few months during these troublous times he acted as Bakshi in the Police Department. But this office could hardly be congenial to him and when order was restored, he was appointed Bench Reader in the Sudder Dewany Adawlut. In 1859 he went up for examination in law and having passed it, again joined the

Translation Department. He started practice as a vakil on the day that the High Court for the North-West Provinces was founded. His knowledge of English, added to his natural keenness and a thorough grasp of legal principles, soon brought him into prominence in the profession. For over 20 years he commanded a most lucrative practice and shared the leadership of the vakil side of the profession with such eminent vakils as the late Munshi Hanoman Prasad and Pandit Ajoodhia Nath. In the early eighties, when the appointment of an Indian judge to the High Court was being talked of, his name was frequently mentioned along with others in that connection. Ill-health made it necessary for him to retire from active professional life in 1893.

His public life was a long record of useful work done quietly and unostentatiously. His connection with the Congress was earlier than that of Pandit Ajoodhia Nath. In 1892, he was president of the Reception Committee of the National Congress at Allahabad. He was in extremely feeble health at that time, he had had a stroke of paralysis a few weeks before, and though the late Mr. Bonnerjee and other leaders personally requested him not to come over to the Congress Camp, he could not bear the idea that he should absent himself from the meeting. He did attend it and delivered a speech which will always take a high place among the speeches delivered on that platform. He was then elected a member of the local Legislative Council and of the Supreme Council at Calcutta, where he represented these Provinces for six years. His speeches in Council bear ample testimony to his stern independence and sagacity. When the law relating to sedition was being passed, he made several animated speeches which drew the admiration of even some of the official members.

After his retirement from the Supreme Council, he was not often seen in public

though whenever duty called him out, he came out and spoke. The last important public meeting which he presided over at Allahabad was the one held to protest against the attack on Indian character by Lord Curzon as Chancellor of the Calcutta University. He was also present at the Benares Congress and made a short speech there.

In private life, he was characterised by an extreme gentility and affableness. As a conversationalist in Urdu, there were few to equal him and none to surpass. Full of pithy sayings and suggestive anecdotes, a subtle humour and a scrupulous avoidance of foreign words, he was a most delightful and polished conversationalist. He was a storehouse of information about the antiquities of Delhi, and extremely fond of history.

He read enormously in English and Persian, and his love of reading did not forsake him to the last. He was a constant reader of newspapers, he followed with unabated interest the growth and development of some recent movements and discussed them with his visitors, and always exercised a sobering and moderating influence on those who came into contact with him. In social matters, he was tolerant of the new spirit and went so far as to preside over the Social Conference of the Kashmiri Brahmins in 1903, and delivered a speech which, if it did not satisfy those who

would march faster than others, bore witness to his sympathy with the progressive tendencies of the day.

He never sought honour, but there was no man in these Provinces who was more honoured by his countymen than he. The young and the old, the Hindus and the Mahomedans, all held him in the highest esteem. Only last year Sir James Digges LaTouche shortly before he retired from the governorship of these Provinces, paid him a quiet visit. It was impossible to come into contact with him and not to be struck with the simplicity of his life, the overpowering and yet unaffected courtesy of a bygone generation, the wide range of his knowledge, the modesty of his judgment and the moderation of his tone. Above all what won for him the reverence of his countrymen was the absolute purity of his life and his unflinching loyalty to truth.

There may be nothing extraordinary in his life, but the very fact that he lived a life devoted to the pursuit of knowledge, culture, and truth, inspired by a fervent love of his country and guided by the highest principles of conduct, firm without being aggressive and gentle without being weak, ought to make him an example to his younger countrymen. It is by men like him that the old culture will be judged and the new light justified.

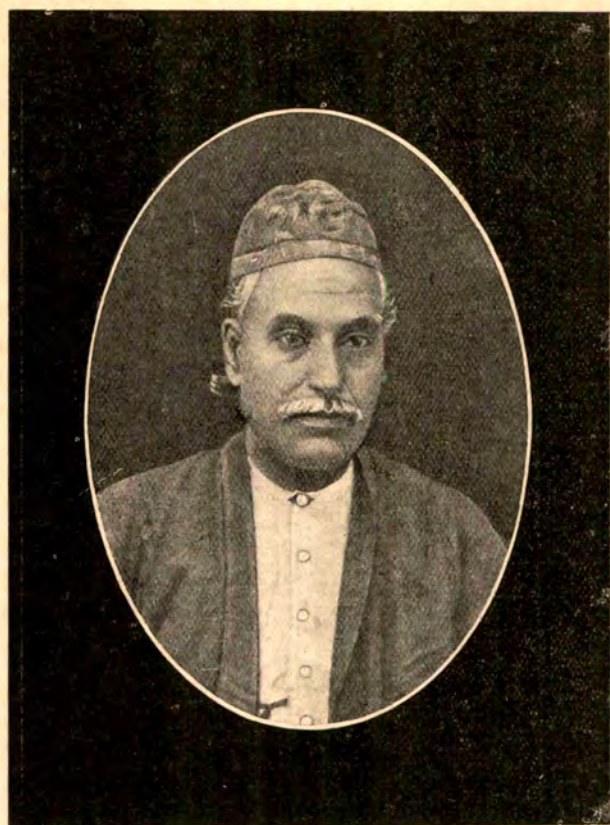
TEJ BAHADUR SAPRU.

"Reformers must always be open to the taunt that they find nothing in the world good enough for them. 'You write,' said a popular novelist, to one of this unthanked tribe, 'as if you believed that everything is bad.' 'Nay,' said the other, 'but I do believe that everything might be better.'

"Such a belief naturally breeds a spirit which the easy-goers of the world resent as a spirit of ceaseless

complaint and scolding. Hence our Liberalism here has frequently been taxed with being ungenial, discontented, and even querulous. But such Liberals will wrap themselves in their own virtue, remembering the cheering apophthegm that 'those who are dissatisfied are the sole benefactors of the world.'"

JOHN MORLEY.



THE LATE PANDIT BISHAMBARNATH.

This portrait represents him as he was some 20 years ago. No later photograph is available. But there was not much change in his appearance.



HELEN KELLER AND MISS SULLIVAN.



Affectionately yours
Helen Keller

HELEN KELLER AND ANNE SULLIVAN

"Hail Friendship! Since the world began,
Heaven's kindest, noblest boon to man."

IT is good to turn aside now and again from the turmoil of disputation and political warfare, to take note of the battles which are being fought in the realms of daily life; where Evil and Ignorance, with their vast progeny, are so constantly assailing mankind; but where also goodness and knowledge, strengthened by the divine messengers of Hope and Patience, go forth under Love's command, to withstand and overcome the foe.

Let me tell you something of one such victory obtained by means of these allied forces, in a quiet little homestead far away, in one of the Southern States of America; where a young child, shut off, one might say, from every possibility of happiness,—having completely lost the senses of sight and of hearing, and with the latter, the power of speech,—was recalled into 'fulness of life,' by her devoted teacher and friend; whose excellent educational training, sympathetic imagination (enabling her to keep in real touch with her pupil) and patient devotion to her work, could alone have made such a victory possible.

In a small town of northern Alabama lived Captain Keller. At the time my story begins he was married for the second time; and with his young wife and his two sons by the first marriage, resided in his own homestead, Ivy Green, so-called because the house, trees and fences were all clad in beautiful English ivy. Besides the dwelling house there was another tiny building on the estate, the latter consisting of two rooms, one large and one small, with an entrance porch, the whole being so completely hidden by vines, roses and honeysuckle, that it looked just like an arbour, and

was the favorite haunt of humming birds and bees.

It was in this lovely spot that Mrs. Keller's little daughter, Helen, was born on June 27th, 1880. For twenty months no brighter or healthier baby could be found. Then, alas! when she could run about and was just beginning to talk, a terrible misfortune happened, for she was attacked by a very serious form of illness,—congestion of brain and stomach, accompanied by high fever,—so that for days her life hung in the balance. But her vigorous constitution triumphed, the fever left her and gradually health and strength returned, though, sad to say, the senses of sight and hearing were gone for ever.

We can readily picture to ourselves the grief of the parents at this sudden calamity, and understand their terrible feeling of helplessness. As years went on, and Helen became stronger and more vigorous, she became more and more difficult to manage. Every one loved and pitied her, but she seemed to have but little capability for loving in return; and though she followed her mother everywhere, and learnt to use signs, and could be made to understand some things, yet the failure to make others comprehend her meaning would bring on fits of rage that were both painful and perplexing to her parents. Love for her they had; patience they had, but knowledge of how to train their darling they did not possess; therefore, they set themselves earnestly to the task of finding some one who could help them. Mrs. Keller's great hope was in the remembrance of an account given by Charles Dickens of a girl, Laura Brigman

by name, who had been deaf and dumb and blind like Helen, but who had been taught in a wonderful manner by a certain Dr. Howe, at an institution in Boston, Massachusetts. After consulting with some of the best doctors, Captain Keller wrote to Boston, where Dr. Howe's work was being carried on, after his death, by his son-in-law, and asked if a teacher could be sent out to him (a thousand miles away!) who would undertake the charge of his little daughter. It was in response to this appeal that in March 1887, when Helen was nearly seven years old, that Miss Anne Sullivan arrived at Ivy Green, when—as Helen Keller wrote some years ago—‘a power divine touched my spirit, and gave it sight.’

Anne Sullivan was barely twenty-one when she came to Helen. She herself had been almost totally blind for some years of her childhood and, until she was fourteen, she could scarcely be said to have begun her education. But she had an understanding mind, and great talent, so that she made rapid progress in her studies when she once began. Trained in the institution where Dr. Howe had done his splendid work, she seems to have caught some of his spirit and was exactly suited to the difficult task which lay before her.

Helen had been made to understand that some one was coming on that eventful day, and rushed forward to meet Miss Sullivan so violently that she almost knocked her down. Then she felt her face and dress and bag, which last she tried to open, evidently expecting to find some ‘candy’ there, turning very restive when her mother took the bag away. Here is an extract from a letter written by Miss Sullivan to a friend three days after her arrival, telling of her first efforts.

“Helen helped me unpack my trunk when it came and was delighted when she found the doll. I thought it a good opportunity to teach her her first word. I spelt ‘d-o-l-l’ slowly in her hand and pointed to the doll and nodded my head, which seems to be her sign for possession. She looked puzzled and felt my hand, and I repeated the letters. She imitated them very

well and pointed to the doll. Then I took the doll, meaning to give it back to her when she had made the letters; but she thought I meant to take it from her, and in an instant she was in a temper, and tried to seize the doll. I shook my head and tried to form the letters with *her* fingers; but she got more and more angry....I let her go, but refused to give up the doll. I went downstairs and got some cake (she is very fond of sweets). I showed Helen the cake, and spelt ‘c-a-k-e’ in her hand, holding the cake towards her. Of course she wanted it and tried to take it; but I spelt the word again and patted her hand. She made the letters rapidly, and I gave her the cake, which she ate in a great hurry, thinking, I suppose, that I might take it from her. Then I shewed her the doll and spelled the word again, holding the doll towards her as I had held the cake. She made the letters ‘d-o-l’ and I made the other ‘l’ and gave her the doll. She ran downstairs with it, and could not be induced to come into my room again all day.”

Thus was the first lesson given. It seems strange to hear of things being *shown* to a blind child, and one constantly finds Helen talking of how she *sees* this thing or that. But if we think, we shall understand that it is the brain which apprehends the *seeing*, and the blind can, therefore, be said to see, in this sense, though not by means of the eye.

It was terribly uphill work at first. Helen's manners at table were dreadful. She would put her hands in the plates as they were being passed, and ‘grabbed’ whatever she wanted; when checked she would kick and scream for half an hour together, and this would distress the father and mother so much that they could not bear the ‘contest of wills’ being continued, and urged the new teacher to give in for the sake of peace. Four days' experience made it quite clear to Miss Sullivan that she must have the little girl all to herself for a while if she was to gain proper control over her; the child must have to depend wholly on her until she had learnt to trust, love and obey her; and so, after a long talk with Mrs. Keller, it was decided that Miss Sullivan and Helen should go into the small annex (before referred to) and inhabit

the large room, while a little negro boy should occupy the smaller one, and do anything that was necessary. The first day there was a terrible struggle when Helen found that Miss Sullivan was going to sleep with her; the second day she was quieter, but rather homesick, and on the third, things began to go quite smoothly; Helen was not only happier, but she was beginning to learn two or three more words, words connected in her mind with definite objects, but thus far, not actually *standing for* the object.

The bright sunshiny spirit of the young teacher was also beginning to have its effect on the child and it was not long before little Helen felt that her teacher could also be a merry companion, entering into her games and frolics with joy and fun. And thus Miss Sullivan was gaining ground, and proving the truth of her opinion when she had written:

"I have thought about it a great deal; and the more I think, the more certain I am that obedience is the gateway through which knowledge, yes, and love, too, enter the mind of a child."

Two weeks after the arrival of the teacher—only two weeks, observe!—Miss Sullivan's letter to a friend tells of her opening victory.

"My heart is singing for joy this morning. A miracle has happened! The light of understanding has shone upon my little pupil's mind, and behold, all things are changed!

"The wild little creature of two weeks ago has been transformed into a gentle child. She is sitting by me as I write, her face serene and happy, crocheting a long red chain of Scotch wool. She learnt the stitch this week, and is very proud of the achievement. When she succeeded in making a chain that would reach across the room, she patted herself on the arm, and put the first work of her hands lovingly against her cheek. She lets me kiss her now, and when she is in a particularly gentle mood she will sit on my lap for a minute or two; but she does not return my caresses. The great step—the step that counts—has been taken. The little savage has learned her first lesson in obedience, and finds the yoke easy. It now remains my pleasant task to direct and mould the beautiful intelligence that is beginning to stir in the child-soul,"

A week later and the pair returned to the home, the father and mother having promised that Miss Sullivan should be allowed to do what she thought best for their child, without interference on their part; for they had been greatly impressed by the wonderful influence for good that the young teacher had already gained.

Of course it was not to be expected that from this time all was smooth sailing; but the difficulties became weekly less and less, and Helen, who was extremely bright and quick, learnt with great rapidity and it is interesting to note the list of words that she had learnt within the first four weeks. Here they are. *Doll, mug, pin, key, dog, hat, cup, box, water, candy, eye, finger, toe, ear, cake, baby, mother, knife, fork, spoon, saucer, tea, papa, bed; sit, stand, walk, run.*

Miss Sullivan soon found that many of the methods which had been advocated in her educational training, were not suited for use with her little pupil; set times for lessons were given up, and almost all their time was spent in the garden, watching the men at work, hunting for eggs, feeding the turkeys, and having a merry romp together.

In a letter to her friend she says, "I spell in her hand everything we do all day long, although she has no idea as yet what the spelling means," except of course the few words which she had mastered. The teacher still took entire charge of her little pupil, so that they grew closer and closer into each other's confidence, and Miss Sullivan writes, "I like to have Helen depend on me for everything, and I find it much easier to teach her things at odd moments than at set times."

It was just a month after the teacher's arrival that the next great step was taken. At first, as already said, the world was understood as only *associated* with the thing it stood for, in Helen's mind; as yet she had not learnt that it actually represented it. This made a difficulty in such words as *mug* and

water, as the two were associated together, and so were easily confused; and it is interesting to read Helen's own account of the wonderful morning which remained stamped indelibly on her memory, when a new revelation came to her, through an apparently quite inadequate cause.

"Miss Sullivan had tried to impress it upon me that 'm-u-g' is *mug* and that 'w-a-t-e-r' is *water*, but I persisted in confounding the two. In despair she had dropped the subject for the time, only to renew it at the first opportunity. I became impatient at her repeated attempts and seizing the new doll, I dashed it on the floor. I was keenly delighted when I felt the fragments of the broken doll at my feet. Neither sorrow nor regret followed my passionate outburst. I had not loved the doll. In the still, dark world in which I lived there was no strong sentiment or tenderness. I felt my teacher sweep the fragments to one side of the hearth, and I had a sense of satisfaction that the cause of my discomfort was removed. She brought out my hat, and I knew I was going out in the warm sunshine. This thought, if a wordless sensation may be called a thought, made me hop and skip with pleasure.

We walked down the path to the well-house, attracted by the fragrance of the honeysuckle with which it was covered. Some one was drawing water, and my teacher placed my hand under the spout. As the cool stream gushed over one hand she spelled into the other the word *water*, first slowly; then rapidly. I stood still, my whole attention fixed upon the motion of her fingers. Suddenly I felt a misty consciousness as of something forgotten—a thrill of returning thought* and somehow the mystery of language was revealed to me. I knew then that 'w-a-t-e-r' meant the wonderful cool something that was flowing over my hand. That living word awakened my soul, gave it light, hope, joy, set it free! There were barriers still, it is true, but barriers that could in time be swept away.

I left the well-house eager to learn. Everything had a name, and each name gave birth to a new thought. As we returned to the house every object that I touched seemed to quiver with life. That was because I saw everything with the strange, new sight that had come to me.

* It seems that among the words Helen had learnt to say before her terrible illness was *water*, and that she had continued to make a sound like it—'wah-wah'—for some time after all other speech was lost.

On entering the door I remembered the doll I had broken. I felt my way to the hearth and picked up the pieces. I tried vainly to put them together. Then my eyes filled with tears; for I realized what I had done, and for the first time I felt repentance and sorrow..... I learnt a great many new words that day..... It would have been difficult to find a happier child than I was as I lay in my crib at the close of that eventful day, and lived over the joys it had brought me, and for the first time longed for a new day to come."

Thus does Helen recall the wonderful revelation many years after it occurred; but it is also most interesting to read a letter written on the very day about this 'something very important,' by Miss Sullivan herself.

"Helen has taken the second great step in her education. She has learned that everything has a name, and that the manual alphabet is the key to everything she wants to know."

Then follows the story of the water, very similar to that given above. Miss Sullivan continues:

"The word coming so close upon the sensation of cold water rushing over her hand seemed to startle her. She dropped the mug and stood as one transfixed. A new light came into her face. She spelt 'water' several times. Then she dropped on the ground and asked for its name, and pointed to the pump and the trellis; and suddenly turning round she asked for my name. I spelled 'Teacher.' Just then the nurse brought Helen's little sister into the pump-house, and Helen spelled *baby* and pointed to the nurse. All the way back to the house she was highly excited, and learned the name of every object she touched, so that in a few hours she had added thirty new words to her vocabulary."

P. S.—I didn't finish my letter in time to get it posted last night; so I shall add a line. Helen got up this morning like a radiant fairy. She has flitted from object to object, asking the name of everything, and kissing me for very gladness. Last night when I got in bed, she stole into my arms of her own accord, and kissed me for the first time; and I thought my heart would burst, so full was it of joy."

It was on this firm foundation, now securely obtained, that Miss Sullivan began to build; patiently, hopefully working, and ever on the alert to use every incident or thought that

was likely to further her purpose. Space will not permit us to follow the various stages of Helen's education, but those who have the opportunity of reading *THE STORY OF MY LIFE** will find that volume of great interest; here I must confine myself to alluding to a few only of its main points.

When Miss Sullivan described Helen in the first letter after her arrival, she says of her face,—“it is intelligent, but lacks mobility, or soul, or something,” also that “she rarely smiles.” One year later, when Helen had been taken by her teacher to Cincinnati, the latter writes:—

“Everyone is delighted with Helen. All the learned men marvelled at her intelligence and gaiety. There is something about her that attracts people. I think it is her joyous interest in everything and everybody.....Her happiness impressed all; nobody seemed to pity her. One gentleman said to Dr. Keller, ‘I have lived long and have seen many happy faces, but I have never seen such a radiant face as this child's, before to-night.’”

And all this change in appearance was the result of development in the heart, mind and soul. Helen was now ready to join others in study, and Miss Sullivan took her to the Boston Institute, where she had been herself educated; there they spent together a year or two, passing their summer holidays often by the sea.

Let us pass on and take another peep at Helen when she had been five years under her teacher's guidance. She is now twelve years old. There has come a startling change since we saw her last. For the gift of speech has been bestowed, and—in a sense—the gift of hearing, though this latter is attained, not by the ear, but by the touch. We have already alluded to the almost magic power exercised over her young life by the word ‘*water*,’ that one word remembered out of the few she had learnt before her terrible illness, and which for some time after she had conti-

nued to utter in imperfect fashion. She did this with evident pleasure; and indeed she always retained a great desire to give forth audible sounds; and she loved, too, to put her hands over her mother's mouth, and feel the movement, and try to imitate it. When ten years old she met a lady from Sweden, who told her how a little girl living in that country, blind and deaf like herself, had actually learned to speak, through feeling the movements of the mouth and the vibrations of the throat. This fired Helen's enthusiasm, and she so earnestly begged to be allowed to learn, that Miss Sullivan took counsel with a lady, Miss Fuller, who had given the subject of articulation serious study. The result of the consultation was that Miss Fuller offered to try to teach Helen; and, so apt a pupil was she, that in eleven lessons she had mastered the chief difficulties, and, finally, with very constant practice, she was able to converse quite easily. Her joy at being able to speak the first connected sentence, ‘It is warm,’ was intense; and the knowledge that now she could speak to her little sister gave her supreme delight.

Further, Helen also learned to understand what people said, if they spoke distinctly, by feeling their lips; and this was a great gain, as it materially enlarged the circle of those with whom she could converse.

Another method of communication was found to be of great value to teacher and pupil, and that was a modified form of the Morse telegraphic code, where the alphabet is made up of dashes and dots. This had been taught Helen by a cousin a couple of years before, and the two had enjoyed using it, as a change from the manual alphabet. Miss Sullivan found that if she tapped with her foot—with long and short taps—the vibrations were carried quite plainly to Helen, even when they were a few feet apart and thus they could easily convey a message to each other without being in direct touch.

* *THE STORY OF MY LIFE*, by Helen Keller. Hodder and Stoughton, London.

Helen's senses of touch and smell were extremely acute, and she often made use of the latter to guide her where she wished to go ; and, in a conservatory, would be able to pick out and name all the different flowers by their scent.

If we look at some of the letters which she wrote at this time, we cannot but be struck by her readiness of composition and powers of expression. Of course this is largely due to the fact that Miss Sullivan was constantly at hand to 'show' her the scenery (through her graphic description), to explain to her all difficulties, and to draw forth thought ; but it needed the work of both *together*—the secret of all real power—to enable the seed to bring forth such a rich and full harvest.

Helen continued her studies, with her teacher's help, in two other schools after she had left the Perkins Institute in Boston,—that City of Kind Hearts, as she called it,—and made excellent progress in languages, literature, mathematics &c., and finally her great desire was accomplished, that of going to college ; this meant the passing of examinations with all the special difficulties proceeding from her inability to see and hear as others could ; but she was successful and wrote, July 1899,

"I passed in all the subjects I offered, and with credit in advanced Latin. But I must confess, I had a hard time on the second day of my examinations. They would not allow Teacher to read any of the papers to me, so the papers were copied for me in Braille. * This arrangement worked very well in the languages, but not nearly so well in Mathematics. Consequently I did not do so well as I should have done, if Teacher had been allowed to read the Algebra and Geometry to me."

It must not be supposed that because Helen was so fond of books that she had no thought but for study. She revelled in out-door life,

* The Braille type is the raised type used for printing books for the blind.

and that she was not in-expert in various forms of active exercise, we may learn from the following extract from a letter written in the holiday time.

"I am out of doors all the time, rowing, swimming, riding, and doing a multitude of other pleasant things. This morning I rode over twelve miles on my tandem (bicycle). I rode on a rough road, and fell off three or four times, and now am awfully lame ! But the weather and the scenery were so beautiful, and it was such fun to go scooting over the smoother part of the road, I didn't mind the mishaps in the least."

And now, how this beautiful young life is going to be lived, who shall say ? At twenty-seven what wonderful possibilities it contains. At least even, thus far, the world is all the richer for these two, the teacher and the pupil. For surely even this slight sketch of what they have accomplished in the face of so many difficulties, must bring hope and encouragement to the hearts of all those who are grappling with arduous tasks, which to prosaic on-lookers appear to be an attempt to perform the impossible.

The future must be left to tell its own story, but the good wishes of all who have heard of the pair of devoted friends must follow them wherever they may go. Let me conclude with a few words of Helen Keller's about herself and Miss Sullivan.

"At the beginning I was only a little mass of possibilities. It was my teacher who unfolded and developed them. When she came, everything about me breathed of love and joy, and was full of meaning. She has never let pass an opportunity to point out the beauty that is in everything, nor has she ceased trying in thought, and action, and example, to make my life sweet and useful.....How much of my delight in all things beautiful is innate, and how much is due to her influence, I can never tell. I feel that her being is inseparable from my own, and that the footsteps of my life are in hers. All the best of me belongs to her—there is not a talent, or an aspiration, or a joy, in me that has not been awakened by her loving touch."

MARIAN PRITCHARD.

WHY PERMANENT SETTLEMENT WAS GRANTED TO BINGAL

► "And when the parties to a treaty make any very exalted professions as to their motives, * * we feel somewhat as a wary magistrate feels when counsel begins to take a very high moral tone; he knows that there is some hole in the argument, and he looks about to see where the hole is. * * But when we come to manifestoes, proclamations, * * here we are in the very chosen region of lies; * * yet they are instructive lies; they are lies told by people who know the truth; truth may even, by various processes, be got out of the lies; but it will not be got out of them by the process of believing them. He is of child-like simplicity indeed who believes every act of Parliament, as telling us, not only what certain august persons did, but the motives which led them to do it; so is he who believes that the verdict and sentence of every court was necessarily perfect righteousness, even in times where orders were sent beforehand for the trial and execution of such a man." (*Freeman's Methods of Historical Study*; London, 1886, pp. 258-259).

"Foreigners disbelieve in the existence of the philanthropic ideas and feelings amongst us, they naturally believe that when we allege them as a ground of international action we are using them as a cloak to cover ulterior ends."—*The Times*, London, September 8th, 1896.

TO understand why the land revenue was permanently assessed in Bengal in 1793, it is necessary to know the condition of Bengal in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, as well as the causes that led to it.

The battle of Plassy fought on the 23rd of June, 1757, did not confer any rights of conquest on the East India Company. In fact, the battle was fought for a treacherous cause, in which the company prostituted their military strength. They got better terms for their trade (for as yet they were only merchants and not rulers in India), and those who participated in the battle were very handsomely rewarded. For eight years after

that battle, although the military occupation of Bengal was in their hands, they were not the civil administrators of the country. From 1765, when they secured the grant of the Dewany of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa from the Moghal Emperor of Delhi, they became the virtual masters of the country. One would expect that the portion of the country over which the Company had obtained jurisdiction would be governed on those received principles of statecraft which every government professing to be civilized, acts upon. But the Anglo-Indians of the days of Clive and Warren Hastings had hardly any sense of honor and honesty in them. They behaved like a pack of hungry wolves or vultures in their dealings with the people of this country, which had been entrusted to them for purposes of administration. It was on this account, that Burke described them as "birds of prey and passage in India;" and Herbert Spencer wrote of them:—

"The Anglo-Indians * * showed themselves only a shade less cruel than their prototypes of Peru and Mexico. Imagine how black must have been their deeds, when even the Directors of the Company admitted that 'the vast fortunes acquired in the inland trade have been obtained by a some of the most tyrannical and oppressive conduct that was ever known in any age or country.' Conceive the atrocious state of society described by Montaigne, who tells us that the English compelled the natives to buy or sell at just what rates they pleased on pain of flogging or confinement. * * A cold-blooded treachery was the established policy of the authorities. * * Always some muddled scream was at hand as a pretext for official wolves."*

But as years rolled on and the English obtained a firm footing in the country, instead of matters improving, they grew from bad

* *Social Statics*, 1st edition, pp. 367-368.

to worse. The terrible calamity known as the Bengal Famine of 1770 was brought on by the heartless selfishness of the Company's servants in India. Says Thomas Campbell:—

"Did peace descend, to triumph and to save,
When free-born Britons cross'd the Indian wave?
Ah, no!—to more than Rome's ambition true,
The curse of freedom gave it not to you!
She the bold route of Europe's guilt began,
And, in the march of nations, led the van!
Rich in the gems of India's gaudy zone,
And plunder piled from kingdoms not their own,
Degenerate trade! thy minions could despise
The heart-born anguish of a thousand cries;
Could lock, with impious hands, their teeming store,
When famish'd nations died along the shore;
Could mock the groans of fellow-men, and bear
The curse of kingdoms peopled with despair;
Could stamp disgrace on man's polluted name,
And harter, with their gold, eternal shame!"

It may be said that Campbell being a poet is not to be relied upon for historical accuracy. But Campbell depended solely on historical facts for his terrible indictment against his co-religionists and compatriots in India. In a foot-note to the verses quoted above, he writes:—

"The following account of British conduct, and its consequences, in Bengal, will afford a sufficient idea of the fact alluded to in this passage.

"After describing the monopoly of salt, betelnut, and tobacco, the historian proceeds thus:—'Money in this current came but by drops; it could not quench the thirst of those who waited in India to receive it. An expedient, such as it was, remained to quicken its pace. The natives could live with little salt, but could not want food. Some of the agents saw themselves well situated for collecting the rice into stores; they did so. They knew the Gentoos would rather die than violate the principles of their religion by eating flesh. The alternative would therefore be between giving what they had, or dying. The inhabitants sunk;—they that cultivated the land, and saw the harvest at the disposal of others, planted in doubt—scarcity ensued. Then the monopoly was easier managed—sickness ensued. In some

districts the languid living left the bodies of their numerous dead unburied.'"—(*Short History of the English Transactions in the East Indies*, page 145).

In their despatch, dated London, 18th December, 1771, the Court of Directors wrote to Mr. Warren Hastings, Governor of Bengal:—

"We therefore shall not hesitate to declare, that we have received such information as will not permit us to doubt, but that several of our Council who were members of the Board at the time of the Despatch of the "Lord Mansfield" in April, 1771, and many of our servants in the different districts of the country, appointed as supervisors of the collection of our revenues, had in manifest violation of our orders, entered into a combination, and unduly exercised the power and influence derived from their stations, in order to carry on a monopoly in the several articles of salt, betelnut and tobacco; and that *they had been so far lost to the principles of justice and humanity, as to include rice and other grain in the same destructive monopoly; by which an artificial scarcity was made of an article so necessary to the very being of the inhabitants.*" *

It is an established fact of history then that the terrible famine of 1770 which swept away one-third of the population of Bengal was brought on by the heartless policy of those who called themselves Christians.†

Adam Smith in his *Wealth of Nations* writes:—

"It is the interest of the East India Company, considered as sovereigns, that the European goods which are carried to the Indian dominions, should be sold there as cheap as possible; and that the Indian goods which are brought from thence, should bring there as good a price, or should be sold there as dear as possible. But the reverse of this is their interest as merchants. As sovereigns, their interest is exactly the same with that of the country which they govern. As merchants, their interest is directly opposite to that interest.

"But if the genius of such a government, even as to what concerns its direction in Europe, is in this manner essentially and perhaps incurably faulty, that of its administration in India is still more so. That administration is necessarily composed of a council

* Is this policy of making a corner in grains being pursued now?

† The drought in Bengal, a few years ago, might probably have occasioned a very great dearth. Some improper regulations, some

injudicious restraints, imposed by the servants of the East India Company upon the rice trade, contributed, perhaps, to turn that dearth into a famine."—(Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*).

of merchants, a profession no doubt extremely respectable, but which in no country in the world carries along with it that sort of authority which naturally overawes the people, and without force commands their willing obedience. Such a council can command obedience only by the military force with which they are accompanied, and their Government is, therefore, necessarily military and despotical. Their proper business, however, is that of merchants. It is to sell upon their masters' account, the European goods consigned to them, and to buy in return Indian goods for the European market. It is to sell the one as dear and to buy the other as cheap as possible, and consequently to exclude as much as possible all rivals from the particular market where they keep their shop. The genius of the administration, therefore, so far as concerns the trade of the company, is the same as that of the direction. *It tends to make Government subservient to the interest of monopoly, and consequently to stunt the natural growth of some parts at least of the surplus produce of the country to what is barely sufficient for answering the demand of the company.* * * * *

"The monopoly of the company can tend only to stunt the natural growth of that part of the surplus produce which, in the case of a free trade, would be exported to Europe. That of the servants tends to stunt the natural growth of every part of the produce in which they choose to deal, of what is destined for home consumption, as well as of what is destined for exportation; and consequently to degrade the cultivation of the whole country, and to reduce the number of its inhabitants. It tends to reduce the quantity of every sort of produce, even that of the necessaries of life, whenever the servants of the company choose to deal in them, to what those servants can both afford to buy and expect to sell with such a profit as may please them." * * * *

"The real interest of their masters, if they were capable of understanding it, is the same with that of the country, and it is from ignorance chiefly, and the meanness of mercantile prejudice, that they ever oppress it. But the real interest of the servants is by no means the same with that of the country, and the most perfect information would not necessarily put an end to their oppressions." * * * *
It is a very singular government, in which every member of the administration wishes to get out of the country, and consequently to have done with the government as soon as he can, and to whose interest the day after he has left it, and carried his whole fortune with him,

it is perfectly indifferent though the whole country is swallowed up by an earthquake. * * * *

"Such exclusive companies, therefore, are nuisances in every respect; always more or less inconvenient to the countries in which they are established and destructive to those which have the misfortune to fall under their government." *

The extracts given above show how the cultivation of the whole country was degraded, the natural growth of its surplus produce stunted and the number of its inhabitants reduced, as the result of the exploitation of the country by the East India Company and its servants.

The land assessment was so heavy that a very large number of the people left off cultivation and so many gardens were turned into deserts. Sir Sumner Maine, in his *Popular Government*, p. 48, writes :—

"An experience, happily now rare in the world, shows that wealth may come very near to perishing through diminished energy in the motives of the men who reproduce it. You may, so to speak, take the heart and spirit out of the labourers to such an extent that they do not care to work." * * The failure of reproduction through relaxation of motives was once an everyday phenomenon in the East; and this explains to students of oriental history why it is that throughout its course a reputation of statesmanship was always a reputation for financial statesmanship. In the early days of the East India Company, villages 'broken by a severe settlement' were constantly calling for the attention of the Government; the assessment on them did not appear to be excessive on English fiscal principles, but it had been heavy enough to press down the motives to labour, so that they could hardly recover themselves."

In the sentences italicised in the above extract will be found the real reason for the grant of the Permanent Settlement, which is often designated by Anglo-Indians as a *concession* to the natives of Bengal. The merchants constituting the East India Company were obliged to grant the Permanent Settlement to Bengal because otherwise they were unable to raise any revenue at all to pay dividends to their shareholders and carry on

* Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, Chapter V, part III

the administration of the territories they had come into possession of by means which will not stand any scrutiny.

Call the Permanent Settlement granted in 1793 a concession if you like. The East India Company had obtained the Dewany of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa in 1765. During thirty years the Company exercised its sovereign power by crushing the industries and manufactures of Bengal. Mr. R. C. Dutt, in his *Economic History of India* (p. 44), writes :—

"Trade and manufacture declined under a system of monopoly and coercion. * * British weavers had begun to be jealous of the Bengal weavers, whose silk fabrics were imported into England, and a deliberate endeavour was now made to use the political power obtained by the Company to discourage the manufactures of Bengal in order to promote the manufactures of England. In their general letter to Bengal, dated 17th March, 1769, the Company desired that the manufacture of raw silk should be encouraged in Bengal, and that of manufactured silk fabrics should be discouraged. And they also recommended that the silk-winders should be forced to work in the Company's factories, and prohibited from working in their own homes."

"This regulation seems to have been productive of very good effects, in bringing over the winders, who were formerly so employed, to work in the factories. Should this practice [the winders working in their own homes] through inattention have been suffered to take place again, it will be proper to put a stop to it, which may now be more effectually done, by an absolute prohibition under severe penalties, by the authority of the Government." *

"This letter," as the Select Committee justly remarked, "contains a perfect plan of policy, both of compulsion and encouragement, which must in a very considerable degree operate destructively to the manufactures of Bengal. Its effects must be (so far as it could operate without being eluded) to change the whole face of that industrial country, in order to render it a field of the produce of crude materials subservient to the manufactures of Great Britain." †

The weavers, traders, artisans and craftsmen with their occupation gone had to take

to cultivating the land for their subsistence. Agriculture has been the chief source of the livelihood of the natives of India. But under the rule of the East India Company, the land assessments were so heavy, that in Bengal, it did not pay the people even to plough the land. Consequently, that which was once a garden presented the spectacle of a desolate desert. So the European merchants could not raise revenues to satisfy the greed of their co-religionists and compatriots. It should be remembered that the whole of India had not then come under the jurisdiction of the company and so their tenure of Bengal was still precarious. There was nothing to prevent the people from emigrating in large numbers to the adjacent provinces and conspire and intrigue against the English. This must have been realized by some amongst them, and as land was the only source of subsistence left to the people, no wonder that the land revenue was proposed to be permanently settled. Of course the greedy Directors of the Company were demanding an increasing revenue from the land, but one man at least—Sir Philip Francis—saw it was impossible for his co-religionists to remain as rulers of Bengal if they did not come to any final settlement regarding the revenue administration of that province. It is necessary to state that Sir Philip Francis was a member of the council of Warren Hastings, the first Governor-General of India. In that capacity, he recorded a minute in 1776, urging the necessity that existed for permanently fixing the land revenue demand of the State. In the course of that minute, he wrote :—

"The greater part of the zamindars were ruined and dispossessed of the management of their lands, and there were few people of rank and family left, or of those who had formerly held high employments; such as there were, looked for large profits, which the country could not afford them and pay the rents also. People of lower rank were, therefore, of necessity employed as Amils or collectors on the part of the Government. These people executed a contract

* Ninth Report of the House of Commons' Select Committee on Administration of Justice in India, 1783, Appendix, 37.

† Ibid. p. 64.

for a stipulated sum for the district to which they were appointed, and in effect they may be considered as farmers of revenue. They then proceeded from the Sudder, or seat of government to the districts, to settle with the zemindars or tenants for the revenue they had engaged to pay. * * *

The Jumma once fixed, must be a matter of public record. It must be permanent and unalterable; and the people must, if possible, be convinced that it is so. This condition must be fixed to the lands themselves, independent of any consideration of who may be the immediate or future proprietors. If there be any hidden wealth still existing, it will then be brought forth and employed in improving the land, because the proprietor will be satisfied that he is labouring for himself."

The above minute was recorded in 1776, but Permanent Settlement was not granted till 1793. It took seventeen long years for the Directors of the East India Company to consider these proposals. At one time they were even opposed to let the land on leases for lives or in perpetuity. They wrote that

"having considered the different circumstances of letting the land on leases for lives or in perpetuity, we do not, for many weighty reasons, think it at present advisable to adopt either of these methods."

But the rapacious policy of the English merchants led to the depopulation of the country every day. So the authorities were at last compelled to fix permanently the land revenue demand of the State in Bengal. We, therefore, say again, that although it is looked upon by some as a concession, it was no concession at all. A writer signing himself "Ich Dien" contributed to *Capital* about eight years ago a series of articles on "The Permanent Settlement." He wrote:--

"When dispassionately discussed, it will appear most clear to every one how the settlement of 1793 was arrived at to the full advantage of the Government * * * *

"It will startle most people to know that at the time of the settlement only an eleventh share of the crops was given to the landlords and that the remaining ten-elevenths were appropriated by the State as the share of the public. * * * * In the face of

these facts there are not wanting men, both here and in England, hot-headed patriots and editors of newspapers, who fulminate in and out of season the incredible story that in the settlement the zemindar was the one party who was benefited, and that the Government and the cultivator were created on a right.

"If ever there was a great question of administration decided upon what seemed at the time to be sound economic arguments, it was the Permanent Settlement of Bengal. This is the independent opinion of no less a man than Dr. Hunter, whose views cannot be easily impugned. * * * * But while the Government and the ryot got the lion's share in the bargain, the zemindar, who was to bear the heat and brunt of the action, had to content himself with an insignificant title! The history of the Bengal zemindars for half a century after the settlement is a record of ruin and disaster—a record which demonstrates that the assessment at first was calculated and fixed at a most unconscionable amount. * * *

"The utility of a permanent tax depends on its amount. If it be a moderate one, its permanence is a boon and a blessing to the country; but it can never be so if, as in this case, it was exorbitant, higher than the land could bear and out of all proportion to the progress of cultivation. There were then hardly sufficient data for the proper adjustment of the tax to the capacity of the soil. It was at length hurriedly fixed at the average amount of collections for the last three years, no margin having been allowed for years of dearth and famine, pestilence and flood. Then there arose a wail that the country was overtaxed. From this high taxation has ever any systematic reduction been made? Never, as a rule. On the other hand, accumulating arrears have always been realized with great strictness, and every method of extortion has been practised in order to realize as large a revenue as possible! * * * *

"The standard revenue of Todar Mall seems to have been all that the land could bear. All subsequent augmentations were attended with cruelty and oppression, which reached its height in the reign of Meer Cossim, who was set up by the English whose policy was to ascertain in this way the produce of the land before assuming the supreme power of the country."

The writer then institutes a comparison between the Bengal zemindars and the landlords in Great Britain. In the latter country, the land-tax is only four shillings in the pound

on the rental of the kingdom or only one-fifth of the rental. In Bengal, when the Permanent Settlement was about to be concluded, the State took three-fifths of the produce of the country and the remaining two-fifths were shared between the zemindars and the *rai-yats*. So the land tax in Bengal was three times as heavy as in Great Britain. But if the subsequent imposition of the Road, the Public Works, the Zamindari Dawk and the Sanitary Drainage cesses, be taken into consideration, it will be found that the zamindars of Bengal put in more money into the coffers of the State than the landlords of the British Isles.

The same writer says:—

"The land-tax in France amounts to about an eighth part of the net produce of the land. In Bengal it was fixed at half of the proceeds from the soil, and this is quadruple of what it is in France.

"Unlike England, the letting out of land is fettered here by legislative measures and suits about rent are of frequent occurrence. In England it is quite free, and there are no rent suits. Under this system an English landlord accepts the tenant who is the cleverest farmer and can offer the highest rent. Thus agriculture improves there without Government interference."

So the Permanent Settlement of Bengal was no concession at all to the people of that province. It benefited the Government more than anybody else. It is the revenue derived from Bengal which enabled Lord Cornwallis (the author of the Permanent Settlement) and all his successors till the time of Lord Dalhousie to go to war against the native princes of India and bring the different provinces of this country under the jurisdiction of the East India Company. Says a writer in the *Calcutta Review*:—

"The provinces (i.e. Bengal, Behar and Orissa) ** are by far the most wealthy and productive in the whole Empire. It is from the resources of the Gangetic valley alone that Government is furnished with any surplus funds; that it obtains the sinews of war, and is enabled to clear off the debts it had contracted. Of the upper and lower division of this valley, it is the lower or that comprised in the Government of Bengal,

*which has been a main stay of the public finances. Though it does not comprise more than a tenth of the territory subject to the British crown in India, it yields two-fifths of the revenue."**

The Government of India would not have been 'furnished with any surplus funds' and obtained sinews of war, had they not granted Permanent Settlement to Bengal under the conditions which they themselves were not a little responsible in bringing about. Incidentally we may mention that although Bengal helped the British in founding and extending their Empire in India by furnishing them not only with soldiers who were natives of the province but with the sinews of war as well, yet some of them possess such a fine sense of honour and gratitude that they take particular delight in abusing and ill-treating the people of that province. But then their habits of thought having been formed by political life, it is small wonder that they should lack all feelings of gratitude towards the people of Bengal; for, says Lecky:—

"In political life gratitude is of all ties the frailest and the most precarious." †

It is clear then that the permanent fixing of the land revenue demand of the State in Bengal was no concession at all, and its grant was not due to any motive of philanthropy, but was prompted by considerations of political and financial expediency. The Permanent Settlement benefited the government of the East India Company, a fact which the Anglo-Indians of these days are loth to admit.

On this point we add below the testimony of Raja Rammohun Roy taken from his *Revenue System of India*.

"Q. 37. Has the government sustained any loss by concluding the permanent settlement of 1793 in Bengal, Behar, and part of Orissa without taking more time to ascertain the net produce of the land, or waiting for further increase of revenue?"

A. The amount of assessment fixed on the lands of these provinces at the time of the permanent settlement (1793), was as high as had ever been assessed,

* *Calcutta Review*, Vol. III, January 1845, pp. 167-168.

† Lecky's *History of England*, Vol. IV, p. 106.

and in many instances higher than had ever before been realized by the exertions of any government, Mohammedan or British. Therefore the government sacrificed nothing in concluding that settlement. If it had not been formed, the landholders (*zamindars*) would always have taken care to prevent the revenue from increasing by not bringing the waste lands into cultivation, and by collusive arrangements to elude further demands; while the state of the cultivators would not have been at all better than it is now. However, if the government had taken the whole estates of the country into its own hands, as in the ceded and conquered provinces and the Madras Presidency, then, by allowing the landholders only ten per cent. on the rents (*Malikanah*), and securing all the rest to the government, it might no doubt have increased the revenue for a short time. But the whole of the landholders in the country would then have been reduced to the same wretched condition as they are at present in the ceded and conquered provinces of the Bengal Presidency, or rather annihilated, as in many parts of the Madras territory; and the whole population reduced to the same level of poverty. At the same time, the temporary increase of revenue to government under its own immediate management would also have soon fallen off, through the misconduct and negligence of the revenue officers, as shewn by innumerable instances in which the estates were kept *khas*; i. e. under the immediate management of government."

"In my paper on the Revenue System I expressed an opinion that the permanent settlement has been beneficial to both the contracting parties, i. e., the government and the landholders. This position, which, as regards the former, was long much controverted, does not now rest upon theory; but can be proved by the results of about forty years' practice. To illustrate this, I subjoin the annexed statements, Nos. I. & II., shewing the failure of the whole amount of the public revenue at Madras under the Ryotwary system as contrasted with the general increase of the revenue of Bengal under the *zumeendary* permanent settlement; the latter diffusing prosperity into the other branches of revenue, whereas the former (or Ryotwary system), without effecting any material increase, in that particular branch, has, by its impoverishing influence, tended to dry up the other sources of Revenue: a fact which must stand valid and incontrovertible as a proof of the superiority of the latter, until a contrary fact of greater or at least equal weight can be adduced."

"STATEMENT 1ST.—*Bengal, Behar and Orissa.*

"By a comparative view of the Revenues of Bengal, Behar and Orissa, from the period of the Perpetual Settlement, it appears that, in the thirty-five years, from 1792-3 to 1827-28, there was a total increase of the whole amount of the Revenue of above 100 per cent. (101·71), and that this increase has been steady and progressive up to the present time; in the first seventeen years (from 1792-3 to 1809-10) it was about 42½ per cent.; in the next eighteen years (from 1809-10 to 1827-28) 43· $\frac{8}{10}$ per cent., and in the last ten years of that period (from 1817-18 to 1827-28) it was nearly 30 per cent.

"These results are extracted from the Second Report of the Select Committee on the Affairs of the East India Company in 1810, p. 80; the Second Report of 1830, p. 98. In 1815-16, the revenue of Cuttack was incorporated with that of Bengal, but in 1822 the revenue of this Province did not exceed 185,000l."

"STATEMENT 2ND.—*Madras.*

"By a comparative view of the revenue of the old British territory in Madras, it appears that during the same period of thirty-five years (i. e. from 1793 to 1828) there was an increase of only about 40 per cent., 40·15, on the total amount of the whole revenue. That the increase during the first seventeen years (from 1793 to 1810) was 43· $\frac{23}{100}$ per cent.; that in the next eight years the increase was only about 3½ per cent.; and that in the last eighteen years, (i. e. from 1810 to 1828) there has been a decrease of 2· $\frac{15}{100}$ per cent.

"These results are extracted from the Second Report of the Select Committee on the Affairs of the East India Company in 1810 (p. 88); Second Report of 1830 (p. 98), and Minutes of Evidence, 1830-31."

Assuming for the sake of argument that the motive which led the merchants constituting the East India Company to grant Permanent Settlement to Bengal was philanthropic, why was it not extended to other provinces of India? Why should philanthropy be confined to Bengal? As a matter of fact, such a promise was held out to the natives of the Upper Provinces by the British Indian Government. We read in H. Colebrooke's minute of 1808:—

"Government is pledged, by the proclamation of the 4th July, 1802, and 11th July, 1805, to conclude a Permanent Settlement with the landholders, at the expiration of the periods there specified."

"The pledge which has thus been solemnly contracted cannot be forfeited without such a glaring violation of promise as would lose us deservedly the confidence of the people. * * *

"It appears to be a very prevalent opinion, that the British system of administration is not generally palatable to our Indian subjects. Admitting this opinion to be not unfounded, it follows that while they taste none but the unpalatable parts of the system, and while the only boon which would be acceptable to them is withheld, the landed proprietors, and with them the body of the people, must be more and more estranged from the government, in proportion to the expectations which they formed, and the disappointment which they will have experienced."

The author of the *Economic History of British India* writes that the Directors

"had been once influenced by circumstances to sacrifice a prospective increase in their profits for the good of a nation. * * * The Directors were never guilty of such generosity again." *

The Directors cautioned the Governor-General in India

"in the most pointed manner against pledging us to the extension of the Bengal fixed assessment to our newly acquired territories." †

In all civilised countries, the land revenue demand of the State is permanently fixed; and in granting Permanent Settlement to Bengal, which, as shown above, the Government of the day were influenced by the circumstances to grant, there was no out of the way concession made from any philanthropic considerations. Had it been so, they would have redeemed their pledge to the inhabitants of other provinces also.

Those who attribute any altruistic motives

* *Economic History of British India*, p. 181.

† Despatch of 27th November, 1811.

to the authorities of the East India Company or their servants for the grant of the Permanent Settlement to Bengal are ignorant of the principles which their Government were laying down for carrying out the administration of their Indian possessions in the very year of the grant of the Permanent Settlement to Bengal. In 1793, Mr. Barlow, as Secretary to the Indian Government, drew up the minute on which the Bengal Regulations were based. According to him,

"The two principal objects which the Government ought to have in view in all its arrangements, are to insure its political safety, and to render the possession of the country as advantageous as possible to the East India Company and the British nation."

Kaye, whose opening chapter on the administration of the East India Company is the authority for the above extract, truly observes :—

"The servants of the Company had been for nearly two centuries regarding the natives of India only as so many dark-faced and dark-souled Gentiles, whom it was their mission to over-reach in business, and to over-come in war. * * * Barlow, who sat at the feet of Cornwallis, was far in advance of his predecessors—far in advance of the great mass of his contemporaries. There may be expressions in his suggestive minute to jar upon the sensitive chords of modern philanthropy; but we must read it, not with the eyes of meridian enlightenment, but with the hazy vision of men just awakening, as it were, from dreams of conquest, and only then ceasing to look upon the inhabitants of India as a race of men to be defrauded and subdued."

Reading the above can any one believe that the grant of the Permanent Settlement was made from altruistic motives involving sacrifice of revenue ?

The feeding of the rivers and the purifying of the winds are the least of the services appointed to the winds. All the thirst of the human heart for the

beauty of God's working—to startle its lethargy with the deep and pure agitation of astonishment—are their higher missions.—*Ruskin*.

THE CRY OF THE MAGDALENE

IT is a sign of the times that leaders of public opinion are beginning to voice their indignation against that dark misery—the social evil. Amongst the problems of life in India none is shrouded in deeper perplexity, none hides a deeper national jeopardy, and none calls for greater clearness of speech than the sorrowful problem of how to deal with the strongholds of privileged licentiousness. I hear from our great cities the bitter cry of my Indian sisters, bound in the cruel chains of my brother's lust; and from ten thousand villages the cry is re-echoed by fair daughters of the land, offered with relentless cruelty and unimaginable horrors upon the desecrated altar of human passion. Some one has said "whatever happens in the world, has its sign which precedes it. When the sun is about to rise, the horizon assumes an infinite gradation of colours, and the east seems on fire. When the tempest is coming, a hollow sound is heard on the shore and the waves heave as if stirred by some strange impulse." Be it the dawn of a brighter day, or a storm that heralds a fight of evil forces against the good, let it be realized that the hour is at hand. This problem of the social evil must be faced, fearlessly, frankly for good or ill. Happy is he who faces it with an optimistic faith.

To some have come dark visions of the inexorable laws of nature, and impurity's awful nemesis, so silent, so just, fills the heart with blank despair. To others, man's sympathy for man, and woman's sympathy for woman have given visions of the sorrows of impurity, and a longing has been awakened to save men from the deeper pollutions of a lustful life, from its bitter memories, its cruel

retributions, and its inevitable destiny. To me has come the vision of the Magdalene herself, that girl of happy childhood unconscious of the evil influence that was marking her beauty, plotting her ruin, and dogging her footsteps to the fatal day of her first fall—girl of a gentle nature, so easily destroyed, so hard to restore; victim, because tender of body and soul, to one unclean and lascivious, heartless, ruthless, vile, poisoner of the springs of a beautiful life, destroyer of individual, social, and national good character. That Magdalene's cry has not come to me as I have sat comfortably in an easy chair dreaming of her sad lot, but as I have stood and talked with her face to face, when the best and the sweetest in her is a faded memory, when she has become a stranger forever to all the gladsome experiences of a pure life, when she has drunk deep of moral poison, and both body and soul are polluted with the terrible effects of her foul vice, when the partner of her guilt walks the city uncondemned, while she—poor girl—is relegated to the vicious haunts of darkness, branded with infamy, robbed of hope, called an outcast, sold of body and ruined of soul! Yet I see within her the divine stamp of womanhood. It was God-given and brutal man cannot efface it. She is some one's child; some one's sister, and might have been mine. Would that I could voice her misery and cry aloud as she might cry, had she the power and influence to make herself heard.

First of all might she not appeal to what is noblest in manhood, and point from her destroyer to his inmost soul. *It is man's duty to live in purity.* Let the cynic sneer, let the epicurean smile—man's moral nature and

his God-given conscience condemn the sexual vice. In every land, among all peoples, this principle though challenged has never been proved false and wherever civic or national life has lived contrary to it, degradation, misery, destitution and finally destruction have inevitably followed. The appeal to history is decisive. What men and nations sow, they reap. The necessity of unchastity in man is an audacious falsehood and "that old and chartered lie" must go.

Further she might say, "*it is man's duty to suffer woman to live in purity.*" The curse of India is the tendency to accept an unequal standard of morality for the sexes. Her application of the moral law to woman has caused untold misery. Manu's legislation, hoary customs and even modern public institutions stand condemned at the bar of moral judgment. To mention only one example—the nautch girl—what a reflection she casts on the tone of Indian society! It is a devil's lie that says there is any difference in the law of purity as applied to the sexes. The theory of life that receives a man into society in spite of his profligacy, while it condemns to misery and shame the woman he sins with, is unjust and wicked. That which is sin in woman is sin in man. And it is one sign of the moral awakening that is dawning amongst us that men begin to accept and proclaim this truth.

And once again, the cry of the Magdalene, if she knew ought of it, might surely be based on *the sacredness of home-life*. A nation's hope is in its homes; political freedom and social progress depend upon purity there. In the clamor of the day one salient fact is overlooked. The place of woman in the national idea is not yet assured. As often as I visit the hiding places of shame and look into the tragic realities of the lives of India's social outcasts, I behold *ruined homes*. Alas, that it is so hard to awaken a passion of pity towards fallen women, women with hearts and

consciences, touched with life's sorrows—capable of appreciating its sweetest joys—and with possibilities of reclamation however low they may have sunk. We need a guild of "lovers of the lost" to seek and to save for home life, these daughters of the land.

The above notes have been suggested by reason of the kind request of the Editor of "the Modern Review" to write a short article on the social evil, with particular reference to the Bill now before the Bengal Legislative Council, dealing with disorderly houses in Calcutta. Most of my readers will be aware that the city of palaces has an unenviable notoriety in regard to the social vice. Of all girls and women over the age of ten, one in every fifteen throughout Calcutta was censused six years ago as living by public prostitution. It is unnecessary to enter into the reason of this terrible state of things. Government has been memorialized from time to time during the last twenty years to take action, but has either replied that the Police Act was already sufficient to deal with the problem, or had the audacity to say that public opinion on moral questions was not sufficiently advanced to enable further legislation to be wisely introduced! What has led to the present determination to strengthen the hands of the law it is not easy to say. But the educational problem has had much to do with it. There are some ten thousand students in the colleges and schools of the city, and Government has at last realized that haunts of vice surround every institution, and the temptations to evil living, abounding on all sides, are a serious menace to the moral rectitude of thousands of lads coming to Calcutta from mofussil homes.

The Bill is one to amend the Police Act at present in force, and gives the Commissioner of Police summary powers to deal first with houses, and then with inmates. Regarding houses, an advance is made on previous legislation in that owners, tenants, and occupiers

are all made liable—upon satisfactory evidence of the bad character of a dwelling—to be summoned before the Commissioner of Police. Upon conviction, 10 days' grace is given, after which the use of the premises for any immoral purpose must be discontinued. Disobedience to the order incurs a penalty of both fine and imprisonment. Houses of assignation are also liable to be closed. To guard against possible mistakes, an appeal lies to the Magistrate against the Commissioner's orders—but his decision cannot be appealed against to any other court.

If the amendments suggested are carried, it should be a simple matter to secure for Colleges, Schools, Places of Recreation or Worship immunity from the pestiferous nuisance of brothels contiguous to them—but those who know the social evil in its every day and every night aspect deeply regret the timidity of the legislation proposed. It only touches the fringe of the garment of uncleanness. Prostitution flourishes by advertisement, and while dealing with the habitation of the evil, the methods of its propagation have been foolishly ignored. No reference is made to solicitation, which is becoming one of the crying evils of even main thoroughfares. And again the intimate and dastardly connection of the social evil with a traffic in child-

ren is only too well known, and the law needs considerable amendment to make the possession of other people's children by brothel inmates a crime. This unfortunately has not been done. It will not surprise me if the amended Police Act does little more than drive the evil into darker haunts—saving, perhaps, the student community from the public temptations of past days.

The most satisfactory aspect of the suggested legislation is the policy of attacking the strong as well as the weak. We have been working at the wrong individual. It is the men, and not the Magdalenes that need punishment. When landed proprietors making incomes from brothel tenants are publicly accused; when the stronger sex is called before the Commissioner and all evil livers having a financial interest in the traffic are subject to public rebuke, legislation is getting on to the right lines. But it is not by punishment this plague is to be stayed. Rather it is by sympathy and love—the efforts of the good for the reclamation of the bad. India's noble men—so many of whom are coming forward generously in every good work—might well endow Homes of Mercy. Workers will not be wanting when funds for rescuing the lost of Indian society are generously given. Let the cry of the Magdalene be heard.

HERBERT ANDERSON.

EDUCATION IN JAPAN AND INDIA

THE modern history of Japan begins with the great Restoration of 1868, when the Shogun (Commander-in-Chief) Tokugawa abdicated his administrative power in favour of the Emperor Mutshuhito. In the very same year the young Emperor swore to establish his throne on five great principles, one of

which was that intellect and learning should be sought after in all quarters of the globe. Since then the Japanese have literally followed the apostolic maxim of proving all things and holding fast to that which is good in the matter of education. The education department was first formed in 1871. In 1872 an

imperial rescript was published in which the following noble declaration was made. "It is designed henceforth that education shall be so diffused that there may not be a village with an ignorant family, nor a family with an ignorant member." And so faithfully has this policy been adhered to, that in 1902 (the most recent year of which statistics are available) 96 per cent. of the boys and 87 per cent. of the girls, or a combined average of 91 per cent. of the children of school-going age, were receiving the prescribed course of education in primary schools. Japan thus enjoys the proud distinction of being the first country in the world with respect to the diffusion of mass education. For the whole of Japan, on the average, every town or village has two schools. In India, the Zoroastrian or Parsi community alone makes some approach to Japan in respect of diffusion of literacy, 91 per cent. of the males and 79 per cent. of the females being returned as literate in the last census. But if we take the case of India as a whole, only one male in every 10 can read and write, and one female in 144. Four villages out of every five are without a school.

In 1890 the Emperor of Japan issued a famous rescript on morals in education which has since been made the basis in all schools for the teaching of morality and patriotism. The war with China (1894-95) marked the next great development of the Educational system. "There was an enormous expansion of Japanese life in all directions," followed by "an unparalleled outburst of energetic development." It was only after the war, as Professor Sharp rightly says, that Japan 'found' herself.

"The sudden development of national self-consciousness led the Japanese to look abroad, and their entrance upon the arena of world politics and world commerce was accompanied by a very general feeling of the increased necessity of education, general and special. The subsequent growth . . . is astonishing."

This aspect of war is instructive. By calling forth the latent manliness of the people,

a victorious war not only gives a powerful impetus to the spirit of enterprise and leads to the growth of material prosperity, but it also strengthens the spiritual and moral forces of the national life and causes it to expand in all directions. The Russo-Japanese war of 1904-5 must have inaugurated a second period of great internal progress in educational as well as other matters, but the event is of too recent a date to make reliable statistics available.

The population of Japan is 46 or 47 millions. It approaches most closely to Madras in area and the United Provinces in population, whilst *British India* as a whole has a population five times as large. But while Japan spends at least five millions sterling out of her public funds on education, the cost to the public revenues in *British India* is less than a million and a half. To make the expenditure equal to that of Japan, it should have been at least 27 millions, or eighteen times as much as it now is. In fact, the State and the local authorities in *British India* spend less on Education in all its aspects than what the tiny kingdom of the Mikado spends on educational buildings alone, and the latter amounts to only 26 per cent. of the total cost of education in Japan. The State expenditure on education is Rs. 1-12-4 pies per head in Japan, in *British India* it is a little over an anna! Even the small State of Baroda spends seven annas per head on Education. That Japan is not exceptionally liberal in this respect, will appear from the fact that Germany spends Rs. 5-7-2 pies; France, Rs. 3-13-11 pies; England, Rs. 3; Spain, Rs. 1-7-2 pies; and Italy Rs. 1-1-11 pies, per head on education. The smaller States of Europe spend even more. Again, Liverpool University spends Rs. 1,050 per student and Manchester Owen's College Rs. 1,070. The Tokio University annually spends Rs. 1,485 for every science student, Rs. 1,050 for every medical student, Rs. 540 for every agriculture student, and Rs. 498 for

every student of literature. The Presidency College of Calcutta, perhaps the premier College in all India, spends Rs. 207 per annum on each student, out of which the student himself contributes Rs. 144 in the shape of fees. The Japanese student has to pay no examination fees whatever, and only a fee of Rs. $3\frac{1}{2}$ per month for the highest courses of education in the Imperial University.

"While the public revenues of Japan contribute 83·2 per cent. of the cost of education, Bengal contributes only 42·9 per cent.; and while a Japanese student pays only 9·8 per cent. of the cost of his education, the Bengali student pays 38·91 per cent."

Education in Japan begins with the kindergarten schools, presided over by female teachers. They are attended by infants of the age of 3 to 6. Everything here is fun and play, and there is very little of school discipline. "In the official quarters the main value of kindergartens is considered to lie in their accustoming the children to the idea of going to school, so that there is less trouble about the period of obligatory attendance when this arrives." All the kindergarten materials, it may be here remarked, are now made in Japan.

Primary education was already compulsory in name before 1890, but in that year steps were taken to make it so in fact. And yet no stronger power than moral suasion is used to secure the attendance of pupils, and truants are rare. Primary education was made practically free in 1900. There are two grades of Primary schools, Ordinary primary, with a course of four years (shortly to be extended to six) and Higher primary, with a two to four years' course. A child must be six years old to enter a primary school. Here boys and girls are taught together, but the education of the sexes is completely separated after the primary stage. The schools are supplied with plenty of appliances, models, specimens, maps, diagrams, pictures and **portraits of Japanese heroes**, illustrations of former costumes and manners and naval and military diagrams of an up-to-date character. Often

there is a small museum, with stuffed birds and animals, botanical models, insects, minerals, models of Japanese warships, etc.,—cameras for photographing flowers for drawing lessons, and magic lantern exhibitions are occasional features. **Wooden dumb-bells for all and light rifles for senior boys, are provided to encourage physical culture.** The school buildings, sometimes capacious enough to seat one to two thousand pupils, cost anything between forty thousand to a lakh of rupees, and there is one teacher on an average to 55 pupils. There are no examinations, whole classes being promoted, and corporal punishment or flogging are unknown. In the higher primary course the subjects taught include morals (an invariable accompaniment of all kinds and grades of education except the very highest), Japanese arithmetic, Japanese history, geography, science, drawing, singing and physical exercises. Sixteen per cent. of the teachers in the primary schools are females. The teachers are all entitled to pension after fifteen years' service. They earn about Rs. 22 per month—much more than what a *pathsāl-guru* gets in India. Teachers in higher primary schools get a more liberal salary.

The object in teaching history in the primary schools is to "**give the children the outline of the evolution of Japanese nationality and foster in them the sense of honour becoming in subjects of this great Empire.**" The lives of distinguished Japanese, the bravery of the nation, are enlarged upon. Patriotic and civic virtues are inculcated from the very beginning. As a result the boy when he leaves the school, "is filled with the sense of Japan's uniqueness, her superiority to the rest of the world, the glory of her Emperor, to die for whom may be his highest privilege in the future." So steadily is this object kept in view, that "few nations are more widely instructed in the traditional history, whether national or local." Foreigners allege that a considerable amount of "cooking" is allowed in the manufacture

of historical text books for use in schools. But this process is not unknown in India, with this difference, that here all the glowing epithets are reserved for the foreigner, and the people of the country are generally painted dark. The authorities in Japan want to produce a different effect, and hence the "cooking," if any, is the other way about.

Secondary education begins with the middle schools for boys and higher schools for girls. This is a course of five years, and an entrant must be at least 12 years old. Except English, which is taught in every school but the quality of which is very poor, the whole education is conducted in the vernacular, thus causing an estimated saving of half the time. As usual, the school buildings are excellent and provided with complete appliances. The schools possess collections of specimens and apparatus of a chemical, physical, and biological character, besides all necessary charts and diagrams. Almost the whole of these are constructed in Japan. Good collections of Japanese insects and botanical specimens, a geographical and historical museum, pre-historical museum, pre-historic stone implements, relics of the Ainu aborigines of Yezo, old Japanese armour, clothes and head-dresses, numerous historical drawings, casts of classical figures, are all to be found. Libraries are few, which shows that a purely literary education is not much in favour. As between teachers and students there is little personal intercourse, and the teacher who is not popular with the students has to leave the school. Strikes are frequent and general, and discipline is lax. Here also there are no examinations. This feature of Japanese schools is also shared by the German schools. It is said to have a beneficial result in discouraging cramming and excessive competitions, which ruins the health of many and gives an exaggerated and fictitious value to mere memory work. The abolition of examinations is also due to the desire to preserve the youth of the country

from disappointment and the consequent ruin of careers. The subjects taught in the secondary schools are morals, vernacular, Chinese classics, English, French or German, history, physical geography, algebra, geometry, trigonometry, zoology, botany, mineralogy, physics and chemistry, elements of law and economics, drawing, singing, drill, &c. This, it will be seen, roughly corresponds to the intermediate Arts course of Indian Universities. Mr. Lafcadio Hearne, in his *Glimpses of Unfamiliar Japan*, thus describes the quality of the teaching imparted in a remote provincial middle school:

"It is no small surprise to observe how botany, geology and other sciences are taught even in this remotest part. Plant physiology and the nature of vegetable tissues are studied under excellent microscopes, and in their relations to chemistry; and at regular intervals the instructor leads his classes into the country. . . . Each series of lessons in geology is supplemented by visits to the mountains about the lakes, or to the tremendous cliffs of the coast. . . . The country is studied physiographically after the plan laid down in Huxley's manual. Natural history, too, is taught according to the latest and best methods, and with the help of the microscope. The results of such teaching are sometimes surprising. I know of one boy of sixteen who voluntarily collected and classified more than 200 varieties of marine plants for a Tokyo Professor. Another, a youth of 17, wrote down for me almost without omission or error, a scientific list of all the butterflies to be found in the neighbourhood."

Next above the middle schools are the Higher Schools with a course of three years. Students must be at least seventeen years old at their entrance into these schools. They are preparatory schools for the Universities, and correspond to our Higher Arts Colleges. The examinations, as before, are nominal—"There is a good deal of military drill and of field exercises, and many of the students are practically young soldiers." *Esprit de corps* is strong in all the schools. Students of the Higher schools may postpone military service, and the graduates need serve for

only one year as volunteers, instead of for three years as conscripts. There are debating societies in which all subjects except those of a religious character may be discussed. There are foreign teachers in many of these schools for the teaching of languages. At the conclusion of their course the students have to appear in a competitive examination—practically the only examination of the kind in the Japanese educational system—for admission to the Universities, in which the accommodation is not sufficient for all the students who come out of the Higher Schools.

Besides the Imperial University of Tokio, established in 1886 and that of Kioto, established in 1897, there are some private universities or more properly colleges for men, of which two are very considerable, and one for women, established in 1900. The minimum age for entering the University of Tokio is 19 years, but the average is 23. The students enjoy the privilege of remission of two years of military service, and of postponement of the remaining one year till the end of their University career. Each student has to furnish two securities, but students live in lodgings over which there is no supervision. There is no reason to suppose that it is otherwise here than in German Universities, where the students enjoy the most absolute freedom. The examinations are of an informal character, being chiefly oral, and there are few or no failures. The ordinary course is three years in some subjects, and four years in others. The examination takes place at the desire of the student, at any time after the course is finished, and he may call himself *Gakushi*, corresponding to our Master's degree, but this title is not officially recognised. The only title so recognised is the Doctor's degree or *Hakushi*. It is of nine kinds, denoted by prefixes appropriate to the subject in which the holder has graduated. These subjects are law, medicine, pharmacy, engineering, literature, science, agriculture, forestry, and veterinary medicine.

"The degree is conferred by the Minister of Education on (1) those who have passed the prescribed tests in the University Hall, or have produced a special thesis and are considered by a college faculty to have attained the same standard, (2) those who are considered by the assembly of the *Hakushi* to be worthy of that degree."

The Emperor attends from time to time. The University Hall is not a building but a collective name for students engaged in advanced studies. The development of the Hall shows a remarkable growth of such studies; 15 per cent. of the whole number are now reckoned as its students. Law is the most popular subject, and is considered very difficult; it leads up to political and diplomatic appointments and to a lucrative practice at the bar. Law students learn Latin. Medical students learn German, students of diplomacy learn French. The supply of graduates even of the *Gakushi* type (about 500 annually) is far short of the demand. The University Library contains between 300 and 400 thousand volumes. All the colleges maintain associations of professors, graduates and students for the investigation of special branches; these meet periodically, and publish their results in their respective journals, which enjoy a deserved reputation in learned circles in Europe and America. Attached to the College of Literature is a committee for the compilation of materials for the History of Japan, which has collected 100,000 old documents and nearly 2,000 volumes of old records. Four volumes of the 'Materials,' and two of 'Ancient documents,' have been published. The laboratories attached to the College of Science are well-equipped with instruments, apparatus, &c., and much original work has been done here, the account of which has been published in the fifteen volumes of the *Journal of the College of Science*, a periodical well-known among scientific men. The zoological, geological and anthropological museums and the botanical herbarium are provided with very good collections. The Tokio Astronomical

Observatory is part of this college, and publishes its annals in the French language. The botanical garden of the University with an area of about 40 acres is under the control of this college. The University is the birthplace of the science of Seismology. The Seismological observatory attached to this college is perhaps the best in the world, and much active work has been done. The marine biological station is also part of the College of Science, and it has made many contributions to the cause of science. The College of Agriculture is situated in the suburb of the city, and occupies extensive grounds of about 138 acres, being well-furnished with an experimental farm, a nursery, a botanical garden, a veterinary hospital, extensive training forests in different parts of the country being also attached to the college. The four volumes of the *Bulletin of the College of Agriculture* already published are well-known among specialists.

The College of Medicine possesses very extensive buildings, including laboratories provided with everything necessary for demonstration or research in every branch of the subject.

The Engineering College teaches civil engineering, mechanical engineering, naval architecture (ship-building, &c.), technology of explosives, mining and metallurgy. The Japanese now make all ordinary machines themselves, and build their own ships and lay out their own railways. The result of the work of the students of this College as geological surveyors, mining engineers and teachers, is a record of astonishing progress in trade and commerce. "The Engineering College of Tokio has in some respects proved itself in advance of the rest of the world, and many of its methods have since been adopted in other countries." It may be remarked in this connection that the Army and the Navy have separate colleges and training schools of their own.

The University is governed by a president and council of professors, while each college has its own director and faculties. The president ranks in the first class of officials. The foreign professors are not invited to take part in the deliberations of the Council. The details of curricula, the examination of students, &c., are left to the faculties of the college; whilst the method and manner of instruction depend on the judgment of the individual instructor, no text book being prescribed. The Minister of Education exercises a nominal control, Government interfering very little with the University. The Government expenditure on the Tokio and Kioto universities amounts to nearly 23 lakhs of rupees a year, and is constantly on the increase.

The standard and ideal of the Imperial Universities are very high, as high as those of the best European Universities, and the programme of subjects taught covers the whole ground of human knowledge. The ambitious scale on which Japan has gone to work on her premier University will appear from the following list of chairs:—

CHAIRS OF PROFESSORSHIP IN THE UNIVERSITY OF TOKIO.

1. College of Law.

(1) Constitution, 1 chair; (2) Public Law, 1 chair; (3) Civil Code, 4 chairs; (4) Commercial Code, 2 chairs; (5) Code of Civil Procedure, 1 chair; (6) Commercial Code, 1 chair; (7) Code of Criminal Procedure, 1 chair; (8) Political Economy and Finance, 3 chairs; (9) Statistics, 1 chair; (10) Politics, 1 chair; (11) History of Politics, 1 chair; (12) Administrative Law, 2 chairs; (13) Public International Law, 2 chairs; (14) Private International Law, 1 chair; (15) History of Legal Institutions, 1 chair; (16) Comparative History of Legal Institutions, 1 chair; (17) Roman Law, 1 chair; (18) English Law, 2 chairs; (19) French Law, 1 chair; (20) German Law, 1 chair; (21) Jurisprudence, 1 chair.

2. College of Medicine.

(1) Anatomy, 3 chairs; (2) Physiology, 2 chairs; (3) Medical Chemistry, 1 chair; (4) Pathology and

Pathological Anatomy, 2 chairs ; (5) Pharmacology, 1 chair ; (6) Medicine, 4 chairs ; (7) Gynæcology and Obstetrics, 1 chair ; (8) Pædiatrics, 1 chair ; (9) Surgery, 3 chairs ; (10) Ophthalmology, 1 chair ; (11) Dermatology and Syphilis, 1 chair ; (12) Psychiatry, 1 chair ; (13) Hygiene, 1 chair ; (14) Forensic Medicine, 1 chair ; (15) Dentistry, 1 chair ; (16) Otolology, Rhinology, and Laryngology, 1 chair ; (17) Pharmacy, 3 chairs.

3. *College of Engineering.*

(1) Civil Engineering, 4 chairs ; (2) Mechanical Engineering, 3 chairs ; (3) Naval architecture, 3 chairs ; (4) Marine Engineering, 1 chair ; (5) Technology of Arms, 2 chairs ; (6) Electrical Engineering, 3 chairs ; (7) Architecture, 3 chairs ; (8) Applied Chemistry, 3 chairs ; (9) Technology of Explosives, 1 chair ; (10) Mining and Metallurgy, 4 chairs ; (11) Applied Mechanics, 1 chair ; (12) Dynamics, 1 chair.

4. *College of Literature.*

(1) Japanese Language and Japanese Literature, 2 chairs ; (2) Japanese History, 2 chairs ; (3) Chinese Classics and Chinese Language, 3 chairs ; (4) History and Geography, 2 chairs ; (5) Philosophy and History of Philosophy, 2 chairs ; (6) Psychology, Ethics, and Logic, 2 chairs ; (7) Sociology, 1 chair ; (8) Pedagogics, 1 chair ; (9) Æsthetics, 1 chair ; (10) Philology, 1 chair ; (11) Sanskrit, 1 chair ; (12) English Language and English Literature, 1 chair ; (13) German Language and German Literature, 1 chair ; (14) French Language and French Literature, 1 chair.

5. *College of Science.*

(1) Mathematics, 4 chairs ; (2) Theoretical Physics, 1 chair ; (3) Astronomy, 2 chairs ; (4) Physics, 2 chairs ; (5) Chemistry, 3 chairs ; (6) Zoology, 3 chairs ; (7) Botany, 2 chairs ; (8) Geology, Palæontology and Mineralogy, 3 chairs ; (9) Siesmology, 1 chair ; (10) Anthropology, 1 chair.

6. *College of Agriculture.*

(1) Agriculture, 2 chairs ; (2) Agricultural Chemistry and Chemistry, 2 chairs ; (3) Forestry, 4 chairs ; (4) Botany, 1 chair ; (5) Zoology, Entomology, and Sericulture, 2 chairs ; (6) Horticulture, 1 chair ; (7) Zootechny, 1 chair ; (8) Geology and Soils, 1 chair ; (9) Organic Physics and Meteorology, 1 chair ; (10) Agricultural administration and Political Economy, 1 chair ; (11) Veterinary Medicine and Veterinary Surgery, 3 chairs ; (12) Veterinary Anatomy, 1 chair ; (13) Physiology, 1 chair ; (14) Zootechnical products, 1 chair ; (15) Utilisation of forest products, 1 chair.

The Imperial ordinance of 1899 was the basis of the present system of technical education in Japan. There are three classes of technical schools, *e. g.*, (1) agricultural (comprising agriculture proper, sericulture, aquatic products and fishery, veterinary science, forestry), (2) commercial and (3) industrial (comprising navigation). Each class is divided into three grades—elementary or supplementary, secondary, and higher. There are 710 elementary technical institutions of all classes, 132 secondary, and 7 higher (excluding the Universities). The object of the elementary schools is to supplement the work of the primary schools in a practical direction ; sons of farmers and artisans form the majority of pupils in these institutions, whereas in the technical schools of the middle and higher grades the children of the once proud Samurais predominate. Secondary technical schools give, as their name indicates, agricultural, commercial or industrial education of the middle grade. The students who enter these schools must be over 14 years of age, and have completed the higher primary course of general education. The higher schools convey advanced technical instruction and are adapted for original research work. Their object is also to train up not the bulk and file, but the captains and leaders of industry. The total annual expenditure is 55 lakhs of rupees, of which the Government alone contributes 31 per cent.

There is an Imperial agricultural station devoted to scientific investigation on a large scale. There are 40 prefectural* agricultural farms which employ several experts at an annual cost of six lakhs of rupees, and the rural districts† maintain 110 agricultural stations. There are, moreover, 5 local agricultural institutes, besides travelling lectureships, agricultural societies, local shows laboratories and institutes under the control

* A prefecture corresponds to an Indian district.

† Corresponding to our Sub-divisions.

of the Minister of Agriculture. The agricultural schools of the elementary grade are 503 in number, and there are 46 secondary schools, and the courses in these schools are of four kinds, *e. g.*, preparatory, post-graduate, special and supplementary. Besides the Agricultural College of Tokio, there are two higher agricultural schools, one at Sapporo, the capital of the island of Hokkaido (Yezo), and the other at Morioka. The Sapporo school is managed by a faculty of 15 professors (mostly trained in Europe and America), 13 assistant professors and 9 lecturers. There is a splendid library, museum and botanical garden, and the annual expenditure is over a lakh of rupees. The following is a list of some of the subjects taught. Botany, zoology, mineralogy, physics and chemistry, vegetable histology, comparative anatomy of plants, political economy, vegetable physiology and pathology, manures, soils, entomology, agricultural engineering, history of agriculture, horticulture, sericulture, forestry, fishery, bacteriology, agricultural technology, agricultural politics and economy, hygiene and feeding of domestic animals, colonisation of insects, &c. It will be seen how complex, comprehensive and thorough is the course of instruction, suited to the varying needs and capacities of students of the most diverse aptitudes. The result of this education, in the department of sericulture alone, will appear from the following trade returns. The value of raw silk exported in 1872 was 75 lakhs of rupees; in 1892 this grew to over $1\frac{1}{2}$ crores of rupees; in 1902 it amounted to nearly 3 crores of rupees. "The effect produced by the development of this industry is remarkable; districts marked by a poverty-stricken appearance have become smiling and prosperous." Connected with the agricultural department there are schools and colleges of forestry, fishery and veterinary science. Some of the subjects taught in the forestry schools are—analytical geometry, finance, silviculture, forest policy and admin-

istration, meteorology, zoology, botany, forest utilisation and protection, surveying, hunting, chemistry.

Commercial education is intended not only to supply the demand for specially trained men among business firms, but also to help the starting of new commercial enterprises.

"It is a significant fact that the great commercial and industrial awakening of Germany and America has been more or less synchronous with the establishment of the great commercial *Hochschulen* (which might be aptly termed colleges) in the former, and the rise of numerous business colleges in the latter country."

There are 99 commercial schools of the elementary type in Japan, 41 of the secondary type, and there are two higher commercial schools at Tokio and Kobe. The Nagoya commercial school is a good example of the secondary class. The building cost seventy-five thousand rupees, books six thousand, furniture and samples, fifteen thousand. The subjects taught include—commercial arithmetic, history and geography, physics and chemistry, book-keeping in banks, government offices, and workshops, general principles of commerce, political economy, commercial products, contract and commercial law. The Tokio Higher Commercial School, with 61 instructors, 957 pupils and an annual expenditure of a lakh and a quarter of rupees, teaches in addition to advanced courses of the above subjects, English and French, mathematics, statistics, science of commerce, commercial morality, international law, applied chemistry, general jurisprudence, &c. Two bank presidents, the president of a life assurance company; the president of the Japan mail steamship company, the chief manager of another great company and a professor of the college of agriculture constitute the managing council of this school.

The industrial development of Japan has been phenomenal. Some of the factories in building and equipment vie with those of Europe and America and the industries draw

a steady stream of immigrants from the agricultural districts thus relieving the pressure on agriculture. The government started railways, arsenals, dockyards, mints, and other public enterprises in which the people received a thorough training and started industries on their own account. Government also maintains model workshops and laboratories, hires out the most up-to-date machines of a costly character, encourages enterprise by sending travelling lecturers and practical experimenters into the interiors and students and merchants by the hundred to foreign countries, and in all these ways contributes to the industrial prosperity of the country.

The special subjects taught in the industrial schools are physics, chemistry, practical geometry, freehand drawing, instrumental construction, tools and materials for wood and metal work, architectural drawing, machine drawing, dyeing, weaving, applied chemistry, industrial designs, lacquer work, casting, ship-building, &c. There are 44 elementary industrial schools, 25 middle schools and 3 higher industrial schools at Tokio, Kyoto and Osaka. The elementary or apprentice's schools correspond to the technical schools in India. The average annual cost of an apprentice's school is ten thousand rupees. There is a great demand for the graduates of the industrial schools of all grades. The graduates of the elementary schools go to work in the dockyards or railways, and some set up as carpenters. In India, in the language of the Quinquennial Review, 'where the school hoped to train a carpenter, it finds that it has produced a clerk': and in Lord Curzon's Education Resolution of 1904 it is admitted that "the teaching given (in these technical schools) does not provide a training of a sufficiently high standard to enable the pupils to hold

their own with artisans who have learnt their craft in the bazar."

The industrial schools of the middle grade correspond to the newly-opened Bengal Technical Institute, which is not a Government institution. They train foremen and managers of factories, and have played an important part in the industrial development of Japan. The pupils mostly belong to the higher classes. Electricity, ship-building, weaving, dyeing, ceramics, designing and metallurgy are some of the special subjects taught. A prefectural school of this class costs a lakh of rupees in building and workshops, and the annual expenditure is about thirty thousand rupees. The products of these schools are sold to the public.

The Higher Technical (Industrial) School of Tokio is maintained at an annual expenditure of nearly two lakhs of rupees. The professors devote their spare time to investigating methods of applying technological science to Japanese industries, and their researches have exercised a great influence on the industrial progress of Japan. The school has been remarkably successful in its experiments in silk-weaving, umbrella fabrics, earthenware, &c. There are at present a few Indian students in this school. Many graduates of this school have made inventions and discoveries. Osaka is a great ship-building centre, and brewing, ship-building, and marine engineering are the principal courses taught in the Osaka Higher Technical School. The bacteriological researches of this school have led to great improvements in method. The Kyoto Higher Technical School teaches industrial fine arts, *e. g.*, designing, weaving and dyeing. In each case there is a co-ordination between the course of instruction and the local industries.*

* The proposed Tata Research Institute would correspond in some degree to the Tokio Higher Technical School. But to show the gulf which separates even such a school from the premier research institute of Germany, I shall give an extract from a description of the Imperial Reichsanstalt at Charlottenburg by Professor Kuehler

of the Presidency College of Calcutta, noting in *passant* that the Government research scholars of our universities correspond to the 'freshmen' of the German Universities and are far behind those who are dignified with that name in Germany. "This magnificent institution . . . is under the control of a committee of professors of

Among the technical schools may be included the nautical schools—also of three grades—which train both navigating and engineering officers for the Japanese mercantile marine; the schools and colleges of the Japanese navy; the Government School of Fine Arts (with subsidiary fine arts schools and societies) which is the chief centre of Japanese art education and teaches painting, designing, sculpture and industrial arts; the Government Academy of Music where the subjects of study are singing, piano, organ, Japanese instruments, harmonics, theory of music, method of teaching music; and a School of Architecture, where the teaching is analogous to the architecture course of the College of Engineering at Tokio.

There is a school of foreign languages at Tokio, maintained at a cost of nearly a lakh of rupees per annum, where English, French, German, Russian, Spanish, Italian, Chinese and Corean are taught. Except in the case of commercial students and cadets of the diplomatic corps, who generally acquire a thorough conversational knowledge of the language of the country with which they have to deal, the object in learning a foreign language is not to speak the language, or even to write it, but to be able to consult foreign text-books and works of reference.

There are five special schools for students of medicine. There are also special schools for the aristocracy, the aborigines, the out-casts, the defectives, as well as for youthful offenders.

physical science selected from the various universities, and is divided into two sections, the physical and the technical. In the former purely physical investigations are carried on by scientists of special eminence appointed and paid by the State, who give up the whole of their time exclusively to the work of research. No expense is spared in the provision of the specially constructed and costly apparatus which their delicate and abstruse researches for the most part involve. The separate building in which this invaluable work is carried out is of unique construction and specially adopted for the various optical, electrical, thermal and mechanical investigations to which it is given up. The continuous additions to our knowledge which are the outcome of this systematic attack on the problems of physical science, are freely given to the world in

A few words about female education may be inserted here. Legally, the minimum age for marriage is 17 for man and 15 for woman in Japan; generally, women marry between 17 and 20, and men between 25 and 30. The education of woman is not, therefore, cut short by early marriage, as in India. Many women in Japan even remain unmarried. As observed before, education in the primary stage is compulsory for both boys and girls, and is imparted in mixed schools. The higher schools for girls correspond to the middle schools for men. Every prefecture is bound to establish a girls' higher school, where the usual term is four years. In 1902 there were eighty such higher schools with 21,500 pupils; besides there were fifty-seven 'miscellaneous' schools of a similar character with 7,400 girls. The higher schools lead up to the Women's University, established in 1900 by Mr. Naruse, with 300 students in the college department. The students live in dormitories split up into a number of 'homes,' where they cook and wash for themselves, set tables, and decorate rooms, so that their training may not disqualify them for home-life. They indulge in plenty of exercise, tennis being the most favourite game with these young ladies. Mr. Naruse, with his wide experience of female education in the West, observes:

"Modern institutional education has many evils as well as advantages, and its greatest evil for girls is the danger of making them unfit for their future

various scientific publications. It is in the second section that questions of a more directly practical importance are dealt with, and the exhaustive nature of the programme of work here carried on is the admiration and envy of scientists of all parts of the world. . . . In short, any physical or chemical investigation which has a direct technical application may be conducted in this physico-technical section of the Anstalt. Lastly, there are workshops where, to illustrate the ideas suggested by previous research, new apparatus is constructed or improvements are introduced into already existing types. The Reichsanstalt cost alone in land and buildings some £ 250,000 (37½ lakhs of rupees); it maintains a staff of ninety-five professors, scientific assistants and expert mechanicians, and it receives a handsome annual grant from Government for its maintenance."

home duties. How to avoid this danger is a problem that remains to be solved in the future."

There are some large industrial schools for girls where dyeing, sewing, knitting, braiding artificial flower making, embroidery, &c., are taught.

The last class of educational institutions with which we have to deal are the normal schools. These are of two grades, ordinary and higher. The ordinary normal schools, of which each prefecture must have one, and some have two and even three, turn out teachers for the primary schools of that prefecture. Each such school has a practical school attached to it. **As elsewhere, "the physical training, combined with military drill, is thorough,** and normal students are a body of young soldiers even before their military service." There are 57 ordinary normal schools, the total expenditure of which is 44 lakhs of rupees per annum. There are two higher normal schools for men, one at Tokio and the other at Hiroshima, and one for women. They train teachers for the prefectural normal schools and the secondary schools. The Tokio higher normal school cost the government in land and building seven and a half lakhs of rupees. The students are picked men from all over Japan. All learn English, a good many German, a few French. After completing their education at home many of them visit Europe and America to acquire foreign qualifications. These schools are maintained entirely by Government.

The lavish scale of expenditure on education will appear all the more admirable when we consider that during all these years of nation-building, Japan has had to spend liberally in other directions as well, and also if we remember that Japan is a very poor country. There are only seven persons per thousand who earn Rs. 350 a month. The prime minister receives a salary of Rs. 1,200 a month (besides allowances), a cabinet minister receives Rs. 750, a general Rs. 750, and the Chief

Justice, Rs. 690. That a professor in the higher schools and colleges earns Rs. 75 to 315 a month should not, therefore cause surprise. A professional man in Japan can live on this comparatively small income because it is a free country where all the services are recruited from the natives of the soil, and the demand for trained men is greater than ever the vast educational organisation of Japan can supply. All the careers being open to his sons, a gentleman is not under the necessity of saving much for posterity. It is enough if he can meet the current expenses of their education, which, compared with India, are very small. Directly they come out of their schools and colleges, they can enter one or other walk of life and as the field is vast and the scope ample, they get on very well. As soon as a Japanese can do the work of a foreigner even tolerably well, the latter is discharged. The high offices there are not, as in India, monopolised by foreigners under the plea of efficient administration. It is clear that if Japan had given the place of efficiency the first place in her consideration, she could never have got rid of foreign assistance, and developed the wonderfully efficient system of administration that she has to-day. A sympathetic government is not a raid of making mistakes. Its object is to train up the people, and it knows that nobody can learn to swim without going to the water. Take a practical instance. The great Sapporo School of Agriculture was opened in 1876 with only 24 students.

"It is amusing to read of the changes in the curriculum whereby mental and moral science was transformed into agricultural history. The first transition was to the history of philosophy, but no suitable textbook of this being at hand, it was thought philosophy of history would do as well. This led to an easy transition to the political history of Europe, which gave place to general history, which in turn succumbed to agricultural history."

In spite of these ludicrous mistakes at the beginning, the college is now a flourishing

institution. The graduates of this college have transformed the face of the island of Hokkaido. "Hundreds of miles of railway have been opened, agriculture, stock-raising, mining and fishing are all yielding valuable returns: harbours and other public works have been constructed" by these graduates. "The Japanese ignore as much as possible the names and services of their European employes," complains Professor Sharp. They would "be sorry to see a foreigner seeking to gain influence over their students, they regard their own morality as higher, they are afraid that their patriotism may be corrupted." In fact, the Japanese consider the employment of European Professors as a necessary evil, and naturally, therefore, they try to get rid of them as soon as practicable. The same policy of preferring indigenous to foreign agency is manifest in her trade. Count Inouye, who has filled most of the high offices of state and is one of the greatest authorities on finance and economics in Japan, justifies this commercial policy thus:—

"On looking at the systems in force throughout the world, I found that the universal tendency was in favour of protective tariffs. England was the leading exception, and it is well-known why she is an adherent of free trade. Thus it seemed to me that it was only just to Japan that she should be allowed to follow the example of other nations, and erect tariff walls if she should so desire.....The encouragement of manufactories which supply substitutes for imported articles is also absolutely indispensable."

Is not this policy the very essence of Swadeshimism?

The average pay of a foreign professor in Japan is about Rs. 430 a month. It may be safely taken for granted that the Japanese take care to get their money's worth, and none but properly qualified men are appointed. The term of service is insecure, and there is no certainty of pension. The contrast to the European Professor in India is significant. Here he is invested with all the privileges of a dominant ruling caste, and permanency and

pension are secured to him. And he draws a salary of Rs. 500 to Rs. 1,500 a month. "India is entitled to ask for the highest intellect and culture that either English or Indian seats of learning can furnish," says the Government Resolution of 1904. But the qualifications of the average European professor in India leave very much to be desired. It is scarcely open to doubt that had the Indians the power to select their own professors from Europe, they would have got a better class of men on a lower scale of pay.

The charge of imitativeness is frequently laid against the Japanese student. The answer given by Professor Nitobe of the Imperial University is effective enough.

"It is true that in a certain sense we certainly possess imitativeness. What progressive nation has not possessed and made use of it? Just think how little Greek culture originated in Hellenic soil. Of the Romans at their best, who does not know that they imitated most freely from Greece? How much of Spanish grandeur and glory at their zenith was of Moorish origin? I need not multiply examples. It seems to me that the most original—that is, the least imitative—people are the Chinese, and we see where their originality has led them. Imitation is education, and education itself is, in the main, imitation. Wallace, and after him many other zoologists have taught us what a role imitation and mimicry play in the preservation of life in nature. We shudder to think what might have been our fate, in this cannibalistic age of nations, had we been always consistently original. Imitation has certainly been a means of our salvation."

Decay of manners, due to laxity of discipline, is another frequent charge laid at the door of the Japanese students. The amount of *esprit-de-corps* in the large public schools is considerable, and teachers as well as students have to bow to the force of school public opinion. "Elsewhere it is the master who expels a boy, here it is the boy who expels a master." Strikes are of frequent occurrence. And yet, beyond admonition and persuasion, there is practically no system of punishment. We in India are quite familiar with the

complaint, but Professor Sharp has himself shown that it is not bad manners, but something very different, which is really resented. He says:—

“It is no doubt very wrong for a young man to be conceited, but after all, the failing is not confined to Indian B.A.'s; and it may be suspected that the so-called ‘conceit’ is often only that measure of self-respect and independence which the student has learnt to acquire in a well-conducted college.”

We find that even so far back as 1887, the Indian Government was exercised over this problem, and in a letter addressed to the local governments observed that tendencies unfavourable to discipline “are probably inseparable from that emancipation of thought which is one of the most noticeable features of our educational system.” But the recent Universities Commission very properly remarked that Indian students are rarely guilty of disorder. The circular recently issued over the signature of Sir Herbert Risley, which intends to turn our University students into harmless, and I may add, worthless youths, can hardly be justified in the light of what is permitted to students in Japan and other countries, and the contrast between a free and a subject people even in a matter like this is not without its lessons.*

The health of the students, and their physical training, form the subject of special care with the authorities in Japan. Medical examinations of the students are carried out twice a year. Military drill, gymnastic exercises, fencing and wrestling, outdoor sports, long walks, climbing mountains and visiting distant temples, are the exercises most in vogue. The practice of *Judo* (the modernised form of *Jiu-jitsu*) is systematically encouraged. One cannot help thinking in this connection of the attempt

which is being made in Bengal to put down *lathi-play* with the aid of the Gurkhas.

The questions which are discussed in teachers' conventions are as follow: What shall we do to encourage the spirit of glory among the youth of the nation? Shall regiments be used in school military actions, or wooden ones? In 1894 the education department of Japan issued instructions for the introduction of military songs in primary schools. In Bengal we have in their stead circulars prohibiting *Bande Mataram* songs. “The custom of marching children off to welcome G. I. d. fare-well to official or distinguished persons is discouraged” in Japan. We all know that the exact opposite is the case in India. The moral text-books prescribed by the education department and universally in use in Japan contain illustrated articles and stories on such subjects as these: the flag of the rising sun; courage (illustrated by military and naval scenes); loyalty (troops fighting for their emperor); the public good; patriotism; self-sacrifice; independence; self-respect; national holidays; national duty; self-government; election of representatives; the constitution; duty to the community; military service; the state; the public service; and rights; *esprit-de-corps*. How many of these subjects have a chance of being taken up by the Indian writer who wants to have his book approved by the Government text-book committees? Again, the authorities in India seem to be repenting of their religious neutrality, and feeling the necessity of imparting religious instruction in schools and colleges. In Japan, while the formation of character in public and private life by moral teaching is everywhere insisted on, the public schools are not allowed to impart any kind of religious teaching, although the government and the

police was present in strong force, and the only way in which the rowdiness of the students was sought to be put down was by aiming a jet of water on them from the fire-engine which was brought there to check their incendiary frolics.

* In a recent issue of the *London Times* has been published an account of the damage done to public buildings by the Oxford undergraduates, who lighted a huge bonfire to celebrate the victory gained by Christ Church at the boat race. The damage is estimated at over five thousand rupees. Yet not a single arrest was made, though the

people belong to the same religious persuasion. The greatest living statesman of Japan, Marquis Ito, holds very pronounced views on the subject.

"I regard religion itself as quite unnecessary for a nation's life.* What is religion but superstition, and therefore a possible source of weakness to the nation? "It would be the height of folly to invoke the aid of religion.....The modern progress of Japan is partly due to the fact that all religious entanglements have been wisely avoided in the domains of education and politics. Look at those oriental countries which are still in a state of religious bondage. Do we not observe in them that *religious prejudice still constitutes a fatal barrier to the introduction of an intelligent system of administration?*.....The important thing is to conserve the national morality."

And with regard to it, Japan considers the moral ideals of her own country to be distinctly superior to the results of Christian religion in the West.

Students and instructors are sent abroad in hundreds every year, and the allowances which they receive from their Government are much more liberal than those on which Indian students are expected to proceed to England. The Japanese students take up every conceivable subject in the foreign Universities, whereas Indian students are sent only to compete for the Civil Service examinations, though of late a few technical scholarships have been established. Another feature of Japanese school life which is worthy of note is that

"the alumni of any large institution seem to hold together well, frequently revisiting it, or else holding gatherings of their own on its anniversary days, frequently maintaining a magazine of their own, frequently also bestowing gifts and mementos on their old school."

Comparing the Japanese with the Indian student, Professor Sharp says:—"There is no reason to suppose that the average Japanese student is abler than the Indian; on the contrary, the Hindu intellect is probably the

* This shallow view of religion only shows a conspicuous defect in the Japanese character and culture.—Ed., M. R.

keener and the sharper of the two." The Japanese have no taste or aptitude for mathematics and philosophy, the two subjects in which Indians excel. Over against the advantage which the Japanese student possesses is the fact that his education is conducted in the vernacular, may be set down the other fact that "the Japanese alphabet is the most complicated and uncertain system of writing under which poor humanity groans." The written and spoken characters do not correspond and the nature of the language thus places a considerable stumbling block in the way of education. "It may also be said that the Indian tests are unduly stiff," continues the learned professor, and they are going to be made stiffer still under the new Universities Act. This, however, is not sufficient to explain the poverty of the results achieved in India as opposed to the brilliant successes of the Japanese in all departments of human activity. More than ten years ago, the late Mr. A. M. Bose, from his place in the Bengal Council, said:—

"I remember well twenty-five years ago meeting one of the first batch of students sent from Japan to Europe. I was then a student at Cambridge. One could hardly dream then of the wonderful intellectual and material progress which has followed the inauguration of that bold experiment by the Japanese Government.....I believe, Sir, in the intellectual capacity of my countrymen.....I believe that capacity is not inferior to that of the Japanese, and that what Japan has achieved, India, too, may achieve."

That belief has alas! no chance of being put to the test in a hurry. The recommendations of the Public Service Commission remain a dead letter, and our present Secretary of State has already learnt, from what sources is not known, that we could not carry on the work of administration for a week. To us it seems that the different results in Japan and in India can only be accounted for by the difference in the policy of the respective Governments which control Education in the two countries. The aim of the one is

to turn out a perfect and complete man, strong and self-reliant, that of the other is to create subordinates in Government and mercantile offices, so as to render the work of foreign administration and exploitation possible.

In the opinion of Professor Sharp, though the Japanese have no fault to find with the mental powers of the Indian students, and even compliment them on the excellence of their English, the Indian students have not produced a very favourable impression in Japan, as some of them have denounced the political condition of India and fallen foul of the British people with whom the Japanese are in alliance. Except a few students of Buddhism and Sanskrit, nobody in Japan, in the Professor's opinion, takes any interest in India. But the Indian students all told the professor that the Japanese were very kind to them. And we read in the papers that so distinguished an authority on education as Count Okuma presided over the latest Sivaji celebration at Tokio. The Professor's remarks on this subject must, therefore, be taken with a grain of salt. He winds up with the following warning and advice to the Indian students who may think of visiting Japan:—

"First, there is very little room for them; secondly, they will find the language a great difficulty; thirdly, if they can bear the cost of going to England or America, they will probably do better for themselves in the end; and fourthly, if they must go to Japan, they should arrange for a preliminary study of the language, and give as long a notice as they can to the Director of the Institution they wish to join, in order that a place may be reserved for them if possible."

Among the more salient points of contrast between the Indian and the Japanese systems of education noticed by Mr. Sharp, are the following: (1) the uniformity of the Japanese system; (2) the use of the vernacular throughout both as medium and subject of instruction; (3) the formal moral teaching; (4) **the prominence given to compulsory physical training**; (5) the wide range of subjects

prescribed and provided for; (6) the absence of colossal public examinations; (7) the systematic organization of technical instruction of all kinds; (8) the great difference in the scale of expenditure; and (9) the absence of prizes and scholarships, the last being due to the desire to discourage undue competition. The best scholars are excused their fees, and needy students are provided by the numerous Students' Aid Societies with loan scholarships to be subsequently repaid by educational work.

While Japan is straining every nerve to bring education to the door of every man and woman, and spending all that she can to make that education as complete as possible the Government of India, after much cogitation and deliberation, solemnly laid down in the year of grace 1904, that the system of public instruction inaugurated in India 'is upon the whole powerful for good.' One would think that in recognising the principle that education is wholesome and that people should be educated, government might assume a less cautious attitude without fear of contradiction. But we in India always discover a truth when it has become too old for use among the nations of the West and has been discarded by them in favour of some higher truth, and the discovery that education is beneficial, belated though it be, is not without its value. For it has led to the recognition of the utter inadequacy of the present system of education, and the true solution of the problem. "The wider extension of education in India is chiefly a matter of increased expenditure; and any material improvement of its quality is largely dependent upon the same condition." This being the deliberate opinion of the Government, we may hope that some share of the attention of the Finance Minister will now be diverted to the subject of education. "The most striking, as well as the least satisfactory, feature (of the quinquennium ending with the year 1902) was the comparatively small

increase of expenditure on primary schools." And to remedy this defect, "the Government of India fully accept the proposition that the active extension of primary education is one of the most important duties of the State." We learn that steps have been taken by Mr. Morley and Lord Minto to mature a scheme for making primary education free, though the public would like to see it made both free and compulsory, as is going to be done in Baroda. Grants are also being made to private colleges for constructing properly equipped laboratories. Though in this way a small beginning has been made, a much more considerable outlay, systematically incurred for a series of years, and a more enthusiastic and energetic devotion to the cause of education on the part of the powers that be, will be necessary to make up leeway and cover lost ground. The energies of the government at present seem to be taken up

entirely by the attempt to crush out the divine enthusiasm of youth by Swadeshi persecutions and repressive circulars. It is in no mood to direct its attention to those things which are of real benefit to the student. Whether it will be able to carry out the policy of expansion adumbrated in the Government Resolution of 1904 remains, therefore, to be seen. Sympathy, so much talked of but so rare in official action, is the keynote of all progress in that direction. The want of practical sympathy with the aims and aspirations of the Indian community has given rise to a number of national schools in Bengal, which may have a more glorious career before them than government schools and colleges. Upon whether government will read aright the signs of the times and be able to keep pace with the spirit of the age depends the future success of its educational policy.*

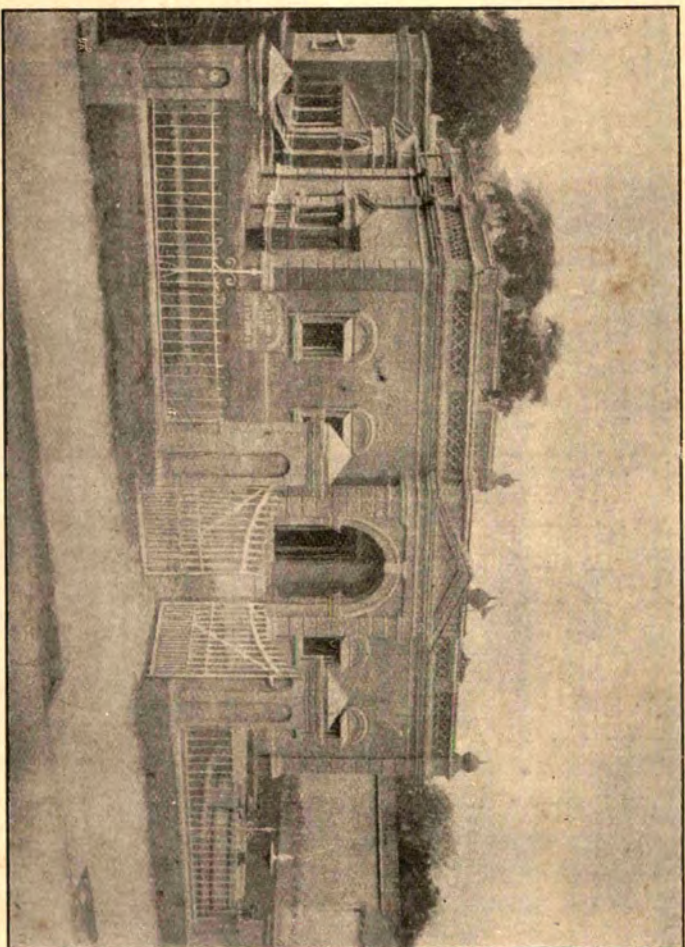
V.

HINDI AND THE NAGARI PRACHARINI SABHA

THE destiny of a language, which is the mother-tongue of something like 80 millions of people in North India, hardly rests with a literary society whose affairs are directed by a committee consisting of about 20 members. Yet in an age when the printing press plays such an important part in most great movements, an association such as the Nagari Pracharini Sabha has distinct possibilities before it in influencing, and possibly even in directing, the future of Hindi.

*This article is compiled mainly from 'The Educational System of Japan' by W. H. Sharp, Professor of Philosophy, Elphinstone College, Bombay. The volume was published last year, from the office of the Director-General of Education in India. The price is Rs. 3-4-0, and considering that it is an octavo volume of over five hundred pages, it may be called cheap. It is an excellent production, complete in every detail, though rather official in the tone of its references to Indian students. Other books and publications, which have been

The Nagari Pracharini Sabha has a wide programme and large ambitions, and the fourteen years of its history gives clear evidence that it is not an association of vain dreamers, or of babblers, but of honest sane workers. Some of its hopes may be doomed to disappointment or be fulfilled in a modified form, some of its views may be open to discussion, or even, in the opinion of some, to criticism, but the work it has already accomplished, both as regards its quantity and quality, warrants a reasonable hope that its consulted, referred to, or quoted from, are—'Occasional Report No. 4, published from the same Office, 'Quinquennial Review on Indian Education' (1897—98 to 1901—2), 'Census of India, 1901,' Vol. I, Calcutta Gazette (budget speeches), 'Japan by the Japanese' (edited by Alfred Stead). I have generally avoided acknowledging the sources of my quotations in the body of the article in order to save the reader from unnecessary weariness.—THE WRITER.



NAGARI-PRACHARINI SABHA BUILDING.



H. H. THE MAHARAJA OF GWALIOR, G.C.S.I.,
PATRON OF THE N.-P. SABHA.



RAJA UDAYA PRATAP SINGH, C.S.I., OF BHINGA.

INDIAN PRESS, ALLAHABAD.

usefulness in the future may be wide and effective.

It is just 14 years ago that a few young fellows started the Sabha as a literary club. It is now a society not only with a large and distinguished membership, but fostering projects which touch various interests and range over a wide area.

At the close of its first year (1894) it had a membership of 82 and an income of Rs. 158. In its 14th Report, for the year 1906-07, it is able to record a membership of 681 and an income of over Rs. 9,000.

A very interesting feature of the 14 years' history of the Sabha is, that some of those whose names appear in the first report have not only steadily maintained their connexion with the Sabha, but have done splendid service during its successful course. Mahamahopadhyaya Pt. Sudhakar Divedi is up to the present time the President, and is not merely a figure head, but one who has done much solid hard work. Babu Radhakrishna Das, who passed away only a few months ago, had throughout all the years of the Sabha's existence spent his strength and great abilities freely in the Sabha's service. It is well nigh impossible to speak too warmly of his loyalty and labours. Babu Syamsundar Das has perhaps been the hardest worker of all, for many years he was Honorary Secretary, and though now enjoying the title of Vice-President, not only is his interest in the Sabha as great as ever, but his varied abilities and unflagging energy are lavishly devoted to the aims and activities of the Sabha. The other Vice-President, Babu Govinda Das, has also rendered valuable service of various kinds.

Without attempting to enumerate the names of those residing in other places, whose great services to the Sabha might claim notice, such as, *e.g.*, the Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, and Pt. Shyambehari Misra, the number of those who, in Benares itself, have been associated with the Sabha, and worked with it, speaks powerfully as to the calibre of the Sabha. Take such names, *e.g.*, as Babu Indranarayan Singh, Pt. Lakshmi Shankar Misra, Babu Bhagwan Das, Babu Durga Prasad, Babu Jagannath Das (Ratnakar), Babu Joogal Kishore, Babu Thakur Prasad, Pt. Kishori Lal Goswami, Pt. Ram Narayan Misra, Babu Kartik Prasad, Babu Ramkrishna Barma, Babu Madho Prasad.

The names of such European scholars as Dr. Griereson, Dr. Hoernle, and Dr. Thibaut are also found among the Sabha's membership.

In its earlier days the Sabha had its meetings in humble and very limited premises in a back street of Bula Nala, but since 1904 it has occupied a fine building of its own, which leaves nothing to be desired (except the payment of the debt still resting on it). The site is an exceedingly good one—a corner of the Municipal Gardens—, and forms with the central Telegraph Office, right opposite, and the Kotwali and Town Hall, close by, quite an imposing group of buildings. The Sabha Hall does not utterly eclipse these other public buildings, but takes no unworthy place by their side, the blush of its comparatively new brick work is only one of modesty not of shame. The premises comprise a good central hall for meetings, a library and reading room, a roomy office with a store room at the back of it, and two other rooms. The buildings were admirably planned and are in every way suited to the purposes for which they were erected.

The site, buildings, and furniture cost about Rs. 22,000, and by far the greater part of this amount has been paid off, there is still, however, a debt of about Rs. 6,000 to be paid off. Will not some of the patrons of Hindi extinguish this debt and distinguish themselves. It would be a great relief to the Sabha, and surely there are some who might set it free to go on its career untrammelled by this Rs. 6,000 debt.

What are the aims and the scope of the work of the Sabha? These have been stated by one, who is evidently keen on a jingle, as "Hindi ka uddhar, sudhar aur prachar," the redemption, reformation and extension of Hindi. Something may be said on one or two of these points later on. For the present we confine ourselves to a review of what has been undertaken and the methods pursued, and an attempt to appreciate the success which has attended them. The lines along which the Sabha has mainly worked are the following:—

1. By meetings and correspondence to enlist the sympathies, and unite the efforts, of those interested in the use of and development of Hindi.

2. To promote the publication of good texts of old Hindi books, and to produce (or get produced), and publish, good new ones.

3. By its regular organ The Nagari Pracharini Patrika, and by occasional circulars and pamphlets, to ventilate questions affecting Hindi.

4. To encourage the study of Hindi in Educational Institutions.

5. By communications with the Government, and in other ways, to secure for Hindi its right place in the Courts and in public business.

6. To prosecute, and encourage, the search for old Hindi Mss., and to publish reports of such researches.

7. To foster the study of Hindi in Benares itself by the maintenance of a Library and Reading Room.

Without preserving the above order, we may give in somewhat more detail, some of the achievements of the Sabha.

I. PUBLICATIONS. Perhaps the Sabha's most serious undertaking in original work is the production of:—

"THE HINDI SCIENTIFIC GLOSSARY." This unpretentious-looking, but very neat, volume of 359 pages, published in 1906, represents much solid work. It was first taken up in 1898 and steadily carried through. Existing material was utilized, but a task of considerable magnitude lay before the Sabha. It would be invidious to mention the names of *some* of those who helped in this enterprise, and we can hardly attempt to enumerate *all*. The preliminary work consisted in collecting English words for which Hindi equivalents were to be found. Then came tentative editions, committees, correspondence, consultations, and revisions, until, under the editorship of Babu Byamsundar Das, the work was carried through the press and published in 1906. There are 7 sections in the book dealing with technical terms in Geography, Astronomy, Political Economy, Chemistry, Mathematics, Physics, and Philosophy, containing a total of over 10,000 English words, and over 16,000 Hindi equivalents. Hindi, of course, must here be used in a broad sense, for Sanskrit has been largely indented on; Urdu and English words are also not infrequently used, and this is as it should be, when a thing and its name come into the market or into the domain of knowledge, together which had not previously been current, there is no wisdom in fabricating a new name. Again, when a name has come into general use, though, etymologically, it may not be severely exact, it savours of little but pedantry to try and replace it by another which, to the majority of hearers and readers, will be unintelligible.

Two of the points explained in the preface are very indicative of the sound character of the undertaking

(1) It is realized that this attempt must necessarily be marked by imperfections, it is pioneer work, tentative. (2) It is most refreshing to find the editor after the 8 years of the labour of the compilers, talking of a second and revised edition. This is a true note of progress.

The book does not, of course, cover the whole range of Science, many Sciences find no place in it. It is just open to question whether "Scientific Glossary" is the best name that could be chosen; it is rather a Glossary of Technical Terms, for Philosophy can hardly be called a Science. Another question worth considering is whether the whole contents might not advantageously be brought under one alphabetical arrangement instead of seven. This would save the repetition of such a word as *Machine*, under *Political Economy*, *Mathematics*, and *Physics*. Or, again, it might not occur to some to look for the equivalent of *Estimate* under *Mathematics*. Others might demur to regarding "Suicide" and "Prevarication" as peculiarly associated with Philosophy. One alphabetical arrangement for the entire vocabulary, without classifying the words under different sections, would obviate all such difficulties.

However, we have in the Scientific Glossary a splendid bit of work, and it will, we trust, lead on to a still more comprehensive and generally accepted terminology as the years roll on.

PRITHVI RAJ RAO. The collating and publication of the text of this very valuable item in Hindi literature, with notes, carefully prepared "contents," dissertations at the end of each section, and abbreviated paraphrases or summaries of the chapters, is an undertaking deserving the gratitude of all students of Hindi. Some 1,200 pages of this work have already been published, a further substantial instalment is in the press, and it is hoped to complete the enterprise in 2 years. Such a book as this must necessarily secure but a limited number of purchasers and, possibly, a still more limited number of readers, for both time and ability are necessary to spell out the archaic Hindi of this bard who wrote 700 years ago. The work is well printed and will prove a valuable addition to the library of any Hindi scholar.

TULSI DAS' RAMAYANA OR RAMCHARIT MANAS. Another laudable piece of work done by the Sabha is the publication of this fine edition of Tulsi Das' immortal poem. An endeavour has been made to give the purest text which diligent research and careful collation could produce. There is an introduction, and some footnotes giving *Various Readings*. The book is adorned with reproductions of numerous pictures from the magnificent manuscript copy of the Tulsikrit Ramayan in the library of His Highness the Maharaja of Benares, which he graciously allowed the Sabha to have photographed for the purpose. The Indian Press, Allahabad, is to be congratulated on the printing of this book.* We have not seen any Hindi book so well printed as is this.

Space will not allow us to give a description of all the useful books published by the Sabha. Two Reading Books (Bhasha Sar Sangrah) and a Hindi Letter-writer (Patra Bodh) did good service in their day. Quite recently a Reading Book for women (Banita-binod) was undertaken at the request of, and financially helped by, His Highness the Raja of Bhinga, who has in many ways helped the Sabha from time to time. The latest production is a short History of Western Philosophy (Yuropiya Darshan). A considerable number of smaller books and booklets (original and translations) have also been published. These are not all equal in value, but they all come within the compass of the Sabha's endeavour to encourage the production of Hindi literature.

Two books of great importance—a Hindi Dictionary and a Hindi Grammar—have long been on the programme of the Sabha. The publication of a comprehensive Dictionary and a really sound Grammar should greatly increase the Sabha's fame, and greatly benefit the Hindi public.

II. PERIODICALS. THE PATRIKA. From the year 1896 the Sabha has issued a Quarterly paper—The Nagari Pracharini Patrika. This is mainly devoted to the publication of original articles with brief notices of the Sabha's business, meetings, etc. It has now been decided to publish the Patrika monthly, and it is to be hoped that with more news about the work of the Sabha and its plans, a wider interest in the

Sabha's work may be aroused and a larger membership secured.

During the 11 years of its existence some able and useful articles on a variety of subjects have appeared. The articles have dealt not only with Hindi and Sanskrit literature, but interesting short biographies have been given, also papers on History, Topography, Archaeology and Science. An occasional poem also is printed. This magazine, regularly forwarded to all the members of the Sabha, offers quite a literary education, and probably opens out to many lines of interest which are not suggested by the ordinary newspaper, and are far healthier than the great mass of Hindi novels which play such an important part in the literature issued from many of the Hindi presses.

THE GRANTHMALA.—For the last six years or so another quarterly has been published called the Granthmala, and is sent to all who subscribe Rs. 3 or more yearly to the Sabha. This Granthmala is mainly devoted to the publication of old and comparatively rare books, many of which have only existed in manuscript. To secure copies of such works, to collate and edit them is by no means an easy task, and the Sabha has already accomplished much for which Hindi scholars do well to be grateful. It is to be hoped that through the efforts of the Sabha many further valuable works may be unearthed and see the light in the Granthmala. There probably lie hidden away in Rajputana, and other provinces, many unpublished works, which, if not of great literary merit, (though literary merit does not *always* secure recognition and publicity), may contain much matter of great value for the elucidation of the political and religious and literary history of India.

Among the works which have appeared one or two may be briefly mentioned. Chandravati (a translation from the Sanskrit by Sadal Mera) is very valuable from a literary standpoint, as Sadal was a contemporary and fellow-worker with Tulsidasi, and, therefore, presents Hindi at a very interesting point in its development. Akharawat by Malik Muhammad Jayasi is another interesting work. Mahila Mridubani is a collection of Hindi poems by women, and should prove stimulating at the present time, when the intellectual development of woman is taking such an important place in the Reform movement in India. Two works of Dadu, (The Bani and Sabad) have also

* The Indian Press is also the publisher of this work, having met all the expenses of its publication. Editor, M. R.

appeared. In all something like 14 works have been published in the Granthmala up to the present.

III. SEARCH FOR HINDI MANUSCRIPTS. It is some 12 or 14 years ago that the Sabha approached the Government and the Asiatic Society of Bengal in the hope of getting them to carry on this work in conjunction with the search for Sanskrit MSS. which was already being prosecuted. Favourable responses were received and *something* was done, but nothing at all commensurate with the importance of the matter. It was perhaps inevitable that scholars whose interests centred around Sanskrit should greatly subordinate the interests of what they would regard as *only* Vernacular works.

Since that time, however, substantial progress has been made. In 1899, the Government agreed to make a grant to the Sabha to help it to carry out this search for Hindi MSS., and also arranged to publish the reports which the Sabha should furnish. The indefatigable Babu Syamsundar Das was placed in charge of this important department of the Sabha's operations, and has more than justified the wisdom of the choice. Already 4 carefully prepared Reports (1900—03) have been printed and published, another is on the point of being issued, (just issued as we go to press) and a sixth is in the press.

In the four volumes which lie before us there are notices of over 500 MSS. A brief description of each is given—the name of the book, probable date and authorship, a description of the size and condition of the MS., the subject of the work, and the opening and concluding lines printed in Hindi. Useful and illuminative appendices are added, and some reproductions of photographs of pages of peculiarly interesting MSS. Each volume is provided with carefully prepared alphabetical indexes of the names of both authors and works.

A review of some of the volumes, and also private letters which we have seen, by such scholars as Dr. Hoerrle, Mr. Griffiths, Pundit Aditya Ram Bhattacharya, Prof. Barth, and Prof. Pischel, clearly shew in what high estimation this work (and the way in which it is being carried out) is held by men who are experts in such matters.

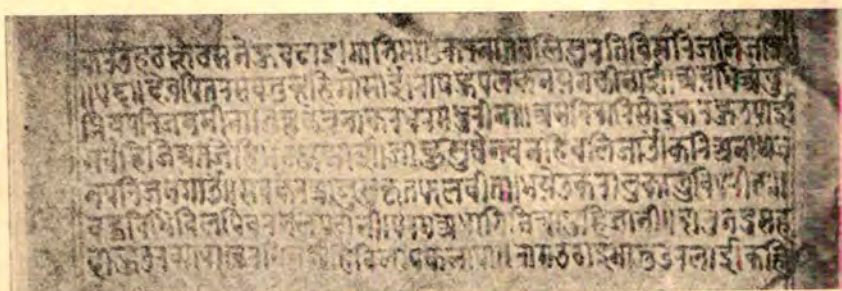
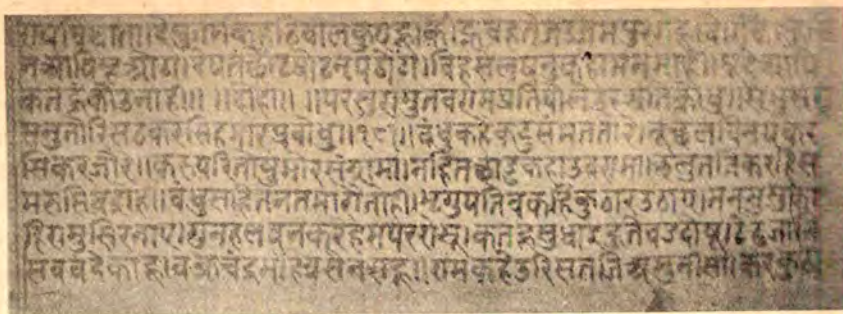
By a new arrangement, which the Government has accepted, it is hoped that the Reports will gain in interest, and in use for future reference. The area

in which the search is to be carried out has been mapped out, and it is intended to concentrate the research in a special direction for 3 years at a time, and then issue a Report which will thus cover one division. This will give a measure of completeness to each Report, as each will contain an account of all works found within a certain territory. Whether, however, the search in any division is complete or not at the end of 3 years, the Government requires a Report to be then issued. The programme embraces a wide area and reaches to 1925. With larger funds at the Sabha's disposal this programme could be carried out more speedily.

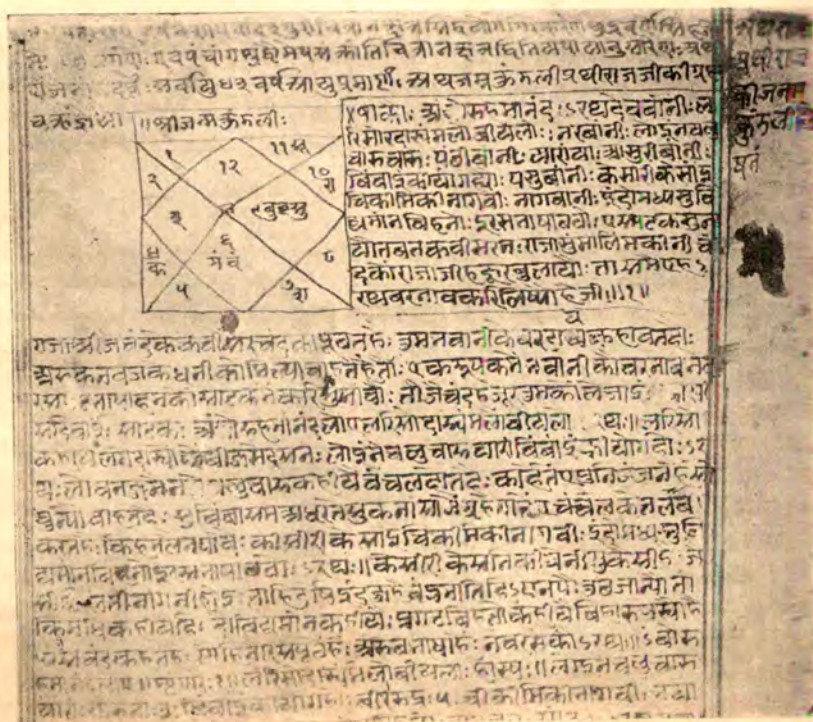
IV. EDUCATIONAL.—The Sabha has done wisely in refraining from the attempt to establish any school of its own. It can do better work by trying to influence existing institutions, and it should always be remembered that education is by no means confined to teaching in schools.

Prizes are offered year by year for Nagari handwriting, also for Hindi essays on various subjects. Some attempts have also been made, and not unsuccessfully, to provide Hindi Reading Books, etc.

V. NAGARI IN THE COURTS.—It was long felt that in those parts of India in which Hindi is the language of the great bulk of the people, the Nagari, no less than the Persian character, should be allowed in presenting petitions, etc., in the Courts, and that Government papers addressed to the people should be issued in a language and *character* "understanded of the people." His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor (The Hon. Sir A. P. MacDonnell) was addressed on the subject when he visited Benares in 1895. Without giving any pledge as to what the government might do, His Honour expressed his willingness to consider the matter. In 1898 a strong and representative Deputation waited on His Honour, and received not only a careful hearing but a most hopeful response. His Honour admitted the apparent justice of the claims urged, but said that any change in existing regulations could be effected only after most careful enquiries and patient consideration of all that such a change would involve. Such enquiries were instituted and after mature deliberation results were reached which gave rise to the issue of the following orders, dated April 18th, 1900.



1. Facsimile of a page of the Ajodhya MS. of the Ramayan of Tulsi Das. Date A.D. 1604.
2. Facsimile of a page of the Rajapur MS. of the Ramayan of Tulsi Das in the author's own handwriting.



Facsimile of a page of the oldest MS. so far discovered of the Prithviraj Raso. Date 1580 A.D.



MAHAMAHOPADHYAY PANDIT SUDHAKAR DVIVEDI,
President, Nagari Pracharini Sabha,



THE LATE BABU GADADHAR SINGH,
Founder of the Sabha's Library.

"(1) All persons may present their petitions or complaints either in the Nagari or in the Persian character, as they shall desire.

"(2) All summonses, proclamations and the like in vernacular issuing to the public from the courts or from revenue officials shall be in the Persian and Nagari characters, and the portion in the latter shall invariably be filled up as well as that in the former.

"(3) No one shall be appointed except in a purely English Office, to any ministerial appointment after one year from the date of this resolution unless he knows both Hindi and Urdu; and any one appointed in the interval who knows one of these languages but not the other, shall be required to qualify in the language which he does not know within one year of his appointment."

It was hardly to be expected that such an innovation as this would meet with no opposition. Conservatism is strong in most countries, it seems peculiarly rampant in India, or *was*. However, steady progress has been made. The Sabha has appointed some *muharrirs* to attend the courts and write petitions for the unlettered in their own language. Efforts have also been made to procure publicity for the Government rulings on this subject. *Vigilance work*, moreover, has had to be carried on to prevent subordinates making ineffectual the rights granted by the Government.

In Gwalior, Indore, and other Native States, Hindi has taken its proper place as the Court language.

VI. LIBRARY AND READING ROOM. The Library is the outcome of one of the earliest efforts of the Sabha. In the first report published we read of the help afforded in this matter by such men as Babu Ramdin Singh of the Kharg Bilas Press, Bankipore, and Babu Ramkrishna Barma of the Bharat Jiwan Press, Benares.

The late Babu Gadadhar Singh greatly interested himself in the Library, and on his death left to it his own library and also some property.

Among the most recent contributors to the Library may be mentioned Seth Khemraj Shri Krishna Das of Bombay who is making a present of Rs. 500 worth of books.

In this Library there are at present 4,153 books, and it is probably the best collection of Hindi books that exists in the U. P. The English books in the Library are not numerous but are valuable books of reference.

Both the Library and Reading Room are freely used.

VII. Space will not permit of mention being made of all that the Sabha has undertaken from time to

time. It has collected information and published pamphlets and booklets on various subjects connected with the Hindi language and literature. For instance, in about 1900 it issued, first in Hindi, afterwards in English, a report on "certain questions connected with the style and grammar of Hindi." This was produced after careful enquiries and lengthened deliberation, and was an endeavour to fix certain rules on such matters as the transliteration of words from other languages into Hindi, the method of writing the suffixes forming the various cases of the Noun, the forms to be adopted in the case of Sanskrit words which had become current in Hindi in a corrupted form, etc.

The Sabha could, of course, give no authoritative utterance or mandate on such questions. Some writers will "gang their own gait," let the Sabha say what it may, and it would be a sorry day for the literature of any country when style and method were bound hand and foot (the latter would apply specially to poetry, I suppose); but the ventilation of such questions is exceedingly useful, and the publication of the consensus of opinion of scholars of no little value.

An exceedingly good Magic Lantern and a number of valuable slides have recently been acquired by the Sabha. The liberality of Babu Moti Chand as a member of the Municipality and District Boards, enabled the Sabha to purchase these. It is anticipated that this Lantern and slides may prove of much service for lectures and for general educational work using this word in its broadest meaning. Mr. Radice, the Collector of Benares, helped the Sabha in this matter, and has in many ways manifested his readiness to further its work.

An endeavour has been made to utilize the lantern and slides in a series of "Popular Lectures in Hindi, on Scientific, Literary and other subjects, but up to the present this endeavour has proved but a limited success. The Lectures have been good, but too few. It is not easy to secure the services of men best fitted to give such lectures, and to arrange a regular series. It is hoped that a new attempt may be made next winter, and that it will be attended with greater success.

Some reference must be made to a movement with which the Sabha, though not wholly responsible has

had not a little to do. We refer to the effort now being made to get one character adopted for all the languages of India, and frequently this is quietly transmuted into the still larger "order" of one *language* for all India. Nagari would be the character and Hindi the language. It is not necessary to enter into the history of the movement. The subject was mooted long ago in the pages of the Sabha's Patrika and in the Saraswati, and the "Ek lipi vistar Parishad" has also warmly advocated the adoption of the Nagari character. The breadth of the movement is indicated by the fact that some of its warmest supporters are not those whose birth and education would incline them to Hindi and Nagari, but men from East and West, such as the Hon. Mr. Justice Sarada Charan Mitra, Mr. Romesh Chandra Dutt, Mr. B. G. Tilak, Prof. N. B. Ranade and Mr. A. S. Desai. Quite recently a monthly magazine has been started (The Devanagar) to champion this cause, and the first number contains articles in some eight different languages but all printed in the Nagari character.

Certainly not a few advantages would accrue from the currency of one character for the numerous languages of India, and the fact that, through Sanskrit, the Devanagari character is more or less known throughout the whole continent, is a strong argument for the Nagari above any other character. If any one character is to be adopted then Nagari can establish a far and away better claim than that of any other vernacular. Our own feeling is, however, that this question of one character will never loom sufficiently large as to stir up a wide-reaching enthusiasm, it will necessarily be merged in the far broader and incalculably more important one of one *language*. If the best national aspirations in the various parts of India are to be realized, one of the most pressing needs is a common medium for the expression of thought. If from North and South and East and West men are to confer freely, by the printed page and by speech, then a common character is of small service, it is one *language* that is wanted. By this alone can fellowship find articulate expression and united movements be sustained. Unmoved, we believe, by any national prejudice, we are driven to the conclusion that the one language for India, if one there is to be, (and we certainly regard this as desirable), will be English. This is not a question of advocacy but of common-

sense observation, we simply note what is being quietly and effectively worked out year by year.

The advantages of English are many and cogent. It already is the medium for communication among the best educated in all parts of India, again there is a vast literature to hand, a literature which probably contains more about the history, religion, literature, philosophy, and antiquities of India than any vernacular, possibly more than all the vernaculars put together. As a matter of fact probably, all the best modern books by Indians themselves are written in English, and how great is the number of those among cultured Indians who can express themselves far more freely and clearly in English than in their own vernacular. While theories are being ventilated and propaganda carried on, the question is a long distance on its way to a practical solution.

There are doubtless reasons, patriotic reasons, why it should be felt desirable to have a common language which is indigenous to India, and personally we should rejoice to see Hindi the one language. But while principle should never be sacrificed to utility, sentiment cannot make such strong claims to rule, and the question before us must be viewed in the light of practical wisdom, and yield to the guidance of the force of circumstances. If Englishmen speak so cheerily about Indians adopting a language not originally their own, it should be remembered that they are only suggesting to others to do what they did themselves. They may claim that English is their own *now*, but it is so by adoption and development, not by birth.

The issue of this question, however, is yet far away. One of the pressing questions is the development of the vernaculars for the masses. Much yet remains to be done for Hindi, and the Nagari Pracharini Sabha is nobly taking up its task and endeavouring to fulfil its omission, but there are some large problems yet unsolved about the future of Hindi, and not only is effort needed, but wisdom and tact.

The contact of Hindi and Urdu naturally tends to the production of an "amalgam" or "khichari," and this is not to be regretted in matters domestic and commercial; but in literature, and all matters where technical language must be employed, such a course can hardly be deliberately adopted. Such an attempt is being made, it is true, in a series of Readers

begotten, or adopted, by the Education Department. The course is so prepared that it may be printed in the Persian or Nagari *character*, but is not changed in *language*. The idea is carried out with considerable ability, but as Dr. Johnson once remarked about a dog dancing that the dancing was very good *for a dog*, but was not *good dancing*, so we may say that this attempt to produce a language which is both Hindi and Urdu is about as successful as could be expected, but it is not a success; the result is not a language which is both, but which is neither.

Vernacular education has a tendency to be crowded out by the attention bestowed upon English, and this arises from no eagerness of the Education Department to thrust English upon all scholars, but by reason of the eagerness of parents and children that English should be acquired. We fear that not a few boys leave school, after what ought to constitute a fairly liberal education, who really know no language properly. They know something of English, something of their own Hindi or Urdu, a little, perhaps of both, but neither language is well known. Attention, however, is being bestowed on vernacular education, and the difficulties are doubtless great where there is only one school, and both Hindu and Mahomedan children have to be taught. Our hope is that, without at all adopting purism, it may be recognized that whatever may be the case in the Bazaar, Hindi and Urdu are two languages for the educated, and that education may be arranged accordingly, and a language not taught as Hindi which is largely composed of Urdu printed in the Nagari character.

Looking now at this question of style and vocabulary from the Hindi stand-point what can be said about the near future of Hindi?

There can be no question that that future depends very largely upon the attitude adopted by Hindi writers, with reference to the style of Hindi to be used.

We have no sympathy with, we cannot even comprehend, the position of those who venture the assertion that Hindi and Urdu are not two languages but only two names for one. It is true that the amount of language necessary for the purchase of a few articles in the Bazaar or to enquire the nearest way to the Police Station or the Lunatic Asylum need not be specifically Hindi or Urdu, but a jargon, which is conveniently called Hindustani. Some books have been printed in

this Hindustani, but as soon as serious subjects are handled in conversation or in writing the language should be either Hindi or Urdu. Vast numbers of words are freely used which are derived either from Sanskrit or from Persian and Arabic, and there are constructions associated with these languages. As one or the other of these predominates, the language becomes Hindi or Urdu. No sharp line can be drawn, it is true, for as regards vocabulary, grammar, and construction, there is very much that is common to both languages, as much Urdu as Hindi as truly Hindi as Urdu; but with this common element there are elements which are distinctive. To say, for instance, of a King "gaddi par baithe" or "akhtashin hue" is to adopt one language or the other, and there are countless subjects whose treatment demands that we definitely choose one language, Hindi or Urdu.

The question which now lies before us in the interests of Hindi is this:—Shall we maintain and increase these differences between the two languages and thus try to use more pure Hindi, or shall we try to minimize the differences? In other words shall we try to keep at a distance all words not of Sanskrit origin, or shall we freely adopt words, no matter what their source, if they are widely understood, largely used, and adequate to express our meaning? Our belief is that if the former alternative be adopted Hindi is practically doomed, there will be only Hindustani and Urdu. If on the other hand the situation be fairly faced, facts accepted, and a spirit of compromise allowed to prevail, a splendid career lies before Hindi. Its development and vigour depend upon its adaptation to environment. Purism must be politely bowed out (or if necessary drummed out), except by those authors who will be content with a select but very limited audience.

If Hindi is to maintain its place it must be by accommodation to the times and circumstances amid which we live. Fly to Sanskrit only when in a desperate corner for a word, dismiss the theory of "purity of diction" as a snare, aim at a style which has simplicity, clearness, force; if in addition to these perfect ease and a measure of grace can be united, so much the better, but the first essential is intelligibility. Both the profit and the pleasure of the reader largely depend on the ease with which he can get at the meaning of the writer (if he has any). Some readers

rejoice in difficult books, they, as they read, are able to feel that they belong to the elite, by all means let them have a highly Sanskritised Hindi, vain writers can cater for vain readers.

The secret of so much futile Hindi is the fact that so many write for the writing's sake, they have really nothing to say and they succeed in saying it admirably, but the man with a message to his readers has the key to a good style. he wishes to make his readers understand what he says and to agree with him. Let him but have a vocabulary at his command, a knowledge of grammar and idiom, an estimate of his readers' or hearers' intelligence, and he is some distance on the road to acquire a good style.

May Sanskritised Hindi find its right place, a place on the top shelf of the Literary Museum, and may there, day by day, grow in strength and volume a Hindi which shall be popular because intelligible, widely received because appealing to the understandings of all.

The Nagari Pracharini Sabha has done good, splendid, service, may she be wise to read aright the times, lighten her vessel by throwing Sanskrit overboard and sail gaily and prosperously to the port which she deserves to reach, a place of honour and regard among all those who love Hindi.

EDWIN GREAVES.

HOW THE SEPOY IS HOUSED

IN the 151st paragraph of his now well-known farewell Minute, dated the 28th of February, 1856, Lord Dalhousie said:—

"The position of the Native Soldier in India has long been such as to leave hardly any circumstance of his condition in need of improvement."

Regarding the European soldier's barracks, Lord Dalhousie wrote in the same Minute:—

"The lodging of the Soldier has been greatly improved, and no nation can show better or more appropriate quarters for its troops than the Government now provides for European soldiers in the East.

"No Barrack in the Plains is now built with less than twenty-four feet of height within. All are raised from the ground, and every appliance for cleanliness, ventilation, and healthiness, which experience has suggested or ingenuity can devise is introduced into the buildings. * * *

"Proper provision for washing and cleanliness has been made in all the new plans, and of late Reading Rooms have been included in the design for each Barrack.

"The scanty comforts of the Soldier within his quarters have also been increased."

"Punkhas are hung in every barrack as in a private house."

Let us now turn our attention to the sepoy's lines. Let us see what the Annual Reports of the Sanitary Commissioner with the Government of India have to say regarding the lodging of the Native Soldier. The reader will then be in a position to judge of the accuracy of Lord Dalhousie's assertion regarding the position of the sepoy.

REPORT FOR 1896.—TABLE XXX. NATIVE TROOPS. PAGE 85.
NEEMUCH.

"The floors of the huts are, as a rule, below the outside surface. The huts of the cavalry are too small for more than a single man, having 80 square feet area and 760 cubic feet capacity. A cavalry man's kit, which is larger than an infantry man's, his accoutrements, make a small room very foul. Besides, sometimes two men live in one room. The floors of the huts require raising. The drainage requires improvement also."

REPORT FOR 1897.—TABLE XXX. NATIVE TROOPS. PAGE 93.

DEHRA DUN.

"The prevalence of eye affections, especially amongst the married men, is in a great measure due to the

faulty arrangements in their quarters for cooking purposes, causing a smoky atmosphere. This may also account in some measure for the lung affections."

In this connection the District Principal Medical Officer remarks:—

"I concur in the above remarks. * * * * Immediate beneficial results can hardly be looked for, as the irritating smoke has so weakened the eyes of many men, women and children as to induce a form of chronic conjunctivitis, which becomes acute on any slight exciting cause. Similarly, with tubercle, the pre-disposition has been established in many cases."

KOHIMA.

The District P. M. O. remarks:—

"To improve the ventilation of the married quarters, roof ventilation should be provided, and it would be an improvement if ceiling cloths were provided in all the barracks."

EDWARDESABAD, P. 94.

The District P. M. O. remarks:—

"* * * But indeed, the insanitary condition and almost ruinous state of these (cavalry) lines, owing to the plague of myriads of rats, may lead eventually to their final evacuation. The rat holes permeate the foundations, floors, walls and even roofs. Water lodges and becomes stagnant in the holes, and the whole position is a source of danger. Special correspondence has passed on the subject."

BERHAMPUR, P. 94.

"A number of houses in the lines are very damp. The flatness of the surrounding country, and the large number of tanks scattered about the municipality and in the neighbourhood of the lines, are the cause of this defect. There is also a marshy *heel* close to the regimental lines, which is not conducive to health * * * *. The huts in the lines being very damp during the monsoons and for some time after, it is strongly recommended that the floors of the quarters be laid with some impermeable substance, and that some system of deep drainage be adopted for lowering the level of the subsoil water in the vicinity of the lines."

SIRDAPORE, P. 97.

"There are no trench latrines, or latrines of any kind, for the rank and file of the regiment."

INDORE, P. 97.

The District P. M. O. remarks:—

"I consider the excessive admission rate for dysentery amongst the native troops to be due to

inferior food supplies owing to the dearth of provisions, to the want of sufficiently high plinths to the huts, and to the huts being built on black soil. I recommend that the floors of the huts be raised as high as the buildings will permit."

KAMPTEE, P. 97.

"Except in the case of a few families in the lines there was no overcrowding. There was a deficiency of 27 feet superficial space and 150 cubic feet per man in some of the huts which were overcrowded."

SIRUR, PP. 97-98.

The District P. M. O. remarks:—

"A good supply of pure water from deep wells is urgently required. At present the water is obtained from the Ghod, and this is believed to be the cause of outbreaks of cholera. The men's lines are so close to the native town that any infecting disease occurring in the latter invariably spreads to the former."

The General Officer Commanding the District remarks:—

"There is plenty of good water in the Sirur wells; and when there is any cholera about, the men of the regiment can be prohibited from going to the river for water. The site of the Poona Horse lines cannot be altered without spending two lacs of rupees."

[Query.—Would the G. O. C. have ventured to make such remarks had the health of British troops been in question?]

REPORT FOR 1899. TABLE XXX.

BARRACKPORE, P. 86.

The Medical Officer in charge of the 2nd Madras Infantry remarks:

"The regiment has not the authorized cubic space and the barracks are extremely damp and have only mud floors. Allowing 8 men on guard from each barrack, the barracks are 8,000 cubic feet each deficient by rough measurement."

The General Officer Commanding the District:—

"The main point to be attended to is the improvement of the drainage generally. There are difficulties connected with this, but the matter is being looked into and the drains improved, as funds become available. * * The other suggestions will be taken up as soon as possible, with the exception of the rebuilding of the native infantry lines, which, no doubt, should be eventually rebuilt on the standard plan."

The Lieutenant-General Commanding the Forces:—

"There are many native troop lines that have to be reconstructed before those at Barrackpore."

DEHRA DUN, P. 86.

"The 1st battalion, 2nd Gurkhas, suffered most from sickness. The causes of sickness being more in the above battalion, are: The area occupied by the lines is smaller; * * *. Conjunctivitis was due to defective ventilation in the married quarters. Tubercle of the lungs was also chiefly amongst the married men, and so defective ventilation is probably an important cause."

The Lieutenant-General Commanding the forces:—

"* * * The defective ventilation is now being remedied."

KOHIMA, P. 87.

"Chest affections are partly due to the well-known pre-disposition of the Gurkhas to suffer from these diseases, and partly to the badly built and badly ventilated huts. The latter with their *elkra* walls and corrugated iron roofs are hot in summer and cold in winter. There has been no overcrowding in the individual huts used by the Sepoys, but the barracks are built much too closely together, and they are of faulty construction and badly ventilated. They have been frequently adversely reported upon. If this station is to be retained as one for regular native troops, it will undoubtedly be necessary to build new barracks. Those at present in use are cramped upon a hill side,—8 barracks on a site barely large enough for 2. They are built on a wrong principle, and the ventilation, when any exists, is natural,—from holes between the roof and walls. It is no wonder that chest affections should be so common in the winter, when one sees the barracks the men have to live in."

KOHAT, P. 88.

"The 33rd Punjab Infantry had the highest constantly sick ratio, * *. Also the infantry occupied the condemned infantry lines. Taking the average strength of the 6th Punjab Infantry occupying the lines as 713 unmarried and 46 married men, there is a deficiency of 363 cubic feet for unmarried and no deficiency for married men. New lines are badly wanted, and good sites for such lines are available, but it seems useless making any recommendation at present."

The District P. M. O.:—

"The demolition of the present overcrowded and partly ruinous centre infantry lines and the building of new lines on a fresh site, are urgent sanitary requirements."

The G. O. C. the district:—

"The centre infantry lines have been condemned for the last 20 years, and their unsuitability for occupation insisted on in every sanitary report."

The L.-G. Commanding the Forces:—

"Proposals are being considered for the building of new lines to replace the present central infantry lines, which are insufficient and in a ruinous condition."

EDWARDESABAD, P. 88.

The P. M. O. P. F. F.

"* * The rebuilding, on a fresh site (if obtainable), of the cavalry lines."

The L.-G. C. the Forces:—

"The question is under consideration."

BARAGULLY, PP. 89-90.

"The native drivers and muleteers, having not the authorized cubic space, are merely 'huddled,' as no buildings have been provided for them. This state of affairs has been brought forward several times without any apparent benefit."

The L.-G. Com. the Forces:—

"An estimate amounting to 12,000 has been sanctioned for the provision of quarters for the drivers and followers, but funds have not yet been allotted."

DATTAKHEL, P. 91.

"* * The huts in which the men were housed are too small to give adequate cubic space for the six men living in each; besides they are so constructed as to be equally inefficient as a protection from the sun in the hot weather, and from the cold winds during the winter months."

BOMBAY, P. 94.

District P. M. O.:—

"The lines of the 2nd Bo.-Grenadiers are old and insanitary, and the only measure to remedy the defect is to vacate them. The men cannot be healthy in such a position, and it is sure to keep them in a bad state of health, especially when it is considered that the barracks are almost completely surrounded by unhealthy sites."

FORT SANDEMAN, P. 94.

"The accommodation for the native troops and the followers of the native cavalry is exceedingly overcrowded; the deficiency of space amounts to upwards of 13,000 square feet. The followers have no accommodation at all, and consequently they have to remain herded together at night with the sowars." **

"The bathing places for the native troops are quite unprotected from the weather."

PESHIN, P. 95.

"* * The barracks and all other buildings should be erected on permanent masonry plinths, 3 feet high. If this is considered impossible, the present mud-flooring of all the barracks, hospitals, &c., should be paved with brick and cement."

REPORT FOR 1900. TABLE XXX.

BELLARY, P. 75.

"The native infantry barracks are old, broken down, and unfit for occupation. New blocks are, however, in course of construction; but these also have their defects, viz., the system of private urinaries, in the married quarters, defective ventilation, and defective roofing."

VIZIANAGRAM, P. 75.

"Beri-beri is supposed * * to have been aggravated by housing in low damp huts. * * New lines are in course of erection."

BOMBAY, P. 76.

"The lines of the 2nd Bo. Grenadiers should be evacuated, as their surroundings are insanitary. There being a great deal of overcrowding in the married quarters of the 21st Bo. L., sufficient accommodation should be provided."

FORT SANDEMAN, P. 76.

"Pneumonia was probably due to the severe winter, and to the insufficient accommodation. Overcrowding exists among the native troops and followers of the native cavalry. The deficiency of space amounts to over 13,000 square feet. There is no accommodation for the followers, who have, therefore, to sleep with the sowars or to make some other arrangement."

HINGOLI, P. 76.

The G. O. C. the District :—

"The infantry lines require to be rebuilt, if the regiment is to remain at Hingoli."

REPORT FOR 1901. TABLE XX X

ALIPORE, P. 16.

"The station is low-lying, damp, and imperfectly drained* *. The men's barracks have as then floors, which always become damp in wet weather, and are no doubt, a cause of ill-health * *."

The G. O. C. the District.

"The floors of the men's barracks should be made pucca as funds are available."

SHILLONG, P. 76.

"The construction of seven sheds, = = as also the addition of verandas to the single men's barracks, and the re-construction of the married lines, still remain to be done. These have all been approved, and an allotment of funds is awaited."

DEESA, P. 77.

"The huts (of the 2nd Bo. Lancers lines) are old, small, and badly ventilated, and have it is understood, been condemned by all inspecting officers. * * But it has been decided by the Lieut.-Genl. Com. the Forces that the question of new lines must stand over till the Poona Cavalry lines are completed."

FORT SANDEMAN, P. 77.

"The accommodation for the Cavalry and the followers is insufficient. The construction of lines for 2½ Squadrons is recommended."

REPORT FOR 1902, TABLE XX.

FEROZPORE, P. 72.

The present barracks have been condemned, as being insanitary; new ones are to be built.

MEEAN MEER, P. 72.

The drainage of the lines, like that at the station in general, is defective, and water lodges under the culverts. A large drainage scheme, conceived on a liberal scale, is required. Till this is done, the station must remain unhealthy in years of ordinary rainfall. * * There are over-crowding and deficient ventilation in the men's huts, due to deficient quarters for syces, many of whom cannot sleep in their own lines; this has been brought to the notice of the President, Bengal Cavalry Lines Committee.

DERA ISMAIL KHAN, P. 72.

"Verandas are required to be built for the barracks in the native infantry lines."

KENG TING, P. 72.

"The barrack accommodation is not good. * * The condition of the Cantonment is swampy."

BANGALORE, P. 72.

"All the follower's lines ** are generally in an insanitary state for want of proper sanitary control over them, and for want of funds to carry out improvements."

REPORT FOR 1903, TABLE XXX.

SEHORE, P. 76.

"The barrack accommodation is not sufficient: when most of the men of the garrison are present, the surplus number will have to be accommodated in tents or in any available buildings. The matter is under consideration by G. O. C. the District."

FORT SANDEMAN, P. 77.

"An increased accommodation both for the troops and for the followers is badly needed. The Lieutenant-General Commanding the forces remarks that it would seem wiser to provide more accommodation when the permanent location of troops at the fort will be required."

LORALAI, P. 77.

"The construction of the cavalry barracks is a matter of urgent need. An estimate for this work was sanctioned two or three years ago, and has since been included every year in the schedule of demands, but no funds have been given. A shallow channel near the main road leading to the Cantonment, which is at present used as a latrine and filth place, should be filled in; this has been included in the list of minor works, but no funds have been given."

REPORT FOR 1904, TABLE XXX.

EDWARDESABAD P. 76.

"The Cavalry lines are unsuitable and a new site should be selected."

The Officer Commanding the Brigade says:—

"Several sites have been selected in past years."

The L.-G. Commanding the Forces remarks:—

"The scheme for the extension of Bannu Cantonment has been postponed by Government till further orders."

BAKLOH, P. 76.

The following defects have been brought to notice:—

"(1) Overcrowding. The entire space of the 2-4th Gurkhas Barrack is not sufficient. (2) The earthen floors harbour the *Bacillus tuberculosis*."

The General Officer Commanding the Division says as regards the defects enumerated above:—

"(1) More barracks have been sanctioned, but funds have not been allotted. The serious epidemic of tubercle has been got in hand by temporary evacuation at some expense. There is grave danger of this having to be incurred all over again owing to want of money to carry out the most ordinary sanitary measures repeatedly recommended in diverse shapes by committees. (2) Concrete floors are needed."

ABBOTTABAD, P. 76.

The following defects have been brought to notice:—

"(1) Tubercle is still prevalent in the Gurkha Battalions, and a recommendation is made as in the Sanitary Report for 1902, that the floors be dug up three inches and fresh earth put in its place. (2) The accommodation in the barracks of the Gurkha Battalions should be increased to 50 Square feet and 600 feet per man. This increased accommodation was sanctioned by the Government of India * * in order to check the prevalence of and mortality from tubercle."

"Pucca floors are not authorised for native troops."

May we ask why? Is it because in the opinion of Lord Dalhousie mud floors represent the acme of perfection?

REPORT FOR 1904. TABLE XXX.

LORALAI, P. 78.

"The present new Cavalry lines are badly designed, as the rooms are between animals and they are overcrowded."

REPORT FOR 1906. TABLE XXX.

DHARMSALA, P. 74.

"The cubic space has hitherto been defective in the lines. This as well as lighting and ventilation will be attended to in rebuilding the barracks."

NASIRABAD, P. 74.

"A great number of minor defects have been brought before the Cantonment Committee, and a sub-committee has been sitting to consider remedies. Their report will be considered when completed; but the only difficulty will be provision of funds which must be spread over a term of years."

After reading the above quoted extracts from the Annual Reports of the Sanitary

Commissioner with the Government of India for the last ten years, can anyone say with Lord Dalhousie that

"The position of the Native Soldier in India has long been such as to leave hardly any circumstance of his condition in need of improvement?"

Sir John Kaye has observed that Lord Dalhousie, whom Sir Charles Napier had nicknamed the "Laird of the Pen," lacked imagination, and that he could not

"understand the genius of the people among whom his lot was cast. He had but one idea of them—an idea of a people habituated to the despotism of a domi-

nant race. * * * He could not see with other men's eyes; or think with other men's brains; or feel with other men's hearts. With the characteristic unimaginativeness of his race he could not for a moment divest himself of his individuality, or conceive the growth of ancestral pride and national honour in other breasts than those of the Campbells and the Ramsays."

Historians may very properly investigate whether Lord Dalhousie's action in providing luxurious lodgings and increasing the comforts of the white soldiers and doing nothing for the black or brown ones was not one of the contributory causes of the Sepoy Revolt.

LIFE OF SHIVAJI

(From the Persian.)

§ 39.—Shiva recovers his own.

[On his way back] he secretly met Abdulla Qutb-ul-mulk, king of Haidarabad, charmed him by his spells and deception, and vowed that if Abdulla lent him troops and siege-materials he would quickly recover the forts on the Qutb Shahi frontier seized by Bijapur and make them over to the Kutb Shahi officers who would accompany him, as well as some of his own forts then in the hands of the Imperialists, if they were recovered by means of the materials supplied by Qutb Shah. Shiva was renowned for his skill in taking forts. Qutb Shah, without thinking of Shiva's [noted] foresight and stratagem, sent a strong force with siege-materials under some men intended to act as *qiladars*, and ordered them to obey Shiva.

With this force Shiva quickly took every fort to which he came, as he was wonderfully expert in sieges. Then he befooled the Qutb Shahi officers who accompanied him for taking over the forts, saying, "You are now witnessing mere play. When I take a stronger fort

than this I shall give it up to you." He won them over by means of presents in cash and kind out of the booty seized in these forts, and passed on to other forts. Thus he speedily conquered Satara, Parnala, &c.,—10 or 12 famous Bijapur forts, which others could not have taken even in years and by the expenditure of *lacs*,—and recovered Raigam and other forts of which he had surrendered the keys to Jai Singh and Dilir Khan. Abdulla's men were given one or two forts and dismissed. The report is current in Haidarabad that in the 1st or 2nd year of Abu Hassan's reign Shiva visited him at Haidarabad and made a tool of him. (*Khafi Khan*, ii. 220-221).

Shiva now recovered by force the 17* forts which he had given up when he interviewed the Mirza Rajah, and strengthened them. When the Emperor learnt of it, his wrath overflowed. Just then the news reached him that Kheluji, the uncle of Shahu, was staying at Mathura. He was ordered to be produced before the Emperor. On being

* So in the text.

brought there,*he gave harsh and haughty replies, and was sentenced to be killed [by - being sawn to pieces] between two planks.

In the Kokan Shiva built, under the wealthy noble Keshav Panth's supervision, two forts near his old ones; these were named *Raman-ranjan* and *Rajashri-wardhan*. He deputed Pradhan Panth, the *pesiwa*, to the Kokan to regulate the district. (*Tarikh-i-Shivaji*, 25,b.)

§ 40—Shivaji crowns himself at Rajgarh.

By the grace of God Shiva's good fortune and success increased daily. One day he planned to deck out his throne and diadem and crown himself in the Hindu mode of royalty. After deciding it he ordered the construction of a throne and a crown. All the nobles bent their heads in obedience. Ganga Bhat, a very pious and accomplished Brahman, and other holy Brahmans were brought from Benares, and at an auspicious moment he ascended the throne at Rajgarh according to the Hindu custom. Henceforth the name of the fort was changed to Rajgarh. He ordered that all his officers, great and small, should build nice *pucca* houses and live there. For himself he laid the foundations of a palace in 8 blocks (*manzil*), named the Bek-sava Mahal, the Kalian Mahal, the Birak-sava Mahal, Daftar Mahal, &c. He built and gave to his sons and other relatives charming mansions according to their desire. Large sums were distributed in charity. Sital Puri, a very pious *Sanyasi* of Benares, was invited and made his *guru*. Daily sustenance was ordered to be sent to every pious man and devotee according to his need. Sital Puri was lodged at Sangameshwar, a holy place. Parmanand Gosain of Phaladpur and Narain Asram, a very saintly Brahman of Trimbakeswar Mahadeo, were highly honoured and served by Shivaji. Then he busied himself in laying in provisions and building forts, and achieved these tasks. (*Tarikh-i-Shivaji*, 25, b and 26, a.)

Shiva is said to have collected ten or twelve thousand Cutch and Arab horses. Wherever he sent a force, most of the men rode on his own horses. He repaired the forts formerly built on the sea-coast, constructed war-vessels, stationed them near the forts, and began to plunder the ships going to Persia and Mecca. Then, his mind being composed with regard to the settlement of the environs of Rajgarh, his old asylum, he cast about to secure a still stronger place and hill for his own residence. After a good deal of search he pitched upon the hill of Rairi, 6 miles in height from the base of the skirt of the hill to its summit, and 48 miles distant from the sea, though an arm of the sea lay only 14 miles from its foot. In the environs was the road of Surat, which was one stage of 24 miles by land. Rajgarh was 4 or 5 stages from it. The way was covered by high, strong and inaccessible hills. For five months it rains incessantly in that region. It is situated in the Kokan of the Nizam Shahi.

He began to build a fort here. The gates, towers and battlements were made extremely strong. Then he gave up his residence at Rajgarh and made Rairi his treasury and abode. After building the fort, mounting the guns, and closing all the roads except a very difficult one,—he assembled his men, placed a purse of gold and a gold bracelet worth a hundred *huns* before them, and proclaimed, "The money and bracelet will be given to any one who can climb the hill with a flag by any path other than the one left open, and without the aid of ladders or rope-nooses." A man of the Dher tribe said, "If your Majesty pleases, I shall ascend the hill with a flag, plant it, and then return." He did it, and returning quickly blessed and praised [the king]. Shiva gave him the purse and bracelet but ordered his feet to be cut off from the joints. Then he caused the path followed by the Dher to be closed. (*Khafi Khan*, ii. 222-223).

§ 41.—Further conquests of Shiva.

Shiva after establishing himself at Rajgarh renewed his disturbances, plundered Surat, the city having been without a defensive wall in those days, and carried off booty worth *krors* in cash and kind and thousands of prisoners male and female, respectable Hindus and Muslims. The Emperor on hearing of it ordered a protective wall to be built round the fort (or city?), and deputed Dilir Khan and Khan Jahan Bahadur with an army to chastise Shiva (*Khafi Khan*, ii. 222).

Shiva sent his soldiers to plunder the Imperial dominions, and they sacked the houses of the port of Surat, the *parganah* of Karija, and other places, and recovered some of the forts previously surrendered by him. But certain forts which were strong and well provisioned could not be captured by him. So he watched for an opportunity. One day he attacked the fort of Mahuli, (the commandant of which was Manohardas Gaur, a nephew of Bithaldas Gaur) entrenched around the hill, and tried to seize it. Manohardas, in spite of his lack of provisions and war-materials, the largeness of the enemy's number, and the hopelessness of getting reinforcements [in time], sent word to Shiva, "We are Rajputs and servants of the Emperor, ready to face death. This fort will not be captured without loss; many men must be sacrificed." Shiva besieged the fort, and one night sent 500 or 600 infantry familiar with the paths of the fort, to its top with the help of rope-nooses. Manohardas, who was ready with his Rajputs day and night, fell on them, slaying many and hurling the others down.

Foiled by his valour Shiva withdrew, and fell on Uzbek Khan, the *thanahdar* of Kalian Shimri, who with many of his followers perished after a heroic fight. The wounded sought refuge in Aurangabad. Manohardas resigned and was succeeded by Alawardi Beg, from whom Shiva wrested Mahuli, slaying the Beg and 200 men of the contingent of Daud

Khan. In addition to the forts previously surrendered by him, he conquered Alunt, which was an Imperial possession from the first (*Dilkasha*, 64-66).

§ 42.—Shiva befools the Mughals.

Shiva, wishing to conquer Bijapur territory and to provision his own forts [without hindrance] wrote to Maharajah Jaswant Singh, "His Majesty has cast me off. O how wise I had thought of conquering Qandahar [or the Emperor, at my own expense] without taking any materials from him. I fled from the court in fear of my life. The Mirza Rajah, my patron, is dead. If through your mediation my offences are pardoned, I can send my son Sambha to wait on the Prince [Mirazam, the Viceroy of the Deccan] that he may get a *mansab*. I can render service with my followers wherever I may be ordered to go." A petition to the same effect was sent to the Emperor, who assented to it at the recommendation of the Prince and the Maharajah.

Shiva sent Sambha with his trusted officer Partab Rao and 1,000 troops to the Maharajah to wait on the Prince. After the audience Sambha was given the rank of a commander of 5,000 horse, a choice elephant, jewelled arms, and *jagirs* in Berar and other provinces. He stayed with the Prince with half his force, the other half being sent to his *jagirs* [for collecting the revenue]. After some time Shiva begged that as Sambha was young he might be permitted to come home, promising that he would be again sent to court when old enough to do service [in the *Deh*]. It was granted and Sambha was given leave to depart. Partab Rao served at Aurangabad as his deputy. The men of the Maharajah conveyed Sambha home.

The Emperor attached some of the *raazals* of Sambha's *jagir*, in return for the *ac* of rupees presented to Shiva when he went to the court. Shiva heard of it. As he had

in the meantime conquered much of the Bijapur kingdom and satisfactorily replenished the provisions and stores of his fortresses, he summoned Partab Rao and his troops from Aurangabad. He slipped out, and the party [of Marathas] previously sent to the *parganahs* of Sambha's *jagir* also fled after plundering the villages. The Imperial force sent in pursuit could not capture them.

There was a great reduction in the Mughal army in the Deccan, and the dismissed men took service under Shiva to earn their bread. (*Dilkasha*, pp. 69-71).

[The above is a clear and rational account of this affair. The Maratha chronicle, from which I translate immediately below, gives a confused and seemingly inaccurate version of it.]

As fate had kept in hiding a different state of things, a strange incident now happened. One day Sambhaji, the son of Shivaji, forgetting the dispensation of death, planned to spread his name by force and valour. Getting disgusted with his father for some reason or other, he went to Dilir Khan, an Imperial grandee who was appointed to conquer Bijapur. The Khan immediately arrested him and reported to the Emperor that Sambha who had fled from the Imperial prison had fallen into his hands. The Emperor sent *ahadis* and mace-bearers with orders to bring him as quickly as possible. Sambha's suspicions being excited by this, he tried to get out of his danger. One day seizing a favourable chance he escaped back to his father.

The *ahadis* and Abyssinians returned after fruitless efforts. The Emperor on learning of it from the news-letters, punished and reprimanded Dilir Khan, who, unable to bear the wrath of his master, took poison, preferring death to life. Prince Shah Alam was now appointed to govern the Deccan. Maharajah Jaswant Singh,* Rajah Bhao Singh, and other Rajput chiefs were posted under him.

* The text has Mirza Raja Jai Singh, which is evidently wrong, unless we take this passage to be a detached fragment of an earlier part of the book.

Shivaji on hearing of it sent Niraji Rao Raghunath, his *diwan-bakhshi*, Isaji, Parlab Rao Gujar (who had the right of beating kettledrums), and others of his chiefs to the Prince, and through the mediation of the Maharajah, whom he knew from before, submitted his prayer [for terms of peace]. A settlement, satisfactory to him, was made, viz., by giving up to the Prince 27 forts he made peace. For three and a half years good faith was kept, but at last the peace was broken. Partab Gujar and Niraji, who were staying with the Prince as Shivaji's agents, on seeing that affairs had taken a contrary turn, left the place on the pretext of pilgrimage and returned to their own country. Moro Panth and Trim-bak Sondev, two of Shivaji's great generals, at their master's order attacked all the 27 forts surrendered to the Prince and took them by escalade. The whole province of Baglana in which these forts are situated was occupied.

Shiva ordered all his troops in Khandesh Berar and other places to arrive on an appointed day within 10 miles of Surat. He himself, as was his practice, reached the rendezvous by forced marches. All the troops from the four sides mustered as agreed upon. As the governor of the city resisted, the town of Surat was attacked and plundered, and a vast booty taken. A report was sent to the Emperor [by the Marathas]: "The face (*surat*) of your Majesty has been disfigured (*bad surat*). You should rule over Hindustan [only]. The Deccan was originally under the Nizam Shah, whose descendants are now in power. Your Majesty has no right to this province. Although the sovereignty of Hindustan [rightly] belongs to us, Hindus, Your Majesty may rule over it." The Emperor on hearing of it flew into a violent rage, but had to overlook it as he had no leisure then [to punish Shiva].

§ 42.—Birth of Rajah Ram.

Shivappa (? Shoshappa) Naik, a *paligar* and native of Zunargarh, lived between the Kokan

and the Karnatak. He collected a large force and seized many places in that district. Shivaji Rajah determined to punish and expel him. Assembling all his troops he gave them a vast amount of bounty, and choosing an auspicious moment set out. * * * One of his pure-souled wives accompanied him, and was sent back from the way to his home. In due time she delivered a fortunate son who was named Raja Ram. He himself went on to punish Shivappa Naik. Arriving at Marwan near Samandargarh (=Samudra-garh?) he summoned his fleet; and after fitting out and provisioning the ships he sailed away with his Mawals. Arriving at Bednore Pettah he fought with and slew the brother of Shivappa Naik, who used to live in the Kokan at Mahableshwar. Till then no one had attempted to take this country, but Shiva conquered it by God's grace. After the victory he returned to Raigarh. Shivappa Naik, on hearing of it, became alarmed and inclined to peace, promising tribute, the amount of which was fixed at 3 lacs of *huns*. Wamanji Pandit was appointed to collect the tribute and send it. Even now they are true to their agreement.

§ 44.—Arrest of Shahji by the Bijapuris.

Shahji had gone into retreat on the bank of the Kistna. Parsuji, his brother's son, was placed by him in charge of the Karnatak and his other possessions, and he administered them admirably. Shivaji, too, seized many forts and territories. The ruler of Bijapur getting alarmed at these occurrences, asked Baji Ghorpure of Mudhol, a subordinate of Shahji, to arrest him by stratagem. Baji brought Shahji to his house under the pretence of an invitation, imprisoned him, and seized all his property and things. The king of Bijapur, pleased at the news, sent mounted mace-bearers and ordered Baji Ghorpure to bury Shahji alive in the ground. Randaula Khan, *naib* of Bijapur and a staunch friend of Shahji, knowing indifference and neglect to be

against the rules of friendship in such a time of need, determined to go on pilgrimage. On a bright day he came to the king of Bijapur with one thousand lighted torches to take his leave. The king at the sight of it reflected and realised that all the Deccan were in concert and might cause an irremediable disaster to his throne. He, therefore, took the Khan by the hand, drew him towards himself, caused him to sit down, and asked him the cause of all his dissatisfaction. The Khan replied, "Shahji has done nothing to deserve such a severe punishment. It is unjust to slay an innocent man. It is not considered justified by reasons of policy." On hearing this sharp and open protest, the king gave up his wrath and said, "Bring Shahji to Court, and if you stand surety for him his faults will be pardoned." At this an order was issued on Ghorpure asking him not to shed the blood of Shahji but to bring him to Court. Randaula Khan promised the bearer of the order that if he went most speedily one *maund's* weight of gold would be given to him as reward. Ghorpure, in accordance with the first order, had rubbed Shahji with scented oil, bathed him, and put him into a hole. Shahji knowing this to be his last moment was engaged in reciting God's name and repeating on his tongue the *Gita* or the Book of the Truth of Truths. The servants had commenced filling up the hole with earth and stones and buried Shahji up to the neck, and were going to place a heavy stone on his head to cover him up entirely, when—as his predestined period of life had not yet come to its end,—the swift courier arrived with the order which granted him life. The cry of lamentation and grief ceased. The servants drew him out of the hole and made many apologies. All his confiscated property was restored and he was taken to the king of Bijapur, as ordered. Randaula Khan advanced to welcome him, ushered him into the Presence, and caused him to be honoured with a *khilat*, an elephant, a sword, and other gifts.

Shahji was ordered to attend at the Court when required. His mind being reassured, he feasted all the other nobles and they him, and thanked the Omnipotent Giver of Life for 15 days. Then he went to the Karnatak. Randaula Khan said at the time of his departure, "Henceforth never trust a Ghorpure, as this family is faithless to its salt. Try your utmost to crush them."

From the Karnatak Shahji went to Kooloor Balakrant, and wrote to Shivaji in the terms of Randaula's speech, "If you are my truly begotten son and no coward, punish Baji Ghorpure Mudhol-kar who has treated me so falsely." Immediately after getting the letter and learning its purport, Shivaji marched from Rajgarh to Panala-garb, summoned the Mawals from all sides, assembled a strong force, and then making forced marches plundered and burnt down Mudhol. He captured and slew Baji Ghorpure with 3,000 of his soldiers. Baji's son Venkaji, who was absent, escaped with his life, but all other members of his family were put to death, even the pregnant women. Then Shivaji returned to Panala.

§ 45.—Meeting between Shahji and Shivaji.

This affair greatly pleased Shahji. His paternal love welled forth. He wished for a meeting with such a good son as a very desirable thing, if it could be accomplished. So he set off with his army towards Puna, taking his brother's son Parsuji with himself. When he arrived near Panala, [Shivaji's] officers in that district welcomed him on the way and showed him due hospitality. Thence he approached Puna. Shiva, drawing up his army and taking all his nobles with himself, waited for him 10 miles in advance of Puna. When Shahji's cortege approached, Shiva dismounted from his horse, bowed to his father, and proceeded towards him. Shahji, too, alighted from his elephant, and the two met and embraced each other with intense delight. For three hours

they shed tears of joy at each other's feet; their throats were choked with the surging of delight, in excess of happiness they could not speak. Then Shahji got into a *palki* and asked Shiva to enter it. The latter respectfully declined, [but walked] holding the ring of the *palki* and thus earned bliss in this world and the next. They proceeded [thus] for 10 miles and reached Puna.* As they entered the palace, Jija Bai, the mother of Shiva, who had been long parted from her husband, saw him. Delicious dishes were tasted; beautiful and costly clothes and jewels were presented; large sums were spent in alms and gifts. In the [outer] palace Shahji sat on the *guddi*. Shivaji stood among the servants and followers, holding in his hands his father's shoes, in which lay all the blessings of this life and the next. Shahji, on being informed by the *karkun* Raghunath, of the service and good conduct of Shiva, was greatly pleased with him, took him by the hand, and made him sit on the *guddi*. Two months were thus passed in rejoicing and pleasure; all men, high and low, were gratified with gifts to their heart's content.

§ 46.—Death of Shahji.

Then Shahji bade him farewell and returned to the Karnatak. Randaula Khan was engaged in an expedition in Sundha Bednor, and Shahji like a friend came to his aid. After the [first] pleasure of the meeting they set out to hunt. Shahji on the back of a mare was striking down game, when a hare—which was really the Messenger of Death—suddenly came in view. He gave it chase. The horse stumbled on a stone, the rider was thrown down and trampled by it. Thus his life passed away. Randaula Khan was greatly grieved at this occurrence, laid out a garden on the spot, and built monasteries, assigning the revenue of the district for their maintenance.

* What a fine subject for a historical picture is this meeting between father and son, and what splendid opportunities does it offer to an artist! I recommend it to Mr. Dhurandhar's brush.

This arrangement still prevails. He wished to appropriate Shahji's property, but Parsuji resisted and brought all his effects to Shivaji, who regarding Parsuji in the light of a brother presented all these articles to him with the title of *Sena Sahib-i-subah*, i. e., the commander of the whole army.

Shivaji one day plundered the *pettah* or bazar of Bijapur and circled round the city plundering its environs. The king of Bijapur in sore distress sent expert envoys and saved his land by promising to pay a tribute of 3 lacs of *huns* a year. Shiva accepted the terms and sent Shyamji Naik as his agent. Thence he went and looted [the suburbs of] Haidarabad, the seat of Tana Shah. Madna [Panth], the *diwan* of Tana Shah, promised a tribute of 9 lacs of *huns* a year to save the land.

Thenceforth the rulers of Bijapur and Golkonda used regularly to send elephants, jewels and other rare things of their lands as presents.

After a time by bribing Dianet Rai, the manager of Bijapur, who was all-in-all in that kingdom, with 20,000 *huns* a year, he made him neglect [the defence of the kingdom], while he levied *khandani* from all parts of it to his heart's content. By looting Khavapur he secured a large amount in cash and kind. Thence he marched into Berar, plundered the city of Karanjara, seized the *sahibdars* of the place, and levied *khandani* or *chattri*. Two lacs of *huns* were given to Nilaji Pantu to go to the Kokan and perform sacrifice (*yajna*) and alms-giving.

JADUNATH SARKAR.

SAVITRI—AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY

XI

THREE years after the birth of my first child I had a second child—and that too was a daughter. She was more charming than her elder sister, fairer in colour and more active. My husband loved his children so much that he resolved to educate them—and ours were the children that first lisped the alphabet in our village. A private tutor's services were engaged, in spite of all my protests to the contrary. There was a public school, and why should they not go there? "Are we so wealthy? With that five rupees that he is given I can make an ornament for them at the end of three years. You will not understand it now. It is when you become old that you will understand it."

But my husband would have his way. Apart from the private tutor he had a musician

whom he paid rupees three every month—and my children improved every day. Only the expense was too much, I always insisted upon saying, and my husband as often repudiated it. Why should he lay by money? Let his children be educated. There he could find his best wealth.

"Why hanker after wealth? Have we not enough now to live upon as happily as you or I lived in our respective houses? No one gives us money now. It is I alone that earn; and even like this I will earn always. I have that capacity. And as to wealth, after the litigation pending in the court, I may get my share—and there is then wealth for you."

But I was not to be satisfied. I have seen many a rupee and many an ornament with my mother. I have seen my father's box full of money and currency notes. Why should

we not be rich too? Why should I not have as much money at my command? That was my way of thinking.

My children would always be reading or singing or going out with my brother, who was living with me, as my mother said that I was young and would not be able to manage the house. My brother was only ten years of age and was a clever boy, and though he was sent only to help me in my household duties, yet, seeing the cleverness of the boy, my husband insisted that he should go to school, a proposition that I strenuously opposed.

"You are a very rich man, Sir—" said I to my husband, "and perhaps you could afford to turn the world round with your fingers. My father never studied English—neither did my elder brothers. They are all now very well-to-do, contented and happy. It is a very enviable life that they lead, and I would have my Vythu lead no other life. The farmer's life has more happiness in it than yours."

But whatever I might say, my husband would only smile. He said that he was afraid of me; and that was all. My brother went to school and came back, and along with my daughters progressed well in his studies.

XII

The news reached our village, with many embellishments, that we were living in right royal fashion. It was said that my husband, though now getting only forty rupees, was actually getting nearly one hundred rupees. And my daughters were being bred up in English fashion. They were dressed in petticoats and stockings. They had two tutors. They had everything that they desired. And my brother also was like an 'Englishman,' going to school in trousers and boots.

When such news reached my mother's home all was joy and prayer. My mother prided herself that her daughter, so dear, so clever as she was pleased to call me, was happy with

her husband. She prayed to God that we might be like that for ever, and on such occasions she would inveigh against her son-in-law, that is my husband, who, she was sorry to find, was very extravagant. Could he live like this for ever? Was the Government appointment an everlasting affair? Would he not have one day to retire? And should he not provide against a rainy day? She would often wonder how even I, her own child, bred after her, with an eye to economy, should fall into extravagance like this. But otherwise she was well pleased, and loved to hear that we were happy. And when, during the vacation he would go to my mother's house, she always delighted to see my daughters dressed in boots and stockings, and they had invariably the largest amount of ghee, the biggest and the best mango and the freshest fruit. They were made much of, both because they were beautiful and agile, and because they could repeat a, b, &c., and knew how to use the pen. Even my father who was never known to play with any child would often, after his evening meal, when he was disengaged, call upon them to sing—and it was a source of the greatest pleasure to me to see my father enjoy it. And when one day he requested my eldest daughter to copy out a document for him, I felt so proud that I actually forgot to take my midday meal.

XIII

But far other was the effect of the news that my husband was earning much and was spending more, in my mother-in-law's house. She was infuriated. She walked like a lioness in a cage. She fretted and she fumed and she frowned.

"Earning! earning nearly a hundred rupees a month! What of that? He has his brother-in-law with him. He does not care for his brothers, why should he? Does he care for his own mother?" and she would burst into tears at the thought—"did he not say that I made

attempts against his wife? And has he not instituted legal proceedings against his own father? Has he not laid the axe at the root of a happy family, blasted its budding happiness, cast gloom upon the evening of his own father's fast fading days? Earning? What of that? The children of that wretch, his wife, enjoy? Oh! how I wish that——"

That was the difference. The son was apparently hated by his mother. She would even wish his death to see me 'a widow.' But it was far otherwise with my father-in-law. He really loved his son. He often said that his son was very clever and would make his way in the world. And he was very much pleased to hear that even his grand-daughters could sing and read, and in his fondness, sent for them to his house.

And here rose a wrangle. My mother and myself were against sending them. "Who knows but they might be injured by her *mantras*? Did she not try them on me, nay, for the matter of that, did not her *mantras* affect me? And does not rumour say that even Narayana, the awful man who was so much feared, was under her *mantras*? How could I, knowing all that, send my children? Would it not be just like throwing them into the lion's mouth?"

But my father interposed. Whatever might be the differences, Narayana was a man to be respected, and his blessings were necessary for my children. He insisted that my children ought to be sent; Narayana was not an ordinary man, and his likes and dislikes were to be greatly cared for. And so it was settled that my children should go, and I had to give them so much advice. I told them never to approach my mother-in-law. I told them never to speak to my sisters-in-law; and above all I asked them to swear that they would not take anything in that house—neither water nor food. Why, some medicines might be mixed with their food or drink, and my children might die! Oh the very thought of it!

My daughters were sent, and I sent my brother with the strictest injunctions to wait upon them and watch over them. I asked him to come away with them before evening. "They may insist upon your remaining there and pass the night with them, but do not remain. Come away. They may ask you to take oil-bath—do not take it, for they may mix salt with the oil which will result in the rapid falling off of the hair." And I had to make grand arrangements against their return, prepare a peculiar mixture and all that, so that any evil eyes that might have fallen upon them in my mother-in-law's house might have no effect upon them. Such was the hatred and suspicion I had!

PART IV.

OH FOR A SON!

I.

My third child too was a daughter! It was not at all joyous to think of. No one was ever glad when I was having only daughters. Each daughter meant an expense of a thousand rupees or so, and my mother always shook her head. And no opportunity was lost to impress upon my husband the necessity of economising to the utmost extent so in six or seven years my first daughter would be of marriageable age; and then there would be the second, and then the third! What next?

That was the question. Would I still bear a daughter? No, if *mantras* had any effect; not, if fasts had any virtue at all. Every Monday I fasted; every Saturday I fasted; and I do not know how many other fasts I observed. Every evening I went to the temple and had only one prayer to make—that a son might be born to me.

And special worship was offered up to God by my husband. Every Friday in our house a priest would invoke the blessings of the goddess Saraswati. Much money was given away in charity; and I vowed that I would present a golden bell for Lord Sri Krishna if a son were born to me.

But still a daughter! My mother went out of the room in disgust. A daughter still! A fourth daughter! Why, we must now find out a big round vessel and go a-begging. Who knows what sins I might have committed in my previous birth that all the *mantras* and *pujas* should after all have proved unavailing?

II

A fourth daughter! aye; my mother-in-law was mightily pleased. "A fourth daughter—I wish she would have a hundred daughters that she might beg from door to door, and I live to mock at her. Yes, that would be so. The wretch—" I had alienated the affection of her own son from her. Wretch that I was, it was I that had spread that wild rumour of her having made attempts against my life. I deserved it—nay deserved more.

Thus my mother-in-law—even so my own mother. Even she felt that something was wrong somewhere, and naturally the suspicion fell upon my mother-in-law. Yes, it must be she alone that would do so; she must have invoked the aid of some deity; otherwise how could I, her daughter, bring forth four daughters?

The astrologer was called, and he gave his decision. I must go to Rameswaram; and I must name my son Ramanathan. There alone lay all my hopes. That must be done—and whether my husband agreed or not, my mother promised that she would defray all the expenses of the journey;—and so I went to Rameswaram.

III

Though I had four daughters, and I felt that sooner or later, having my daughter's welfare at heart, I must necessarily keep apart some money, yet my husband was as careless and extravagant as ever. He spent everything upon their education and dress. He had curious notions. He would never make ornaments, but would spend in dress, which would be in tatters in no time! I would protest

at times. Why should they put on costly clothes while at home? Had we so much to spend? Should we not be economical? For the matter of that the eldest born was already ten years old, and old women had already begun to whisper why no attempts were being made to marry her. It was a pity, I would put in, that some people did not realise the duty they owed to their family.

And why should the girls be educated at all? What need of it was there? Why need they, the best part of whose life was to be spent in the kitchen, learn to read and write? Waste of money and nothing more! And why should they be taught to sing and to play on various instruments when in course of time they would forget everything? Where would they have opportunities to either improve or at least to exercise their skill?

But my husband would only smile. I was anxious for the marriage of my eldest daughter. But my husband was of a different opinion. Why, anyone who heard her sing would snatch her away. Anxiety to marry daughters who were so accomplished? Why, I must be mad—and as to extravagance, did he not expect ten thousand rupees as his share of the ancestral property? Had he not sued for partition? And why should he not live happily on what he earned, since what he would get from his father would be sufficient for all other purposes?

Yet I was very careful; and my husband loved me, and could not tell me nay. Thus I laid by small sums of money, and made several tiny ornaments for my children.

IV

Perhaps I may here mention one small affair over which we used to quarrel outright. It was when I would insist upon boring holes in my daughters' ears and nose, my husband would protest against it! He would not have any of his daughters suffer that dreadful pain. They were by nature beautiful enough.

But I would have my way. I bored holes regularly, in their ears and noses. I wanted that my daughters should be as other girls were. Because they knew how to spell a few words in English, were they to be kept like boys? Already my mother-in-law had spread all sorts of rumours. She had given out that my daughters did not know how to work in the kitchen. She had given it out that my daughters were all taught Christianity and that they would be Christians, for were they not reading in a Christian institution, where the tutors were all missionaries bent upon making converts? And how could my husband live like a lord, as he did, on thirty rupees a month, unless he was helped by these missionaries?

All this was, of course, false, but my mother-in-law insisted upon saying all this, though, of course, many who knew her, knew that she was only giving expression to the rancour

in her heart. But yet I felt that I ought not to give any grounds for any talk like that. I hastily withdrew my children from the school, much against my husband's will. I put my eldest daughter into regular training at cleansing vessels, cooking curries and a thousand and one things to be attended to in that wonderfully mighty kingdom—the kitchen. To myself it was a surprise how quickly she grasped everything, and within a comparatively short time could manage the whole house and none knew whether it was she or I that did it.

Though I had withdrawn them from school, yet they underwent a regular system of studies at home; they had a singing master and a teacher of English, while their father himself taught them their vernacular. My third and fourth daughters soon overtook my first and second in accomplishments.

S. PARUKUTTY.

DEPORTATION—AND AFTER!

IN his excellent "Sketch" of the life of Cæsar, the late historian, J. A. Froude, in one of his earlier chapters, whilst referring to the agitation over the proposal of Caius Gracchus to extend the Roman franchise to the Italian States in the century preceding the Christian era, observes as follows:—

"Political convulsions work in a groove, the direction of which varies little in any age or country. Institutions once sufficient and salutary become ill-adapted to a change of circumstances. The traditional holders of power see their interests threatened. They are jealous of innovations. They look on agitators for reform as felonious persons desiring to appropriate what does not belong to them. The complaining parties are conscious of

suffering, and rush blindly on the superficial causes of their immediate distress. The existing authority is their enemy; and their one remedy is a change in the system of government. They imagine that they see what the change should be, that they comprehend what they are doing, and know where they intend to arrive. They do not perceive that the visible disorders are no more than symptoms which no measures, repressive or revolutionary, can do more than palliate. The wave advances and the wave recedes. Neither party in the struggle can lift itself far enough above the passions of the moment to study the drift of the general current. Each is violent, each is one-sided, and each makes the most and the worst of the sins of its opponent. The one idea of the aggressors is to grasp all that they can reach. The one idea of the conservatives is to part with nothing, pretending that the stability of the

State depends on adherence to the principles which have placed them in the position which they hold; and as various interests are threatened, and as various necessities arise, those who are one day enemies are frightened the next into unnatural coalitions, and the next after into more embittered dissensions."

I have quoted this passage in full not because it exactly describes in every detail the present political condition of India, but because it enunciates the broad principle of history that a great deal of what is called "unrest" in any nation or any country is due to this tension of feeling, this lack of co-operative sympathy, between the rulers and the ruled, or rather between "the traditionary holders of power" and the "agitators for reform." Such, too, is our unfortunate position to-day. On the one hand there is a class of men, "conscious of suffering," and working step by step, some of them perhaps "blindly," for their national emancipation; on the other we have a rigid, cast-iron form of administration which refuses to expand, and merely makes from time to time a pretence at expansion which practically leaves it in much the same state as before. And what is the result? An inevitable struggle follows, with all the forces of monopolized power arrayed against the forces of strong discontent, and the conflict deepens as days roll on and each side becomes more and more persistent in its demands. Men's passions get excited, their emotions are roused, and the resulting unrest filters down to the lowest strata of society and gradually spreads over the land. Of course it may happen that a man's "reason is swamped when emotion's flood-gate is left ajar," and in the heat of the moment things are said or done which had better been left unsaid or undone; but even agitators are human beings, and any excesses they may have been guilty of in these days are not without their parallel in the constitutional history of the West.

This year has been one of deep unrest in India. The last session of the Congress was

a success in its broader results, but it left behind it a legacy of ill-feeling and unpleasantness amongst a certain class of political thinkers whose one fault is that they lean hopelessly on the side of the impossible and the impracticable. Local disturbances in all parts of the country added to the general excitement, and matters came to a climax in the month of May last when Lala Lajpat Rai was deported without trial, followed about a month later by the deportation of Ajit Singh. So much has already been said about these extreme measures that it would be futile to go over the same ground again. Suffice it to say that for once Morley, too, like his great master, Edmund Burke, in 1785, "allowed his political integrity to be bewildered," and in an unguarded moment yielded to the ill-considered advice of the all-powerful "man on the spot," regardless of all the higher principles of political morality and justice which he had under the most trying circumstances of his life so heroically advocated by the side of Gladstone. It is true to say that the Regulation of 1818 stands on the Indian Statute-Book and that any step taken under it is taken according to the law of the land; but it must never be forgotten that at the time of its enactment the political condition of India was quite different, and the Indian Penal Code which altered the whole criminal law of the country had not yet come into force. Moreover this so-called "law" is in the higher sense of the word no law at all.

Whatever may have been its political value in former times, when British rule had not been sufficiently consolidated and the warring factions of Hindustan had still to be set at rest, yet on the face of it it implies a negation of justice, and negation of justice means the violation of the natural law which determines the issues of right and wrong. It does not confer any moral rightness on actions based on it, and the only authority at its back is the physical force which the State

can always command. An act of coercion is, therefore, morally wrong, and what is morally wrong cannot be politically right. The Government may congratulate themselves as much as they like on the salutary effect of the deportations on the disturbed atmosphere of the Punjab, and a Radical Secretary of State may also lay that flattering unction to his soul. But such a grave political step has a deeper significance than what appears on the surface, and the general effects left in men's minds throughout the length and breadth of the land will long outlive the temporary disturbances in the affected province. Hitherto whatever may have been said against the administration, there was hardly room for doubt about the general fairness and impartiality of *British Justice*, for the prestige of the law-courts was always considered above the prestige of the officials. But recent events have shaken this belief, and we sincerely hope in the interests of all concerned that the good will of that venerable and sacred name may never be impaired. It was Burke who once observed,

"Justice is itself the great standing policy of civil society; and any eminent departure from it, under any circumstance, lies under the suspicion of being no policy at all."

We cannot but recall to mind these noble words when we look back upon the deportation of two British citizens, unheard and undefended, when we think of the Rawalpindi and Cocanada riots cases, and consider the press-prosecutions against the *India, Hindustan* and *Yugantar*. The present is perhaps the hour when the most glaring defects of the combination of Judicial and Executive functions are being exposed in their true light, and there is still more trouble ahead. In fact there is trouble everywhere, and its causes are known to all. What is wanted is the right remedy, not that violent repression which cures nothing, but real, substantial, Liberal reforms which will gradually raise the

country out of her present position as the subservient instrument of British prosperity.

The long wished for Budget debate the one day on which India receives some sort of hearing, has come and gone. The Secretary of State, like his own aloe which blooms once in a hundred years, has spoken. His speech has been read and re-read by thousands, and criticized from every point of view, with every epithet ranging from "dull and disappointing" to "epoch-making." The truth is it is neither the one nor the other. Epochs are made either by the triumph of a great moral principle or by the achievement of grand material results. No material results worth the name have followed in the wake of Mr. Morley's utterances, and far from an moral principle having triumphed, some have been deliberately set at naught. On the other hand the speech is not quite so dull and disappointing. There are some brilliant passages here and there, instinct with all the spirit and fervour of the old Liberalism in its best days; but side by side with these there is also to be found a great deal of the usual talk manufactured for willing ears by our "man on the spot," and the general impression left on one's mind by this juxtaposition is much the same as would be produced by a picture in which the artist had introduced a frozen river into a harvest scene. This is, however, a matter of minor importance. No one ignores the value of noble sentiments nobly expressed, but in their present perturbed state of mind sentiment is not all that the people want. The issues between the rulers and the ruled are now definitely fixed and perfectly clear. The authorities at the head of affairs wish to reserve all executive power to themselves; the people in their turn wish to be associated with the governing body in the actual administration of their land, so that step by step, and from experiment to experiment, they may ultimately be able to govern themselves. This is the main issue; how far has it been

met by the reforms adumbrated by Mr. Morley?

It is not for me to belittle even these small concessions to the popular voice, nor do I wish to anticipate the results that may ultimately accrue to us from them. Under different circumstances these reforms would have been welcomed, but recent measures of repression coupled with Mr. Morley's pronounced distrust of the educated classes detract considerably from their value, and rob them of all their grace and of more than half their efficacy. And even if we leave circumstances apart and judge these reforms on their merits as they appear to us at the moment, what do they amount to? There is the Council of Notables (is it "Not-ables"?) which will consist of men, very likely nominated, who will talk to their heart's content. There is the expansion of the Imperial and Provincial Councils, which at present only seems to imply more manuscript eloquence. And lastly, there is the addition of one or two Indian members to the Secretary of State's Council who will no doubt give expert advice which may or may not be followed at all. It will, therefore, be all talk and nothing more. I do not want to suggest that a wider expression of opinion is altogether without its advantages, but if it be at all true, what the educated classes are so often charged with, that they only know how to make long speeches and eloquent perorations, and are incapable of action, then it is also true that these reforms can only serve to put a premium on their volubility and intensify their powers of the tongue and the pen. From whatever point of view we look at them, these reforms will never teach the people the art of self-government, and then, of course, we shall be told that Indians cannot hold high offices because they are unfit, and they shall never become fit because they will not be allowed to hold any of these. Is this really all that we have come to? Three-quarters of a

century have elapsed after the Charter Act which declared that there shall be no governing caste in India, and half a century has rolled over our heads since the great Proclamation which abolished (on paper) all race distinctions in the interests of better government for India; yet after years of patient waiting and preparation all that we are promised is an extension of man's eternal privilege to talk. It is true a few hair-brained optimists keep on telling us in magniloquent style, hardly understanding what they mean, that "the day of glory has arrived"; whereas Mr. Morley's poor imagination cannot penetrate even the remotest future when such a day will dawn and India cease to be governed by the autocrat. The truth, as always, must lie in the proverbial middle. The progress of the last twenty years is a clear indication of what is still to come, and though it is not for any mortal to lift the veil that hangs over the future, there can be no doubt that the tide of political reform is already now breaking against the bed-rock of Anglo-Indian pride and prejudice. The future lies in our hands. If a man is the architect of his own fortune, so is a nation, and nothing can daunt a people, if they are true to themselves and the responsibility they have undertaken. New ordinances can silence the voices of a few, but can never suppress the ideas which must sway the minds of all those who dream of a brighter and happier future for their motherland. Let us be firm and united in our endeavours, for unity of action is the first article of every national cult. The work is long and arduous, but with the high ideals of devotion and self-sacrifice before us, the time is sure to come when all this pain and excitement, this worry and anxiety, these mistakes and misunderstandings will only read like "the records of nightmares that fly before the growing day," and India become a free and united country pursuing her own destinies under the aegis of the British Crown.

B. J. WADIA.

THE STORY OF PRINCE MAHBUB

THERE was in ancient times a very powerful king of Persia called Mausur-i-Alim (the conqueror of the universe). He was blessed with everything which a man could desire, and had vast treasure and large armies. His subjects were happy and contented under his just and good administration. All praised his great wisdom and noble virtues. But unfortunately he had no son to inherit his enormous riches and extensive domains. One day the king assembled all the astrologers of his realm and asked them to tell him on what particular day, hour and minute, one should be born in order to be a great and powerful king. The astrologers made their calculations and replied:—"Sire! the child born at midnight on Sunday last will be very fortunate and happy and will be endowed with every royal virtue. So if your Majesty is desirous of adopting an heir, adopt the child born on that day and that particular hour."

The king hearing this told his prime-minister to find out in whose house a son was born at the time mentioned. Messengers ransacked the whole kingdom and brought the news that no male child was born at that particular time, except that the wife of a butcher had given birth to a son. The king calling the butcher asked him to give him his son. The butcher, who was a poor man, gladly promised, saying:—"Your Majesty is the lord of our lives and limbs. You have to command and we to obey." The generous monarch replied:—"Friend, I do not ask as a king but as a private individual. Do you agree to part with your son out of perfect free-will and good intention? For I will not otherwise accept the gift." The butcher

replied:—"Sire, I offer you my son with the most perfect good-will and without any compulsion. It is my great good fortune that my son should be adopted in such a royal family." The child was then brought and all the ceremonies of adoption were gone through.

When the butcher's son, now called Prince Qassab, grew up, the king appointed wise and learned teachers, by whom great pains were taken for his education. When he attained majority, the king made him Viceroy of one of the richest provinces of his empire. Here when in power, the Prince displayed all the evil propensities of his disposition. For though born under auspicious signs, and brought up under good teachers, the hereditary qualities of a butcher, which were ingrained in his nature, manifested themselves in full force. He tyrannised over his subjects and spread terror throughout the country by his atrocities. Reports of his misgovernment and complaints of the persons ruined by his tyranny or disgraced by his detacheries daily reached the just king, but he did not, out of his good nature, give much credence to them.

In the meantime, the queen who was supposed to be barren, exhibited signs of maternity, and great was the rejoicing of the king at this discovery. He had despaired of having any issue of his own, but was most pleasantly disappointed. He at once despatched messengers to Prince Qassab with the following news:—"Rejoice, O son, for I soon hope to have an addition to our family. Your mother the Queen is *enceinte*, and the astrologers have predicted that a son will be born to me. O happy news for you that you will get a

brother!" As soon as Prince Qassab got the news, he said to himself:—"Now my evil star has appeared on the horizon. When a Prince of the royal blood is born, who will care for a butcher's son though raised so high? Surely my fall would begin with the rise of my brother. Oh, it is painful to lose such a position and rank as I now enjoy. Had I remained the son of a butcher, I should have been contented with my lot. but having tasted the fruits of power and royalty it would be very painful to lay them aside. I must go to the city of my adoptive father and see whether I cannot retain my power." Thus musing, the Prince riding on a swift horse went in all haste towards the capital. He reached the palace of the king when it was about midnight and getting admission, for everybody knew him and nobody apprehended the evil purpose which had brought him in such an unseasonable hour to the palace, he at once repaired to the apartment of the king. He found him asleep, and with one blow of his sharp sabre cut off his head. He then went with the bloody sabre in search of the Queen, but she had heard of the arrival of the Prince and had disappeared by a secret door out of the palace, with some faithful attendants. They carried her on swift horses, during the night, far away from the capital, till they, at last, reached a forest, where the Queen dismissed them saying:—"Go now my faithful adherents! and let me remain in this dreary place. If I die of starvation or be killed by some wild animal, I shall have, at least, this satisfaction that I am not murdered by the butcher's son. Leave me now to my fate and go." The poor servants returned home weeping.

The Queen sat there bewailing her hard destiny; when a *zemindar* (a rich farmer) passed by that way, and seeing her was struck with her extraordinary beauty and majestic air. Coming up to her, he said:-- "Art thou some angel, *Peri*, goddess, or

spirit? Who art thou?" The Queen replied:—"I am no angel, *Peri*, goddess or spirit, but a poor daughter of man, in distress. I was the Queen of this country, and am now a homeless wanderer." As soon as the honest farmer came to know the august rank of the lady, he fell on the ground and kissing the dust said:—"Mother, I am a *Jagirdar* of your husband and all these fields and villages which you see around are yours. Come and live with us; we are humble, honest people, and you will find comfort if not elegance in our simpler modes of living. Remain with us, and as I am childless, the child of your womb shall I adopt as my own and bring him up with all due care and diligence." The Queen consented and was taken by the *zemindar* to his house, where she remained in disguise as the cousin of the *zemindar*.

In due course she gave birth to a son whose beauty illumined the whole house, and the news spread throughout the village that the *zemindar's* cousin had given birth to an angel. The Queen called him by the name of Mahbub-i-Alim (the beloved of the universe). When Prince Mahbub grew up, he was sent to the village school, where he read with other boys, sons of the Jats (a caste of cultivators). There he soon surpassed his school-mates in learning and physical exploits. While the sons of the Jats took pleasure in playing with bat and ball, the prince evinced his royal blood by playing at archery. He made a rude bow and rude arrows and would shoot all the time in every direction. Though nobody taught him the art, he soon became a very good archer, and could hit the mark from a long distance.

Once the Usurper, the brother of Prince Mahbub, held a great tournament in which all the great archers of the kingdom were asked to attend. There were four prizes for the successful archer. First, a purse of five-hundred *mohars*, second, a suit of dress out of the royal ward-robe which the winner might

select, third, any horse from the royal stable and fourth, a suit of armour and arms, weapons, &c., from the royal arsenal. The news of the great tournament reached even that secluded village and Prince Mahbub hearing of it set out for the city without informing his mother. The poor Queen thought that her son must have gone to school, but the Prince instead of going there had started for the town. Night came and still the Prince did not return; men were sent in all directions to search for him, but to no purpose. The Queen sat disconsolate and weeping, and would not take any food or drink, till her Mahbub should return.

The Prince on the other hand in company with other archers reached the city and lodged with them in a *Serai* (inn). He soon made friends with them all, and asked them to permit him also to try at the mark in the coming tournament. His gentle appearance and amiable temper pre-possessed the archers in his favor and they gladly enlisted his name among the members of the company. The next day was fixed for the tournament, and the archers and the prince went to the place early in the day. There was a large concourse of spectators, and in a rich and splendid pavillion and on a gorgeous throne sat the Usurper to witness the performance. At a signal from him the archers entered the lists and one after another shot at the mark. Some came very near to it, others nearer but none pierced the exact centre. Prince Mahbub, who was the youngest of all the lot, now shot his arrow last and it pierced the very centre of the mark. At once there rose deafening cheers and applause, and the whole assembly praised the wonderful feat of the young boy.

The King gave him a purse of gold containing five hundred *Mohars* and ordered his vazir to take him to the royal ward-robe, armoury and stable to select the various articles. The vazir conducted him to the ward-robe and the Prince without any hesitation selected the

identical suit of dress which was worn by his father, the late King. And let no one wonder at it, for he was guided in this matter by his royal and innate instincts. Accoutred in the dress of his father he went to the armoury and selected those very weapons which the late king used when going out on chase or war, and then entering the stable rode on the very horse which was the favorite of his father. Thus equipped he came before the assembly, and the whole people with one voice, and as if involuntarily, cried out:—"Eucld our favorite and just king come to life." So exact was the resemblance between the Prince and his father, that the people mistook him for the late sovereign. The acclamation of the people disconcerted the Usurper, and he was mortally enraged, and yelling out to his servants, said:—"Seize that silly boy and hang him." The servants ran here and there and raised a great confusion, for in fact they were not at all anxious to obey the cruel mandate, and gave Mahbub every opportunity to escape out of the bustle.

When the Prince came out of the city, he assembled all the archers, and throwing down the purse of gold amongst them rode with all haste towards the village. He returned there after full forty-eight hours and found his mother sitting at the door weeping and crying "Mahbub, Mahbub." As soon as she saw him, she burst forth into a pleasant laugh, and then wept again bitterly. Then the prince jumping down from his horse, asked her:—"Mother, what is the meaning of your behaviour? Why did you laugh and weep in the same breath?" The Queen replied with a sigh:—"I laughed when I saw you return in this equipment, which belonged to your father. I wept at the thought of the change of fortune which has brought us to this pass. Now you know the secret of your birth, and the reason of my weeping and laughing."

The Prince hearing this replied with deep emotion:—"Mother, I had some faint

glimmerings of this since I had been to the tournament and the people exclaimed that I was just like the late king. But your account has confirmed my doubts: mother! we must not stay a second more in this country. Not that I am afraid of anything from the cruelty of the murderer of my father, but I swear not to eat or drink the food or water of this land so long as I do not wreak vengeance on the accursed head of the Usurper. The very air of the country is poison so long as I do not breathe it as a king and avenger of the wrongs of my sire. Mother arise, let us be off."

When the *zemindar* heard of the determination of the Prince, he was sorely afflicted and entreated him with tears and sobs to change his mind. But Mahbub was firm as a rock, and would not be prevailed upon, though he, too, was equally grieved to part from the honest *zemindar* and his family. However, bidding them a hasty adieu, the Prince and the Queen went their way, trusting to Providence to guide them out of the kingdom.

They travelled on and on without food or drink, till they left behind the kingdom of the Usurper. Afflicted with many days' hunger and thirst, and fatigued from their long journey, they now began to search for a hospitable roof where to beg some bread and water, and rest their weary limbs. But the out-look was very gloomy, the place where they had come was a mountainous district that showed no signs of human habitation far or near. However after much search, they saw a humble Musjid at the foot of the hill. They dragged themselves exhausted and almost lifeless into the house of prayer, and saw an old *faqir* lying on a tattered and worn-out mattress. The prince then humbly besought the *faqir* to give them some food and drink as they were dying of hunger. The old man pointing to a niche said:—"Young man, there is a bit of bread in that hole, take it out and eat you both." The prince going to the place, found there a small slice of cold and mouldy bread not

enough to make one mouthful. Then taking it to his mother and presenting the slice to her he said:—"Mother, eat this and support your strength. It is not sufficient for us both, but you stand in greater need of sustenance than my young and vigorous frame. Eat it mother." But the Queen would not take it, saying:—"Son, I am old and have enjoyed the pleasures and suffered the pains of this transitory life; I am prepared to meet death. Let me die, as it will make no difference. But live thou, and do thy great work." The Prince paid no heed to all this but went on pressing the bread on her. She refusing, and he insisting, they squabbled on for a long time. The *faqir* seeing this observed:—"Travellers, why do you fight for nothing? You both eat this slice, and you will not be able to finish it." Then mother and son ate of the bread, but still the slice remained the same as before, and was not diminished even by an inch. They were fully satiated and the bread was the same as before. Never had they found anything so delicious as this crusty and mouldy piece of bread. Then the *faqir* pointing to another niche, said "there is the water." The Prince approaching it saw a small earthen jar of water. The contents of the vessel were not sufficient even for a single person, and there was altercation between them as to who should drink, and again the *faqir* said:—"Children of the road, drink you both in the name of the great Allah." And they both drank out of the vessel, and were fully satisfied, and yet the water in it was not diminished by a drop. Then the *faqir* asked them:—"Whence are you coming and whither will you go? You cannot go beyond this mountain; for on the other side of it is a tempestuous and fathomless sea. No ships have ever ventured to sail in its turbulent waters. Return home." But the Prince replied:—"O holy *faqir*, we have vowed not to return to the land of our birth. The polished mirror of your pure heart has

already received the reflection of our sad history on it. We need not say who we are. Help us now in our journey, O holy saint, for nothing is impossible for the divine austerities of your prayers." The *faqir* replied:—"True, O traveller, prayers are accepted by Allah when they rise from pure hearts. What can a sinful creature like me do? However in my travels I have discovered some of the properties of natural objects. I will see whether I can help you."

Then telling them to remain in the Musjid and await his return, the *faqir* went out into an adjacent forest. After a short time he returned with two pieces of wood, freshly cut from the branches of some trees, peculiar to those parts. With one piece, he made a short stick about a cubit in length and with the other a torch. Then addressing them, he said: "Here are the things that will carry you across the dangerous forests and vast seas. This torch when lighted will frighten away all fierce animals of the wood or the deep. And this rod, a cubit long, is your ship. Wherever you may put it in the sea, the water of that place, however deep, will at once become fordable, and will never rise higher than the top of this stick. The waters before or behind or around you may be thousands of fathoms deep, but within a radius of fourteen yards from the place where you will hold this stick, the water will never rise higher than a cubit." Then lighting the torch the *faqir* showed them the way over the mountains and conducted them to the sea. There he bade them adieu and returned to his cottage.

The Prince taking the rod in his hand, jumped into the water and placed the rod over the surface of the sea. At once the waters became calm for a radius of fourteen yards, and all of the uniform depth of a cubit, though beyond the magic circle the sea was fathomless and very turbulent. The Queen carrying the torch followed behind and they waded through that

sea, the water never rising higher than their knees. They saw also the unrevealed wonders of the sea-bottom, such as corals, pearls, sea-flowers and trees. Inexpressible were the delight and admiration of the Prince at seeing these beautiful things, and whenever a new animal or natural object came within the range of his vision, he would cry out most joyously to his mother and running up to it, would take it up and show it to her. Thus they went on admiring the wonders of the deep and praising the wisdom of the Almighty. When they had reached almost the middle of the sea the prince saw a current of water flowing from a certain direction, and carrying in its flow innumerable rubies of the purest and brightest water. Mahbub, who had never seen rubies, cried out in an ecstasy of boyish joy:—"Mother, mother, behold how beautiful are these pebbles. Of what a glorious red colour they are! O mother, let me pick up a few of them to play with." The mother, who knew the value of these precious stones, the least of which would fetch a lac of rupees or so, was afraid to touch them. She feared that so many valuable and extraordinary rubies in such a strange place boded no good. It must be some temptation of Satan to cause their ruin. So, she strongly dissuaded him, saying:—"Why child, you are the best of all precious stones or pebbles; your love has brought me to this pass; love not these, lest they bring greater misfortunes." The Prince desisted for a while, but he was strongly tempted to disobey his mother's commands, which he had never done before, for the glowing colours of the rubies constantly appealed to his fancy. At last unable to resist the impulse, he secreted one of the biggest of these stones in his pocket unperceived by the Queen. Sometimes good comes out of evil, and this act of disobedience of the prince, though entailing many difficulties on him, led at last to unexpected results.

The Prince and the Queen, with the help of the *faqir's* rod and torch, succeeded in

crossing that vast sea without any serious trouble. They at last landed on the coast of the kingdom of India. Having rested for a while, they proceeded to the capital town of the country, which was situated not far from the sea-coast. They halted at a *serai* outside the city, and the Queen giving some copper coins to the prince asked him to fetch some eatables from the Bazar. The Prince took the money and went to the shop of a sweetmeat-seller, and fearing lest the Queen should come to know that he had secreted the ruby, thought it better not to keep it on his person; therefore, he gave it to the shop-keeper, saying:—"Brother, give some sweetmeats in lieu of this." The shop-keeper, seeing the stone, examined it closely and finding that it was a ruby of the purest and best kind, could not help admiring it. Then weighing out five *seers* of sweetmeats he bound it in one corner of the cloth given by the prince, and in the other corner he bound five *seers* of *mohars* of purest gold and gave it to the Prince. Mahbub returned to the *serai* with the heavy load of sweetmeats and gold and put them all before the Queen. Her astonishment might well be imagined than described, when she saw so much gold, and fearing lest he might have obtained them by unlawful means cried out in great anxiety:—"Son, whence have you got so much gold and sweetmeats? I gave you only five copper coins; so if you have done anything wrong, go at once and restore all this money to the person wronged, for good never comes out of evil." The Prince then falling on his knees implored pardon of his mother, saying:—"Yes mother, I have done wrong, but not what you fear. It is not against any inhabitant of this country but against you, most dear and kind mother. In disobedience of your command I picked up one of the red pebbles which we saw in the middle of the sea and all this is in exchange of that." The Queen was at first angry with the Prince for this, but then find-

ing that he had been deceived by the sweetmeat-seller went to his shop accompanied by the prince. Finding him in the shop, the Queen said:—"Brother, if my son was blind, were you also blind? If he was ignorant of the value of the precious stone, did not you know that it was a *nou-lakhahar*, a ruby worth nine lacs of rupees? How could you deceive a simple boy like this?"

The sweetmeat-seller finding that he had done wrong in thus taking advantage of the ignorance of the boy and being ashamed of his conduct, for to give him his due, he was on the whole the most honest of all the shop-keepers, now implored mercy of the Queen, saying:—"Mother, forgive me my over-sight. Look at these coffer and iron chests, you see them full of gold *mohars*. Take them all away; they will be about seven or eight lacs, and let me retain the ruby." The Queen seeing that it was not a bad offer, consented to the bargain, took the money and went back to the *serai*.

Here the sweetmeat-seller sold the ruby to the vazir at a large profit and the latter in his turn sold it to the king at a large profit. The king taking the ruby went into the inner apartment, and gave it to his only and beloved daughter *Gulrukh*. She wore it round her neck and with great elation of spirits ordered a carriage to be made ready and went out to her garden to enjoy the scene and her happiness in silence. She paced here and there with great joy, and after a long ramble, sat down in a mango grove. On the top of a tree there were sitting a pair of birds, a parrot and a *myna*. The *myna* said to the parrot:—"Friend parrot, relate some interesting story to beguile our time." The parrot replied:—"Ah lady, I fear my speech will enrage you, for I have some hard truths to utter." "Be sure, I shall not be angry with you," answered the lady-bird; "go on with your story." "Oh lady, strange are the freaks, the whims of your sex. Once there was a

princess, very beautiful and good-natured. Her father one day presented her with a ruby of the costliest kind. The princess who had never possessed such a precious stone was filled with pride and vanity. She wore it and went about showing it to every person. But the vain princess did not know that it did not suit her, that a single ruby was not as good as many; that to wear it, one required a dress befitting it, for without such concomitants it appeared that she was not the rightful owner of the gem. But, however, the foolish princess wearing it, paraded it among all, and never knew her error."

The princess heard all this talk of the birds, and understanding that it was addressed to her, hastened at once towards the palace, and rushing to her rooms, threw aside the ruby, and closed the doors and refused to eat or drink, but wept all the time. The king hearing of the sudden grief of his daughter, went to her and entreated her much, saying:—"What ails you my child, that you are lying down so disconsolate and sad? Has anybody said anything to you, or has any one looked at you with improper eyes? Are you angry with any body or has any one offended you? Tell me what is the cause of your sorrow?" The princess after much entreaty replied with sobs and sighs:—"Father, no one has offended me or cast an improper look on me. I am the most miserable princess on earth. Why did you give me this ruby that has brought down on me the ridicule even of the birds of the air? It does not singly befit me. To be worthy to wear it, I must have a dress befitting it, and a dozen more such gems. Let me know what kind of dress they wear who have got such stones. Get me such stones and dresses." The king promising to fulfil her desire went out.

At once he sent for the vazir and asked him whence he had procured the ruby. The vazir pointed out the shop-keeper, who was asked to find out the travellers from whom

he had got the ruby, within twenty-four hours or it would not be well for him. The poor sweetmeat-seller went with throbbing heart to the *serai* but found no trace of the mother and son there; then he searched the whole city, and when he did not succeed, he went out and began to search in the suburbs. At last cast down with despair he was returning sorrowfully homewards when he remembered that he had omitted to enquire at a certain new palace which was said to have been built by some unknown merchant in a very pleasant and romantic spot outside the town and on the sea-coast. He at once ran towards the place, and as he was about to ask the door-keepers to whom such a grand building belonged, whom should he behold but the Prince Mahbub issuing out of it on a beautiful steed followed by a company of riders gallantly dressed and going out to hunt. The shop-keeper who had seen him in another and worse plight was struck dumb at all this grandeur and splendour. He with a deep bow addressed the Prince:—"My Lord, His Majesty the King has called your honour." The Prince, stopping a moment, laughingly replied:—"Go and tell your King, I am not his servant nor his subject that I should obey his summons. If he has got any business with me, I am always to be found at home. He can see me here."

The shop-keeper returned to the king and informed him that the seller of the ruby would not come, but had asked His Majesty to go there. The king, though enraged at this message, however, thought it expedient to go himself to Prince Mahbub. For the Princess *Gulrukh* was breaking her heart for more rubies, and a dress befitting such jewels and it was no time for anger. The king, therefore, himself went to the Prince of Persia and was received with great honor by the latter. They were introduced to each other, and the king of India now learned that the host also belonged to a royal family. The

king of India after the usual salutation and greeting opened his message thus:—"Prince, I have come to trouble you for some more such rubies as you sold once to a shop-keeper. Have you got any more?"

"Thousands," was the ready answer; "how many hundreds does your majesty require?"

The king was aghast at this reply. All the wealth of his kingdom, and a most wealthy empire it was, could hardly purchase ten such stones, and here was a young man in exile from his own kingdom, possessed of thousands of such costly rubies. Surely he must have got hold of the hidden treasures of Qárún, thought the king, for never had he heard of any king or emperor possessed of so much riches. So with great humility, the king replied:—"Prince, I have neither the inclination nor the means to buy so many. I want only half a dozen such stones, as well as a suit of dress worn by those who adorn themselves with these."

The Prince replied:—"Your majesty shall have these rubies as well as the dress on the fourth day from this. I must pay a visit to my treasury. Rest assured that you will get them on that day." The king returned full of wonder and amazement at the interview, and anxious to know the hidden sources of such riches.

Here Mahbub taking leave of the Queen, and telling all his attendants that he was going on a private business from which he would return within four days, started alone on his journey, taking, of course, with him the magic rod and torch. On a lonely part of the sea-coast where no one could observe him, he lighted the torch, and entered the sea. Carrying the light in one hand, and the rod in the other, Mahbub walked through the waters rapidly, unhesitatingly and boldly as if he was a creature of the sea. He dashed through the sea, without stopping to observe the many wonders which met him on every side, and never stood even for a moment to

take breath till he reached the middle of the sea and found the current that carried the rubies. He was going to pick up some, when a sudden thought occurred to him:—"Whence are these rubies?" Eager to investigate and clear up the mystery, the Prince began to trace the current to its source. The higher he went, the more wonders did he see, and found that the stream was becoming narrower and narrower, though he could not measure its depth, for the magic rod kept it everywhere at the uniform depth of a cubit. On and on he went and now the current which was a mile in breadth before dwindled down to a small streamlet a few yards broad. But there was instead, as if to compensate for the loss of width, an inexpressible and delightful odour issuing out of these waters. Never had the prince smelt such scents in his life; it appeared as if thousands of maunds of *attar* were floating on the waters and spreading a delicious perfume all around. Exhilarated with the balmy air, Mahbub waded through the stream and at last found that it had its origin in a whirlpool, the waters of which were foaming, boiling and bubbling and were circling round and round with tremendous velocity, and making a deafening noise, as if thousands of water-giants were struggling underneath and were fighting for dominion over the deep. Out of this whirlpool there rose in a column many yards high a spout whose waters were calm and of the purest white and made a strong contrast with the black and boiling waters of the main stream from which it arose. It was laden with rubies and emitted a strong sweet smell and appeared as if some huge monster underneath was spirting it up with immense force which carried it up to such a height. At every gush thousands of rubies were thrown up along the spout, which after dancing in it for a while, fell into the current beneath. The prince watched this display of whirlpool, spout and gems with absorbed admiration

and awe. His courage wavered only for a minute, but his faith in the wand was like adamant. Shaking off all doubts he jumped into the raging pool.

Down and down he went, through the hole, the waters parting above and below him, and becoming perfectly calm and tranquil. For many minutes he fell through the chimney of the whirlpool, till at last his feet touched the solid ground. He saw before him a huge gateway of massive iron, on the northern side of the cave, and a stream of water flowing out of a drain beneath it, carrying rubies and precious perfume along with it. Mahbub seeing that the entrance was closed, entered through the hole of the drain, which was sufficiently large for the passage of a human body, into the interior.

No sooner had he effected his entrance, than he found himself in a strange and wonderful region. He looked back for the gate, but found no traces of it anywhere. He was in a garden of wonderful trees and birds, and saw before him a large palace. He entered it boldly and saw beautiful rooms and halls tastefully and elegantly decorated, but silent and lifeless. He passed from one room to another admiring the grandeur of the scene, and the wealth of the owner of such riches. At last he came to a room which was illumined by twelve waxen and perfumed candles, and from the roof of which, suspended by a chain of steel, hung a human head freshly severed from the body. The twelve candles were placed in a circle round a basin of water placed just underneath the head. Large drops of blood fell drip, drip, drip, into the basin and as every drop fell into the water, it splashed up to a tremendous height and fell in a nice curve into a drain beneath. As it fell every drop became a beautiful ruby and flowed out of the drain. The prince stood long looking at the wonderful scene of the transformation of the blood into rubies. How long he remained in that reverie cannot be said, but

at length he was roused from it by the sound of some approaching footsteps of some dozen persons or so. The prince hearing the noise hid himself in a corner in order to observe better what passed in that subterranean hall of mystery.

Mahbub saw from his place of concealment twelve *Peris* of the most elegant shape enter the room. One of them took down the head, another brought from a hidden recess the body. They placed the two parts of the body on a golden bed, and joining the head to the trunk, the twelve *Peris* took up the twelve burning candles, and began to move round and round the bed in mystic circles singing a sweet but sad song all the while. By degrees their movements round the bed became more and more rapid till the velocity became so great that the prince could distinguish no forms, but saw a circle of light round the bed. Now the Prince saw that round the circle in which the *Peris* were moving there was flowing a small ring of water of such a strong and overpowering sweet smell that the Prince became almost faint. The perfume which he had smelt in the sea was nothing in comparison with the richness of the odour which this circle of water emitted. Then the dance ceased and the Prince saw that the *Peris* were profusely perspiring owing to the exertions of the dance and the ring of water was formed by the odorous perspiration of these children of the air. This ring of water also joined the drain into which the water of the basin fell, and thus carried out of this mysterious palace precious stones and delicious scent, one the produce of human blood, the other the perspiration of *Peris*.

The *Peris* then stooped over the bed, and every one kissed the face of the dead man and cried out in deep wails:—"How long, O Lord, how long! Nights and days, nights and days for the last fourteen years, have we waited and waited. O when will the sun of hope arise on the darkness of our despair!

Arise, O king arise, how long will you remain in this deathlike trance?" Thus they moaned and lamented, but in vain.

Suddenly there arose sounds of sweet and joyous music, and the Prince and the *Peris* were all startled at this strange interruption. The music pealed louder and louder, and the *Peris* recognising the voices of the heavenly choristers trembled with joy, hope and suspense, while the prince stood enchanted by the ravishing strains that fell on his ears. Then the floor of the room burst open, and out thereof rose the venerable form of the *faqir* whom the Prince had met in the Musjid by the mountain in the kingdom of Persia. He was now clad in garments of light. The *Peris* all prostrated themselves before him, crying: "Khwaja Khizar, Khwajah Khizar, is the hour come?"

The Khwajah Khizar, for such in fact was the seeming *faqir*, said in a deep voice:—"Yes, the time is come and no more shall ye weep." Then turning to the corner where Mahbub lay concealed, he said:—"Prince, come out." The Prince instantly emerged out of his place of concealment and prostrated himself at the feet of the great and immortal saint Khwajah Khizar.

The holy and all-knowing seer, then said as follows:—"Prince, you see before you the corpse of your father. As soon as he was murdered by Qassab, the *Peris* brought his remains to this subterranean palace, the cemetery of the kings of Persia. Know that your ancestors belonged to a race of beings called the *Magi* and commanded the *Peris* and the genii by their wisdom. No son of theirs ever died but his remains were buried in this place by the faithful races that inhabit the fire and the air. But the body of your royal sire was not buried, since no one had performed the funeral rites. Now that destiny has brought you here, perform the said ceremonies to lay at rest his hovering spirit."

The prince hearing this sorrowful speech, shed bitter tears, and approaching the dead body prayed fervently to Allah for the soul of the murdered king. But as soon as he had done praying, and laid his hands on the body of his father, behold! there burst forth another peal of music from invisible sources, and to his extreme joy and wonder, the head was joined to the body, and the King of Persia sat up restored to life on the bed by the touch of his son. Oh, who can now describe the happiness of the *Peris*? Khawjah Khizar then introduced the father to the son and there was great rejoicing in the land of the *Peris*. Then the holy saint vanished by the same way he had come, and the genii and the *Peris* transported the King and the Prince to the palace of the latter in the kingdom of India. The meeting between the King of Persia and his Queen was full of tears and tenderness and might better be imagined than described.

Here when four days were over, the King of India again came to the palace of Mahbub for the rubies. What was his fear and astonishment when he saw that large strange-looking creatures with horns on their heads guarded the gate, and it was with great difficulty that he got admission. He was conducted to the Durbar room where the Prince and the King Mansur-i-Alim were seated, and as soon as Mahbub saw him he greeted him with great cordiality, and said:—"Your majesty, I have not forgotten my promise. Allow me to thank you for the happy result which resulted from your commands. As for the rubies, you will get as many as you require." He then ordered a servant in attendance to bring a cup of water, and then taking a sharp needle pierced his finger, and let fall ten or twelve drops of blood into the water and they all sparkled forth as rubies. The King of India was bewildered at this, but the Prince quickly replied:—"Let it be known to your majesty that every drop of blood that

flows in the veins of the princes and kings of Persia is more precious than hundreds of rubies and every tear which they shed more costly than thousands of pearls. I learned this secret from my father the King." The King of India as soon as he knew that he was in the presence of the powerful King of Persia threw himself on his knees and acknowledged himself his vassal.

The rest of the story is very soon told. The princess of India got the rubies and the fairy dress, and the parrot and the *myna* praised her this time and advised her to marry the prince who had taken so much trouble to satisfy her whims. As this advice was agreeable to her inclinations and to the policy of the great kings, nothing stood in the

way of their connection. A large army was soon fitted out by the King of India, and another by the *Peris* and the genii and they proceeded towards Persia. The Usurper Qassab, whose tyranny had alienated all hearts, as soon as he heard of the approach of the invading armies, rallied some mercenary followers and was killed after an ineffectual resistance. His head and body were carried by the *Peris* to the Subterranean Hall, the cemetery of the kings of Persia, and hung up in the same place where the former corpse was suspended. Every drop of blood which fell from the head of the Usurper became a deadly ugly toad and floated into the sea scattering poison and putrid odour many a mile around.

SHAIKH CHILLI.

THE STUDY OF INDIAN PICTORIAL ART—A REJOINDER

MR. U. RAY has laid all interested in Indian art under a debt of obligation by his frank exposition of the average attitude of Indian students of art in his paper on the "Study of Indian Pictorial Art."* Mr. Ray's paper reminds one of the hue-and-cry raised by the students of the Calcutta School of Art, when the European pictures of the Government Art Gallery were sold, a few years ago. It is interesting to recall some of the criticisms which the sale of these pictures evoked in many quarters. Some people went the length of declaring that it was a deliberate design on the part of the Government to take away the facilities which had hitherto existed for art-education in this country.

Mr. U. Ray has set himself to examine some of the fallacies connected with the views regarding the future of oriental art expressed

by Mr. A. N. Tagore, but in doing so Mr. Ray, one must confess, has missed the proper point of view and has looked at things a little out of focus. He has been himself led to put forth certain fallacious statements, which in the interests of all students of Indian Art are in need of a refutation. I am afraid Mr. Ray has missed the very suggestive paper *On the Function of Art in Shaping Nationality* which appeared in these columns from the pen of Sister Nivedita, and I am sure Mr. Ray will there find solutions for many of the conundrums regarding the future of Indian art which seem to puzzle him.

Educated Bengal of to-day is in the habit of cherishing a just pride in those intellectual attainments and general literary culture which the western system of education has done so much to propagate and foster. Indeed the people of Bengal have proved the most go-ahead of all Indians in the matter of

* The Modern Review, June 1907.

assimilating western thought and culture. Yet, to their shame, it must be confessed that while they have developed a genuine taste for literature they have displayed a singular inaptitude and incapacity for the study of the fine arts, be it indigenous or European, and it is very disappointing to find that many of our cultured men invariably show themselves the veriest imbeciles in all matters which require artistic discrimination, and can be wheedled or bullied into the most absurd errors of taste.

Mr. Ray is unable to accept the statement that "*Indians have no talent for European Art.*" Evidently he means that it is possible for Indians to master the technique or the grammar and language of European art under suitable training, or under, as he says, "*proper conditions.*" But European art like all good art, consists of something more than mere technique, or the language in which it finds expression. It is the manifestation of the national temperament, just as literature or religion is. All good art is the natural utterance of the soul of a people in a voice peculiarly its own. One can imitate the voice, but cannot body forth the soul. An Indian by assimilating European methods and aims in art can never turn out to be an artist, truly so called, because we cannot produce art by reproducing the language in which it is couched. His education cannot displace his own temperament, just as he cannot imbibe that of another race. A linguist can never be a man of letters *par excellence* in any language but his own. Imagine the author of "*The Linguistic Survey of India*" composing sonnets in the manner of Vidyapati! This morbid desire on the part of Indian students to emulate European art has arisen from the fact that Indians have appreciated and to some extent over-estimated the technical perfection, but have not received the education to realize the æsthetic aspect of European art. A picture is happiest

in the country in which it was painted. It is difficult to tune one's mind to enjoy the beauties of a picture which reflects the temperament and habits of mind of an artist educated in a different school of thought. Our educated brethren love the idea that the art of a country can be mechanically transplanted into another and bear fruit in the new soil. Mr. Ray in his desire to transplant European art to India reminds one of the insane gardener who wanted to graft a camellia bud on a rose tree.

"If a Bengalee wants to learn European art would you still say he had better not?" Our answer is in the affirmative, for the simple reason that it cannot be "learnt." The right method of artistic expression of a people naturally takes its root in and is otherwise evolved out of its own artistic sense in its endeavour to make itself articulate and can never be mastered by imitating the external characteristics or mannerisms of this or that school of painting. The art as distinguished from the science of painting one cannot acquire by ages spent in any European *atelier*.

"Studies of European art by Indians are bound to end in failure like a poet's attempt at writing verse in a foreign language,—this objection would have much force if the two systems were really so dissimilar in their methods of expression as two totally different languages."

If Mr. Ray condescended to study the history of European paintings, he would be convinced that the different schools of European art are totally distinct from one another both in their methods and aims. He would find that the Pre-Raphaelites in England were *totally different* in their aims and aspiration from the Impressionists of France. The Roman school differs as widely from the Flemish as the masterpieces of antique architecture and sculpture differ from those of modern times. "Michael Angelo was as incapable of conceiving of a picture by Fra Angelico as he was of painting Leonardo's

Gioconda." Each nation has its own art as it has its own language and national character.*

The Indians of to-day, busied as they are with an alien culture and system of thought, have fallen off from the ideal of their own nationality, to the extent that they have set at naught their own traditions, thought-inheritance and manner of expression in the process of assimilating the "*naba jnan*" (new knowledge) of other climes and regions. Nobody can deny that the Bengali literature of to-day has under the influence of English education produced much that is lovely—yet these can hardly be regarded by any right-thinking person as genuine contributions to the national literature of the Bengalis. This class of literature derives its value from being a means to enrich the old stock of Bengali literature, and saturated as it is with the thought and culture of the West, can be regarded as a part of our national assets only in the sense that it reflects and embodies the ideas and aspirations *for the time being* of the educated section of Bengal, "rolling in the fine frenzy" of a school of thought foreign to the soil and in some sense antagonistic to the literature of old Bengal. Very few people fully realise the disastrous significance of the system of University education which has done so much to sever the "educated" from their national tradition and continuity with their past, with the result that by reason of their ignorance of their own language and literature they have become totally estranged from the bulk of their fellow countrymen, and the feelings and aspirations that

shape and stimulate their lives. The average Indian often acquires a marvellously correct knowledge of English literature. Yet though his English is hardly ever distinguishable from the English of an Englishman, it is difficult to name a single instance in which the composition of an educated Indian has been seriously considered to be a genuine contribution to English literature. It will be instructive to quote here the remarks of Dr. Coomaraswamy upon this point:

"I believe no Indian ever has produced or ever will produce immortal literature in English. Such a thing could hardly happen even amongst the European nations and how much more impossible it is in the East. The Indian's own language must ever remain the means by which he can most simply, most truly and most naturally express his deepest feelings, and the tongue which can alone appeal to his inmost self with all the power of association and tradition. The educational need of India is the development of its people's intelligence through the medium of their own national culture. What we need most of all to cherish and honour in ourselves is our *Indianness*, for by all that is therein included and not by the degree of success with which we can imitate others, shall we ultimately stand or fall. We may fully recognize that a knowledge of Western science and of English will contribute to our material prosperity and may also be made a means of culture; but to reject, therefore, our own language and literature and every thing that is ours in order to more completely absorb the new: that is indeed to sell our birthright for a mess of pottage. What shall it profit a man if he gains the whole world and lose his own soul?"

Mr. U. Ray is not prepared to admit that Indian art is "more suited to our talents and temperaments," at the same time he is anxious to improve the "grammar and rhetoric" of that language and can not think of

* Mr. George Clausen, A. R. A., in his *Six Lectures on Painting*, says: "I should like to touch briefly on the art of Japan, which has influenced western art in the last fifty years. It is a true style, perfect and complete in itself; and there is no art more beautiful, in the sense of simply giving pleasure by its decorative qualities. It is frankly impressionist in its disregard of all but the things chosen, is less diffuse and self-conscious than our art; more concentrated, more vital. Its point of view is altogether different from that of western art. This difference is so great that Japanese and modern European pictures cannot hang together on the same wall harmoniously; the European work suffers. The two schools do not agree and one would say that it is impossible to combine their points of view. . . . There is something disquieting in the fact that Japanese art is so

beautiful, and at the same time so altogether different from ours, so much so as to cause a momentary thought whether it is not finer. But whether or no, we must keep on our own road, for our traditions and practice do not lead us to render nature like the Japanese. Still we may study their work with great advantage. . . . Our art appeals through representation or imitation, creating an illusion of nature in its three dimensions; while the Japanese representation of nature is not imitative, but selective, certain things being chosen, the rest ignored. And their art seems in this respect to have developed to its final perfection on the lines of the earliest forms of art, without changing its directions. . . . Their art has developed, but has not changed."

giving up the same. What is the good of sticking to a medium of expression not suited to our talents and temperaments and so imperfect in its grammar and rhetoric? He is labouring under a grave misconception as to the exact nature of the assistance which Indian art students may derive from their study of European art. He comes very near the truth when he states that "if we had the superior art culture of the Europeans—we should all the better be in a position to value Indian art."

John Ruskin has laid down a wholesome rule as to the right attitude by which one school of art may derive useful assistance from the study of other schools and systems. Referring to the adoption by English artists of the methods and aims of the ancient art of Greece, he says:

"What we have to learn from Greek art is not to draw or carve nude figures with conventional anatomy, or with more or less skill in draughtsmanship, but to approach nature with that earnest observation by which the Greeks or old learned their business. We want to learn and imitate the truthful and sincere attitude of mind by which art, whatever its subject matter, may become vital."

Mr. Ray has done his best to pour scorn on the idea of nationality in art. He evidently maintains (with Mr. Whistler) that art is cosmopolitan and should have no nationality and that if you allow it to fall under the influence of national prejudice its vitality will be diminished and its power of expression will be dangerously limited. "There is no such thing as English art," says Mr. James McNeill Whistler, "we might as well talk of English mathematics." The paradox is brilliant, but the analogy is fallacious. The idea of cosmopolitanism in art is being carried a great deal too far at present in all circles. It is difficult to minimise the effect of reciprocity and mutuality between nations in any branch of human activity, that is to say, of an equitable distribution among the nations, of the advantage of the progress

made by any of them. But whereas cosmopolitanism in science and industry is one of the agents which chiefly conduce to the progress of civilization in modern communities, it is a mistake to attribute the same virtue to cosmopolitanism in art.

Mr. Ernest Chesneau, the great French critic, has very lucidly set forth the functions of an artist in relation to his nationality:

"The mere contemplation of any object, even with the most complete self-abnegation, never made a man in the smallest degree an artist, nor gave birth in his mind to the most puny ideal. But when the object affects us so vividly as to rouse the deeper harmonies of our nature, of our moral and intellectual being, then our ideas, too, start up, our feelings expand, our thoughts grow more lofty: the ideal rises before us. And when the impression is so strong as to bear on with it our powers of expression, we are enabled to share our enjoyment with others; we create the arts and the wonders of art. It is by seeing the complicated relations and innumerable affinities which objects bear to each other and by comparing and analysing them that an artist becomes aware of their harmonies,—conceives his idea and works out his feelings of a perfect ideal. *This feeling, this idea, is his own, the out-come of his character, his age, his race and his genius.* If the poet and the artist express their impressions with more splendour and more power than other men;—it is not because they are self-forgetful—far from it; on the contrary by sheer work and sincere observation they have attained the faculty of rendering their thoughts in a manner which is all the more striking in proportion as they stamp it with a more personal character. The indelible work of their own genius and (by inference) of the genius of their race, is recognizable even in the turn of a phrase, in a touch of the brush, in a stroke of the chisel." (Chesneau)

It is the spirit, the attitude, the temperament and not the subject matter of a work of art which determines its nationality. The art of any country or age bereft of its caste-mark loses its appealing force, its flavour, its meaning. Referring to the popularity of the poems of Sir Edwin Arnold, an English critic has remarked "that the half educated natives of India prefer even their own classics served



IN QUEST OF THE BELOVED IN A DARK NIGHT.

From the *Ritusamhara* (The Seasons) of Kalidasa, illustrating Verse X in the description of the Rainy Season.

By Abanindra Nath Tagore.

By the Court of the Artist.

INDIAN PRESS, ALLAHABAD.

up in an alien tongue by means of an alien interpreter." To many of us oriental scenes and subjects dished up in European technique have never appealed. Western methods and technique of painting, teaching us as they do, to look at, realise and represent nature in certain stereotyped forms,—hardly, if ever, succeed in rousing and developing the æsthetic sense of the Indian student—but on the other hand, colours his vision, deprives him of the right perspective and for ever incapacitates him to "picture" Indian thoughts and ideals in Indian ways and manners. The unfortunately contemptuous attitude which the average westerner assumes towards everything connected with oriental civilization tends to destroy our self-confidence regarding the canons of our native art and leads us to attach too much importance to certain phases of European art which but for constant parading advertisement would have failed to make any impression.

If the Indian student of European art would analyse his impression of the average works of European painters, he will find that the only charm which seizes his fancy is the power (which the European system of painting has developed) of forceful, accurate and sometimes photographic realisation of the outer forms and facts of nature. This feature of European art is a character, a caste-mark, so to speak, of its nationality and does not necessarily represent the indispensable quality of a high form of Art. The parrot-cry of a sect of to-day is that you must study nature and represent her faithfully—as European art has set the example of doing. But there are different ways of "studying nature faithfully." This brings us to the eternal controversy, which has raged in the literature of art, on the subject of Realism and Idealism in Art. Broadly speaking subjects for art may be treated in two ways—either from the stand-point of the realm of imagination or from the stand-point of literal

fact. Now as to the first of these,—we must all be conscious of a certain dream-land of our own, in which things and ideas are pictured in our minds not necessarily as they really are, but as we would like them to be, and as they might be,—were our mutual relations different, or again the ideas which picture themselves so clearly in our minds may be of such things as cannot exist in actual reality under conditions of flesh and blood, time, gravitation and the like, and yet they are no less *mentally real* to us. Then, when we come to the act of thus realising our dreams through the medium of art (which can give form, reality and expression to even dreams) we find, that what we need above all else, is to gain the reality we seek by an expression of the *spirit of our idea*. The figures must be arranged, the type of faces coined, the accessories added, to emphasize and elucidate the idea judiciously, irrespective of the actually and the physically possible. *Thought transcends the material*. Ideas, *real and true as ideas*, but abstract in their quality, can have no photographic actuality in their presentation. The abstract cannot be photographed and yet may be represented, and when done in masterly fashion, the highest form of art is produced, that which is called the ideal. The second stand-point mentioned, that of literal fact, produces the realist in art, and this is the natural counteracting influence which holds the light up to the idealist, to remind him that a measure of truth to the actual must underlie all his dreams or he will defeat his own ends. The realists—"the artists of observation" as they have been called, produce also an art of their own, strong and wholesome, commending itself to many, but of necessity somewhat more limited in its scope than that of the true Idealists.

Pictorial art in India, has developed on its idealistic side rather than the realistic, and very much the same thing has happened

in the evolution of Japanese art. In the European schools of painting on the one hand, and the Japanese school on the other (the latter representing the orientals and the former the occidentals)—we see two very pronounced types of mind,—the one realist and the other idealist,—each producing higher forms of art but different poles of thought and aim.

Mr. J. Ray has suggested as an experiment the imparting of lessons in European art to qualified Indian students under "proper conditions." Obviously "the proper conditions" will be too expensive to be invoked in India. So that the art student must necessarily go to the continent to receive his training in the mysteries of the European art. We know of many art students who are anxious to go abroad and complete their training in some continental studios under the guidance of some modern master of painting. They are anxious to imbibe a few methods and certain technical qualities, which, after all, are perhaps no more than dexterity of hand and *dodges* of doubtful value. The student who goes abroad for his training more often than not merely learns how to record what his teachers have seen for him; and what they do not know, he becomes incapable of learning for himself. He catches on (like some infectious disease) the style and mannerism of a school that particularly hits his fancy and rarely, if ever, develops the power to receive impressions at first hand, much less attain the right standpoint from which to study nature. He contracts the pernicious habit of seeing his own country through foreign spectacles and the result is usually disastrous.

The few artists who have successfully assimilated and adopted western methods of expression in the art of painting, are so hopelessly out of touch with the ideals, culture and life of the people of the east as to make them quite unfit to be the spokesmen of the people, their inner yearnings and heart-throbs. Mr. Ray waxes enthusiastic over the works of

Messrs. Hesh and Gangooly. We can assure him they have not proved their claim to be regarded as the exponent of the thoughts, ideas and the spirit of the Indian nationality. Artists such as these, will always be looked upon as aliens, no matter what is the subject they deal with, no matter whether they have their studios in Paris or Madras. Their art is lacking in its vital feature, "wanting the taste of the soil, and the smell of the country." It is true that their productions and their English prototypes occupy different regions of the globe but on an æsthetic map these will be coloured red—as if they were colonies of English art. It is their models and their heroes and heroines which give the Indian feeling to their figures—it does not come from their brush. Their æsthetics are all of the Europe of to-day.

Let the Indian student turn back always to nature—that supreme artist—the only counsellor he can obey implicitly—the only enchantress he can follow free from remorse. The European painters are great charmers, let us admire them but let us not follow them. A wholesale adoption in the pictorial art of India of European methods of painting can hardly be considered as wholesome. Indian pictorial art shall improve and develop appropriating only such materials as may help to rekindle her native flame. All that Indian art can with profit and impunity borrow from her western sister is the mechanical skill—the mastery of draughtsmanship, but the work in which this skill is to be utilised must come from her inner self. In our anxiety to supplement the resources and to amend the shortcomings of the native art of our country by borrowing the art-fashions of Europe, we too often forget the evil effects which follow the importations of foreign ideals and manners and we are wont to abandon the right spirit of eclecticism in which alone the thoughts and ideals of one country may be usefully assimilated by another.

The process of denationalisation in respect of every branch of activity (including the realm of art) in India has proceeded too far already and unless we become alive to our duties to our national art before it is too late, the future of that art is doomed. Even admitting the higher qualities possessed by European art, ancient or modern, we lose nothing if for a time we keep the models of European art away from our sight and throw our heads together to take stock of the ancient art-traditions of our own country and learn to value all that is *best and most characteristic* in the indigenous art-forms that are still preserved in the ancient monuments of India. The ideal of an Indian artist should be to co-ordinate and harmonize the various elements of the national genius and crystallize them into a concrete form of art.

Mr. Ray has indulged in a cheap joke at the expense of those "sincere Hindus" whose humble lot has been to worship "the goblins and monsters" of the Hindu mythology and the "Bengali potters' clay images." We are not aware if the goblins of Hindu art have in a spirit of mischief disturbed Mr. Ray in his worship at the shrine of European art. If they have, we fancy they have been directed by some superior agency to test his fidelity to his own God, like the army of *Māra* sent to drive Gautama away from his "diamond seat." We do not think that Mr. Tagore means that these goblins and images are to be copied as models of Indian art. However imperfect in mechanical skill, these productions are the genuine expressions of the truly eastern spirit. Notwithstanding their imperfections and their *naïve* and almost childish delineation of the forms of things, they display the true manners and forms in which the æsthetic instinct of the people of India has found its utterance. "As to the praiseworthiness of painting gods," says Mr. Ray, "I gladly admit that in the case of a sincere Hindu such

practice would be highly beneficial from a devotional point of view." Never was art more independent of religion than at the present day. But its early history proves how profoundly painting was affected not only by the tenets but also by the forms and ceremonies of the prevailing creed. And nowhere else as in India has the life of the people been so deeply coloured by the faiths of the mosque and the temples. To the Indian temperament all ideas of beauty have become peculiarly associated with the rituals and ceremonials of one or other of the prevailing religious faiths, so much so that it is difficult to rouse the artistic sense of the people without suggesting its religious concomitant.

Mr. Tagore's ideas of art so far demonstrated in his lovely water colour pictures are in more senses than one the earnest of a genuine art-revival in India. He has attempted on the principles indicated above to establish a genuine school of Indian painting and to pick up the threads of the ancient art traditions of India wherewith to weave the fabric of a *truly vernacular art* of India, having a grammar and rhetoric of its own. Up till now, he has been alone in the field, and the school, if a school it might be called, is now represented by a single personality. If the old art of India is decrepit and out-of-date, we may invoke the advent of a new form of art transformed like the serpent from its old coat and bejewelled with rubies gathered from foreign shores,—if that is inevitable—but dipped in the holy waters of oriental consciousness. The old art of India is about to shed its crusted skin, like the withered leaves of the tree on the approach of a new spring, which invests its old structure with new forms and new colours, marking another stage in that cycle of evolutions through which all human ideas and activities are ceaselessly moving.

ORDHENDRA COUMAR GANGOPADHYAY.

NOTES

Raphael's St. Cecilia.

Saint Cecilia, the patroness of music, especially church music, is said to have suffered martyrdom in 230 A.D. She is regarded as the inventor of the organ. It is said that one day all of a sudden she heard the music of angels. In the picture, her organ is represented as slipping out of her hands, as she listens in ecstasy to the celestial music and feels how inferior to it her own music is. Various other musical instruments are lying at her feet. The other figures in the picture are St. Paul, St. John the Apostle, St. Augustine and Mary Magdalene. St. Paul leaning on the sword typifies divine knowledge and wisdom, St. John divine love, Mary Magdalene divine forgiveness and St. Augustine is the representative of the gentile Christians. This picture is one of the treasures of the Pinacotheca in Bologna.

A "legitimate" form of Swaraj.

In his last Congress presidential address Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji summed up the political aspirations of the people of India in one word—"Self-government or *Swaraj* like that of the United Kingdom or the Colonies." As the United Kingdom enjoys absolute autonomy, *Swaraj* may mean either absolute autonomy, "like that of the United Kingdom," or Self-government like that of the colonies. In the so-called Khulna sedition case, Messrs. Justice Mitra and Fletcher have declared the Indian desire for Home Rule of the colonial type a legitimate aspiration. This is a noteworthy pronouncement and shows that the world does move after all. Who knows whether the other form of *Swaraj*, (if sought to be attained by peaceful methods, of course), may not

some day be declared equally legitimate by judicial officers of equal eminence? At present there are perhaps only a few non-official Englishmen who would not oppose the idea of India becoming absolutely independent of Great Britain within a measureable distance of time. But a time there was when even the highest British functionary in this country looked forward to absolute independence for India with prophetic hope and pride. The Marquess of Hastings, Governor-General, wrote as follows in his private journal, under date the 17th of May, 1818:—

"A time *not very remote* will arrive when England will, on sound principles of policy, wish to relinquish the domination which she has gradually and unintentionally assumed over this country, and from which she cannot at present recede. In that hour it would be the proudest boast and most delightful reflection that she had used her sovereignty towards enlightening her temporary subjects, so as to enable the native communities to walk alone in the paths of justice, and to maintain with probity towards their benefactress that commercial intercourse in which we should then find a solid interest."—*The Private Journal of the Marquess of Hastings*, Second Edition, Vol. II, p. 326.

This extract, in which the italics are ours, is taken neither from a manifesto, nor from a proclamation, which Freeman characterises as "the very chosen region of lies," but from a *private* journal, in which a man need not tell even diplomatic lies. We may, therefore, take it as an absolutely sincere expression of the noble lord's political views. Those Englishmen who at present make the greatest profession of philanthropy in justifying British domination in India say that if the British were to withdraw to-day, to-morrow all the various races and sects inhabiting India would

fly at one another's throats. The Marquess of Hastings, saw *actual* inter-racial and inter-provincial warfare in India in his day. But that did not prevent him from dipping boldly and prophetically into the future and finding there an *independent* India, *friendly* to Great Britain. But now our rulers, who are not a little responsible for what racial and provincial jealousy and hatred yet remain, base their justification of the ever-lasting enslavement of India on what *may* take place in the future in the nature of racial or provincial feuds. The contrast is not calculated to support the claim of the twentieth century for superior enlightenment and philanthropy over its predecessors. But perhaps the explanation of the different attitudes of Britons in the two centuries had better be sought in the following Indian story:—

A father who was a total abstainer, had a drunken son. The father would often reprove the son and exhort him to give up his evil ways. One day, more in jest than in earnest, young hopeful said, "Father, if you would drink with me for thirty days, on the thirty-first I promise to give up drinking for ever." "Agreed," said the father gladly. By the time the stipulated period of a month was drawing to a close, the father had become a confirmed drunkard. So when on the thirty-first day the son, true to his promise, gave up drinking, and asked his father, too, to resume his former sober habits, the latter replied, "Son, you may keep your promise: I am under none to abjure the cup."

Britons have drunk too long and too much of the wine of power and pelf to be able now to think and act with political sobriety and righteousness. Perhaps this was not the case in the days of the Marquess of Hastings.

Objections to Indian Home Rule.

In several of our past issues we have examined and tried to meet various objections to Home Rule for India. Many of these objec-

tions raise false issues. Take, for instance, the question of fitness or unfitness. We are not entirely unfit, are, in fact, as fit to govern ourselves as many self-governing European nations and all Asiatic nations but one. But supposing we are not quite fit, from a righteous point of view is our comparative unfitness any justification of our enslavement? In all countries, there are large numbers of persons who cannot properly manage their estates. But is there any law, any rule of morality, which would justify their abler neighbours in depriving them of their property? Wherein would such justification differ from a defence of robbery? But supposing what is wrong in private life is right in political dealings between nations (which we do not in the least admit), why does not some leading European power deprive Spain, Greece, the Balkan States, or Turkey of independence? None of these countries possess as much political capacity as the most advanced European states. But the charge of unfitness brought against us may after all be a reference to the basal fact of our military unfitness, the fact, namely, that we are no match for any of the great European powers in military strength. This is quite true. But this, again, is no *moral* justification of our enslavement. There are many European nations which cannot fight England, for instance. Why does she not enslave them? The reason is they are Christians, and *white-skinned*, and, therefore, other *white-skinned* Christian races would object! We cannot but admit the very great force of this argument; for, as Christ was not a European, therefore, it is only proper that Christian dealings should be confined to European races. But why not enslave Persia, or Afghanistan, or Turkey, or China? They cannot surely fight any great European power; nor are they Christians. The reason, as we understand it, seems to be as follows. Christians are taught that it is as difficult for a rich man to go to heaven as for a camel to

pass through the eye of a needle. They are also taught the value of meekness and humility as passports to heaven. Now the foremost Christian nations of Europe wish very much that the heathen races of the world should go to heaven. With this sacred object in view, they have devoted themselves to the noble work of relieving the heathen of as much of their accursed earthly possessions as possible, as also of making them meek and humble by depriving them of independence, which makes men proud. Now, naturally, there is great emulation among the aforesaid Christian nations as to which should do the greatest amount of this holy work. No one would yield to the others in philanthropy. In the result many heathen countries still remain unrelieved of their independence and accursed wealth. Consequently, if in the remote future the British connection with India should for some reason or other cease, she may possibly remain independent and unrelieved of her wealth, provided, of course, the white races then remain as philanthropic as they now are.

Good Government and Self-Government.

Some people talk as if good government were possible without self-government. *It is not possible.* For, what is good government? It is that kind of government which has for its sole object the material and moral welfare of the people of a country. And in the nature of things foreign autocracy cannot have such an object. For one thing, it must be more costly than self-government, and, therefore, economically injurious, if not ruinous. But even if it be not economically injurious, it must be morally harmful. For just as that kind of education is the best which enables the pupil to instruct himself, make himself an original thinker and discoverer and develop his manhood, so that kind of government is the best which enables the people to govern themselves and to grow up to their full intellectual and moral stature. But under an

alien autocracy they are doomed to everlasting tutelage, and intellectual and moral mediocrity. For, if they be allowed to grow up to their full height, foreign domination is threatened: and no conquering nation has as yet proved sufficiently unselfish to welcome such a contingency. Therefore, not only can good government never be a substitute for self-government, as Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman says, but the former is impossible without the latter.

Absolute autonomy and Colonial self-government.

Though we have had our doubts as to whether absolute autonomy for India was not more of a dream than colonial self-government, we have always thought the former theoretically more desirable. But it seems as though we must change our opinion. Natal must have Indian coolies, but will treat them only as beasts or machines, will not give them human rights! The Transvaal cries ditto. There even Indian merchants and barristers and other Indian gentlemen must undergo the degrading process of registration by thumb impression, &c., like criminals. And Mr. Winston Churchill says on behalf of the Colonial Office that the Imperial Government cannot really help Indians as against the colonists. We take that to mean that England is not willing to help Indians. But believing this declaration of Imperial impotence to be really true, what do we see here? The colonists are defended by land and water entirely or mostly at the expense of England. They get loans from the mother-country at very advantageous terms; but all the same they can erect tariff walls against the manufactures of England herself and reduce her to a position of ignominious impotence in certain matters. The half is said to be sometimes greater than the whole; and surely a British colony is more powerful than the British Empire. Therefore, let us prefer the

colonial form of self-government. But if England will not agree to place us in a position politically superior to her own, by giving us the colonial form of government, we shall not object *very much* to have the kind of absolute autonomy which she herself enjoys.

Indians and the Educational Service.

On Thursday, April 18,

Mr. McCallum asked the Secretary of State for India whether, having regard to the fact that only one native of India had during the past seventeen years been appointed to the Indian Educational Service in Bengal, he would consider the claims of highly qualified graduates of English universities who were natives of India, and now serving in the provincial service, to promotion to the Indian Educational Service.

MR. MORLEY: The Indian Educational Service, as distinguished from the Provincial Service, is intended to supply what is at present considered to be the minimum of European appointments necessary to ensure the due progress of education in India, and it is, therefore, intended to be recruited mainly from Europeans, and must for the present continue to be so recruited. I may explain that it differs from the Provincial Service only in so far as its pay and other conditions are fixed with reference to the scale necessary to attract Europeans, which is naturally higher than that required to secure Indians serving in their own country.

Higher educational appointments have long been practically closed to Indians, but now they are closed by a definite pronouncement of the Secretary of State. For this there is no justification whatever. Those Indians who occupied the higher educational offices before the reservation of these posts for white men acquitted themselves as well as their European colleagues. Character, culture, teaching capacity, administrative ability and the power to influence the character and lives of students for good are not the monopoly of any race. Every candidate for an appointment ought to be judged on his own merits. But apart from such theoretical considerations, is it true as a matter of fact that Anglo-Indian professors are as a class superior to Indian

professors as a class? (We are not speaking of the exceptional men in both classes). Is every Anglo-Indian professor better than every Indian professor? Are these Englishmen the best in their own country? Is it not obvious that they are second and third rate, and sometimes worse? How many of them have done anything of lasting value, anything to be remembered? Is the Indian race incapable of producing men equal to the best of them? Are there not Indian professors even now living who are superior, or at least equal to, the best Anglo-Indian professors?

The object is *not* "to ensure the due progress of education in India," but to bestow the most lucrative appointments on white men, to ensure that Indians do not get any opportunity to prove their capacity to the full, and to keep up by all means, however unrighteous, the hypnotism of European superiority; and, may we add now, the proper espionage and cowing down of Indian students?

It is clear that India has henceforth to depend on herself. It is clear that no intellectual ambition ought to be too high for our youngmen to vow themselves to. Let Indian lads resolve to revolutionise the world. Let no mean success satisfy them. Let them wander over the earth for knowledge, if necessary; but let them determine to leave the Indian mark for all time on science. Let them construct for themselves the great palace of human history. Let them re-create mechanical inventions. Let no man be content with the imitative knowledge of monkeys and parrots and talking birds. Let no man rest till he has done something to add or enable others to add to the towers of human knowledge and human thought. One stone, one brick, one handful of earth is more than most men to-day contribute. It is not necessary that all should be master builders. Sufficient that we be good and faithful servants, steady workmen, true to a single duty and responsible with our last breath.

And we all need a starting-point. "Pour refaire la patrie," for the re-making of our country, is said to have been the direct motive of the great body of French workers in science, art, literature and industry since 1870. How much more does India require that every village and every school-room should resound to work done 'for the re-making of the mother-land'!

Repression.

Political expediency requires that whatever is calculated to impair or endanger to any extent European domination in politics, education, science, literature or industry, must be ruthlessly repressed, if not suppressed. That is the genesis of sedition trials and Swadeshi prosecutions, and of the expulsion of students from schools and colleges on mere police reports. The Punjab is still a recruiting ground for the best soldiers and some Punjabi races have still a better physique than other Indians. Hence, for the purpose of striking greater terror into the heart of the Punjabi, it is the rule in that Province not to grant bail to under-trial prisoners, and to pass ferocious sentences. For Law can adapt herself to political exigencies: "he is of childlike simplicity indeed," says Freeman, "who believes that the verdict and sentence of every court was necessarily perfect righteousness, even in times when orders were sent before-hand for the trial and execution of such a man." But we can suggest a better method. Increase the number of examinations in the Indian Universities and 'educate' the people by making them pass these examinations. The more examinations a man passes, the greater physical wreck and physical coward he becomes. It is your illiterate man who riots and breaks heads; the graduate is incapable of such things, though he may write fiery "seditious" articles that lead to nothing. Therefore, we say, educate away the superfluous physical energy of Indians; and then

Anglo-Indians can snap their fingers at "seditious" Swarajists and Swadeshists alike.

But speaking of repression, we must say there has been as yet very little of it. For real repression we must go to Russia or look to the future, for may not our rulers be ambitious of emulating the ursine example? We must not speak of martyrs yet, though we should be thankful that a few have been privileged to suffer pin-pricks for their country. For martyr is a sacred name, and short of death, a man could not be said to have suffered adequately for his country. Let us be courageous by all means, but let us learn the lesson of rigid truthfulness and modesty. There is need of the utmost coolness, too, in our midst. We need to learn the ethics of the stoic. A man is not fit for success, unless he is also equal to failure. In this respect, Rana Pratap Singh of Oodeypoor is fit to be our national hero. He failed, but what an inspiring failure! What an example does his life furnish of the eternal dignity of failure in great struggles! Christ was such a failure in the highest sphere of human activity. And yet, "the kingdom of God is as an handful of leaven, which a woman took and hid in three measures of meal, till the whole was leavened." That is to say, the kingdom of God is the *idea*. The whole does become leavened.

Education of Youth.

But in truth the sedition and prosecution business is a small affair. It may or may not blow over. The real question is whether the People will make for themselves at their own cost educational institutions of the highest character. Science is now practically denied by Government. Are we prepared to furnish our own science? The prospect ought not to terrify us. It means cost and self-denial,—the daily handful of rice in every home. But who pays for education in India now? Who pays for costly specialists of foreign race, and laboratories for their use? Who will keep the

residential colleges in which it is proposed to open our boys during their academic years, under ample and efficient espionage? Who will pay for the hostels (and espionage therein) which Messrs. Rees and Morley propose to erect in London for the safe custody of Indian students? Who but ourselves? It is no other on our behalf. If then we can afford these extravagances of learning, we can surely far better afford the solid necessities. In every department of modern knowledge, but notably in Science, in History, and in Geography we want a few men who have assimilated all that Humanity has yet done in these subjects, and can point out the path of advance, for their nation and for the race.

The King and the Viceroy on Plague.

His Majesty King Edward VII's letter to the Viceroy on plague contains references to the silent patience of the people under suffering which are conceived in the best spirit. We have never had anything to complain of against His Majesty, except that it has not been possible for him to interfere actively in the affairs of India for the welfare of his subjects. We are compelled also to note that though plague has been raging in India for 11 years, it is only after Mr. Morley's reference in his last budget speech to the epidemic in the Panjab as one of the causes of unrest there that His Majesty seems to have been advised by his ministers to write a letter to the Viceroy on the subject. It indicates a highly undesirable state of things that such an appalling visitation should not seem to receive serious notice unless and until it caused some trouble to the Government.

Wisdom comes late to the bureaucracy. It is clear from the circular letter of the Viceroy to the provincial governments that it has now dawned on the official mind that muscular philanthropy is a contradiction in terms, that "many harassing operations carried on in the past may be safely aban-

doned," and that it is necessary "to secure the co-operation of the very people it is intended to save!" The building of model houses and the evacuation of infected dwellings, recommended officially, will do real good to the people. Regarding the killing of rats, it is said in the Treatise on Plague (p. 111) by Drs. G. S. Thompson, I. M. S. and John Thompson that the "destruction of rats is a useful palliative measure of purely temporary benefit." We have never been convinced as to the value of inoculation.

The Scientific Commission which was appointed in 1905 to investigate the causation of plague, has now completed the first stage of its labours. Their outstanding conclusions relate only to the agency by which plague spreads, the vehicle of contagion and the duration of life of the plague germ. *But what is the cause of plague?* Perhaps political expediency stands in the way of giving any answer or a true answer to this question.

We wish the compliments which His Majesty has been advised to pay to the Viceroy and "able officers" who have combated plague were well deserved. But unfortunately the fact is the plague operations of Government form a story of bungling and inefficiency and worse from start to finish. Says Prof. Ronald Ross:—

"The blame for this terrible visitation can't be laid largely on those who govern the country." "Everywhere instead of the knowledge, organization and discipline which are essential in such emergencies, we saw only nescience, confusion and inaction." "Generals and civilians were made dictators in a matter of which they had no knowledge."

As a remedy, the *Lancet* says:—

"A special service commensurate with the situation must be created to carry out inoculations and other plague measures. When that service is created and properly directed, it is to be hoped that there will be an end to the policy which has discarded responsible medical advice since plague began and which has been so detrimental to the true interests of India."

We think this proposed "special service," if it consists, as it must, of inexperienced European doctors, will be only a means for further useless exploitation of Indian revenues wrung from a perishing people. Let the Director be a European expert if necessary; but all the other officers should be, both for the sake of efficiency and economy, Indian medical graduates and licentiates and hospital assistants, who know the country and the people.

Sir John Hewett's Industrial Conference Speech.

It was a wholly admirable speech that Sir John Hewett delivered in opening the Naini Tal Industrial Conference. We regret we have no space to make extracts. We agree generally with the views put forward. The resolutions passed seem also to be in the right direction. The actual results must depend largely on the choice of *capable* men of *liberal sympathies* to fill the posts of the Director of Industries, the principal and teachers of the technological institute and technical schools and the managers of the industries which it is proposed that Government should pioneer. We hope our capitalists will be able to take full advantage of these efforts of the Government for the industrial development of the country. Otherwise they will be calculated to benefit only the foreign exploiter.

No doubt, it would have been the best thing for the Indian people if the resources of India could be developed by means of Indian capital alone. But under present circumstances, it is not possible to prevent the exploitation of the country by foreign capitalists. Therefore, as His Honour says, "there is room for both European and Indian capital."

"Of the capital of any Chinese company not more than 50 per cent. may be foreign and every foreign company must reserve at least 80 per cent. of its share capital to be taken up by Chinese." *The Statesman's Year Book*, 1905, p. 529.

We cannot expect any such law here. But we may hope that matters will not be so

managed as to encourage foreign exploitation and put obstacles in the way of the "shy" Indian capitalist, whom it is not our desire to shield from what blame he deserves. Our fears are not groundless. Rao Bahadur G. V. Joshi says in his admirable paper on the Industrial problem in India in our first number:—

And it looks as if the whole splendid machinery of scientific inquiry and expert advice which has been recently created by Government to assist it in the work were being utilized in the same direction. The people of the country are left out of account in the general scheme; the requirements of their economic present and future are ignored; the peculiar disabilities under which they labour and which prevent them from taking their proper share of the work are lost sight of; and what is still more regrettable,—no comprehensive action is taken or even proposed to lift them from their present helplessness and fit them for the work that awaits them and relieve the foreigner of the burden. The resources and energies of the State seem directed to one end and one only—the industrial development of the country—irrespective of any considerations of means or agency. The material progress of the country—so helped—is proceeding rapidly and on all lines. Only we, the children of the soil, have little or no share in the advance. This is the saddest feature of the situation and fills us with the gravest misgivings.

Let us hope, however, that as His Honour has taken the leading representatives of the people into his confidence, during his *regime* at least Indian interests will be safe-guarded. Other provincial rulers should follow his example in the field of industrial development.

The Tata Iron Works.

The whole capital of a crore and a half of this foremost and most gigantic and fundamental of *swadeshi* enterprises has been oversubscribed. All honour to Bombay for her industrial capacity and patriotism. We should all follow her footsteps, even though at a great distance. It will be a red letter day in the annals of modern India when the first nail made of Indian iron by this Indian company is sold in the market. Mr. Tata was an industrial genius. He rightly perceived

that in this age of machinery, the industrial regeneration of a country must be greatly retarded unless iron, the material of which machines are made, were extracted from the bowels of the country itself. And as his plans were based on expert knowledge, advice and calculation, the Iron Works must have a splendid future.

The Transvaal Indians.

Our countrymen in the Transvaal are resisting the tyranny of the white colonists there quite manfully in refusing to get themselves registered. They would rather go to jail than submit to ignominy. That is the right principle to act upon; better no life at all than a degraded life. There is a Bengali proverb that the twig of the bamboo is tougher than the bamboo. The Indian colonials by their united and strong opposition to unrighteous legislation have shown that they are manlier than the parent people from whom they are sprung. Hindus and Jains, Mussalmans and Parsis, they are all there, and yet, in spite of the Anglo-Indian creed, they are working in concert! Would that we had as much unity and sturdy patriotism as our colonial brethren!

"Married to Gods."

The custom of the marriage of young girls to Hindu gods, and their consequent dedication to an immoral life, which prevails in the Deccan and the Madras Presidency, is disgraceful to the Hindus of those parts in the extreme. There should be cordial co-operation between Government and the people in putting down this evil. Government should prosecute the parents or other guardians of the *muralis*, as these girls are called, and the authorities of the temples where these mar-

riages are celebrated as accessories and abettors; and the people should make provision for the proper guardianship of minors, as to whom prosecutions may be successful, by the establishment of homes, &c. If the people fail in their duty, Government would be quite justified in making over minors to missionary societies. The non-interference of the State in social matters is not a fetish for unreasoning worship. Another Legislative enactment to which no one can object and which would arrest this evil and benefit Indian womanhood in general, is the raising of "the age of consent" to 18 years in the case of unmarried girls.

Boycott and Swadeshi.

"The Statesman" observes that

"as showing how little the boycott movement has affected European trade with India, it may be notified that the import duties during the first four months of the current official year are actually better by Rs. 25 lakhs than those of the corresponding period of 1906. Of this increase Rs. 6½ lakhs are under the heading of cotton goods."

This, if true (for statistics can often prove what one desires;—lies are humorously said by Englishmen to be of three grades, lies, d—d lies, and statistics), only shows that under the British Government such a thorough crushing of Indian industries, once so flourishing that they attracted all the mercantile races of the world to our shores, has been brought about that we find it extremely difficult to revive them. However, our duty is clear. We must abjure foreign luxuries, and push both the boycott of foreign goods and the production of Swadeshi ones in their stead, as far and as vigorously as is practicable, and that in the face of repeated failures. We must succeed.

REVIEW

ENGLISH.

On Municipal and National Trading: by the Right Hon'ble Lord Avebury. London: Macmillan & Co. 1907.

It is well-known to those who take an intelligent interest in the political controversies of England that for the last few years there have been acute differences of opinion between the advocates of the extension of municipal government to spheres which were till lately left to private enterprise and those who are opposed to what they call this municipal trading. There were a series of articles against this municipal trading in the *Times*, in the year 1902, and the views set forth therein as well as the motives actuating those who took that view were vigorously attacked by the *Daily News*. The last elections of the London County Council which has embarked on many such enterprises, were partly fought on this question, the "Moderates" or "Municipal Reformers" who are Conservatives, contending that under the long continued regime of the "Progressives," or Liberals, almost since the creation of the Council in 1888, there was any amount of reckless expenditure and borrowing due mostly to their favouring municipal trading. And the "Moderates" beat the "Progressives" and obtained a large majority, which in its way was no less significant than the overwhelming majority by which Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman's government was returned to power last year. It is not altogether easy to express a decided opinion one way or the other, for there is much to be said on either side, but we think we are rather inclined to the view energetically propounded by Lord Avebury in the book under notice that Municipalities had best not extend their sphere of operations so as to embrace all sorts of ventures and encroach on the legitimate province of private enterprise.

Lord Avebury (formerly Sir John Lubbock) is a master of so many subjects that it is no wonder that he handles the present question with equal ability and knowledge. His manner of presentment of his case

deserves close study and imitation at the hands of Indian public men, too many of whom confound vague declamation with informed criticism. In the book under notice we miss the former altogether and, of course, we do not regret it. It is a solid array of facts and figures which tell and arguments based on them stated in temperate language which we have; so much so, that even where we do not feel that the material is enough to persuade us to the view of the author, we find it difficult to assert the contrary with confidence. A good portion of the contents of the book does not directly interest the Indian reader. But we should like it to be extensively read by educated Indians if only to know how carefully public questions must be studied, what patient labour public men must bestow on details with a view to prime themselves well with a knowledge of facts, if their criticisms are to be effective. As has been well said, our opinions must proceed with authority from us for them to command respect outside. And how can this be if the opinions emanate from semi-informed men? We all know what great moral weight attaches to the Budget speeches of the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale in the Viceregal Legislative Council. Why? Because, apart from his uncommon ability, he is supremely careful of his facts and thoroughly studies the many aspects of all the questions he speaks upon, weighing every word he uses, never overstating his case, making every allowance for an opponent's point of view. The younger generation of Indian public men should cultivate the same mental habits if they are anxious to render the greatest service to their motherland.

Lord Avebury objects to the undertaking by municipalities of commercial undertakings mainly on five grounds:—

' Firstly, the legitimate functions and duties of our municipalities are already enough, if not indeed more than enough, to tax all their energies and fill up all their time.

' Secondly, it has involved, and will involve, an immense increase in municipal debt.

"Thirdly, it will involve municipalities in labour disputes.

"Fourthly, as there will not be the same stimulus to economy and attention, there will be a great probability, not to say certainty, that one of two things will happen: either there will be a loss, or the service will cost more. The working classes will, of course, be the greatest sufferers.

"Fifthly, it is a serious check to progress and discovery."

Lord Avebury marshals many facts in support of every one of the above points. It seems that municipalities in England have undertaken tramways, railway management, steamboats, fire insurance, electrical fittings, clothing, motor omnibuses, parcels delivery, confectionery in schools, brick making, tailoring, the supply of milk and eggs, etc. Surely a portentous list this, and many sober-minded men will agree with Lord Avebury that it is entirely beyond the province of municipalities to do many of these things. The second objection to municipal trading must be considered proven when we are told that municipal indebtedness increased from £193,000,000 in 1883-4 to £469,000,000 in 1903-4, that is, an increase of £276,000,000 in twenty years. And "this increase is far greater than that of the rateable value." It is obvious, too, that the undertaking by municipalities of commercial enterprises involves them in labour disputes. The objections to the continual increase in the number of state and municipal employees were forcibly stated by Mill long years ago and our author has done well to transcribe that telling passage. The observations occur in the great political philosopher's famous treatise on *Liberty*, and are as follows:—

"If the employees of all these different enterprises were appointed and paid by the Government, and looked to the Government for every rise in life, not all the freedom of the press and popular constitution of the Legislature would make this or any other country free otherwise than in name. To be admitted into the ranks of this bureaucracy, and when admitted, to rise therein, would be the sole objects of ambition. Under this regime, not only is the outside public ill-qualified, for want of practical experience, to criticise or check the mode of operation of the bureaucracy, but even if the accidents of despotic or the natural working of popular institutions occasionally raise to the summit a ruler, or rulers, of reforming inclinations, no reform can be effected which is contrary to the interests of the bureaucracy. Such is the melancholy condition of the Russian Empire, as shown in the accounts of those who have had sufficient opportunity of observation. The Czar himself is powerless against the bureaucratic body."

(How strongly applicable are the above remarks to the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy, consisting of the privileged and what Bright called the "pampered" caste of the Indian Civil Service!) The fourth objection is that municipal management of commercial undertakings is almost always wasteful. Lord Avebury doubts

whether municipalities ever make a profit where they have not a monopoly.

"We who are engaged in commerce know that success depends on close attention to details, on watching the turn of the market, or giving mind and thought to the business. It is impossible for members of Municipalities to do this, and, consequently, Municipal management cannot be as economical or as successful as private management."

The whole of Chapter VI (pp. 56-82) is devoted to an examination of the loss and profit made by municipalities in various enterprises and of the financial results of similar undertakings which are in the hands of private business corporations, and has absolutely no difficulty in showing that the municipalisation of commercial undertakings is the reverse of profitable to the people. As regards the fifth point, all economists from the time of Adam Smith to Fawcett have strongly urged that interference by states or municipalities with trade is economically a fatal mistake. The late Lord Goschen said, speaking of the London County Council, that "extravagant expenditure, accumulation of debt, the invasion of field after field of private enterprise have dogged the footsteps of municipal administration. In no directions," Lord Goschen added, "have blows more serious been struck at the very foundations of private enterprise." Lord Avebury himself says, and we think he establishes his contention, that "municipal trading must decrease our rates more and more, while at the same time it raises the price of necessaries, so that it cuts down incomes with one hand, and with the other makes life more expensive."

John Stuart Mill, whom we have already quoted, wrote forcibly of the great

"inexpediency of concentrating in a dominant bureaucracy all the skill and experience in the management of large interests, and all the power of organised action existing in the community, a practice which keeps the citizens in a relation to the Government like that of children to their guardians, and is a main cause of the inferior capacity for political life which has hitherto characterised the over-governed countries of the Continent, whether with or without the forms of representative Government."

(We very respectfully make a present of these observations to Mr. John Morley.) We concur in the conclusion of Lord Avebury that

"Our municipalities have most important duties to perform,—duties sufficient to occupy all their time and tax all their energies. They cannot both govern and trade. If they persist in embarking on commercial undertakings, they will, I am persuaded, increase our rates, check the progress of scientific discovery, and stifle if not destroy, that spirit of private enterprise to which in the past our commercial supremacy is mainly due."

C. L. CEINTAMANI.

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EDUCATION IN INDIA AND AMERICA: A CONTRAST AND COMPARISON

AMERICANS believe that every child brings into the world with it a distinct potentiality. It is the faith of the people of this continent that there is a probability of a certain definite usefulness to the community in every individual. Further, it is their belief that education ought to secure to the nation the advantage of utilizing to the best the abilities with which its individuals may be born. By providing facilities and enforcing compulsory education laws, Americans, therefore, are trying to make the most out of their children.

America considers its children its mainstay—its chief asset. Americans are proud of their country, rich in vegetable and mineral resources. The pride and pleasure as well as concern and care of an average American are, however, centered in the coming generation. The manhood, the character, the affluence and happiness of the nation, according to the latest American theory and practice, all are dependent upon the children. Every State in the Union more and more is devoting a great deal of its attention to its children. Legislation is being enacted and enforced so that the wards of the nation are taken care of properly, judiciously nurtured and sagaciously developed.

To-day in America the scientists, sociologists, socialists, educators, and legislators, of both sexes and of all ages, denominations and persuasions, conjointly and severally, are engaged in studying the child-saving problem, as it is called. Effort is made to apply the

latest discoveries of science in all its branches in order to achieve the highest obtainable results in developing the inherent potentialities of American children and eliminating undesirable characteristics.

Children, their needs, their predilections, their talents, as well as the means and methods to do the most with them with the least expenditure of energy and money, are probably better understood in the United States than anywhere else in the world. Probably no other country than the United States is more assiduous and painstaking in making ample and efficient provision for the study as well as the care and culture of its children.

Educational facilities in America, therefore, are more numerous and probably better adapted to serve all types of people than similar institutions anywhere else. The very fact that, despite the heterogeneous character of its population, America has made great advance industrially, racially and materially, conclusively proves the superiority of the general education that is prevalent in the United States. Education always has been the progenitor of progress—and ever will be.

The greatest advantage in this direction, of course, is afforded by the elementary schools for all people. Primary, grammar and high schools are absolutely free, throughout the country.

No tuition fee whatever is assessed from the children. In very many States the textbooks and writing materials are furnished

at public expense. In a few States the children of indigent families are provided with stockings, shoes and suitable clothing. Primary education is compulsory—every child being obliged to attend school for a certain number of years. Everything is done, in fact, to give every child, of whatever capacity, the keys to what is given in the American colleges and wonderful technical institutions.

Even the universities and technical and commercial institutes in all the States of the Union are either absolutely free or have a scale of charges that affords a chance to the poorest boy or girl in the land to reap their benefits.

For those who cannot afford to study in the day-time, institutions are provided to enable them to do so at night after the day's work is over. Night schools are maintained at public expense and are rendering the people of the United States incalculable service. Many of the Universities also have facilities for imparting instruction in the evening and thus make it possible for men and women to increase their usefulness and multiply their activities without seriously interfering with their gainful occupations.

Institutions known as Vacation schools are significant of the American spirit, which seeks to provide unique opportunities for its young folks. These schools are very well patronized. These vacation schools are institutions which open during the months when the ordinary schools are closed and impart valuable instruction in an interesting manner to the girls and boys who have the enthusiasm rather to continue to attend school than enjoy their holidays. The popularity of these schools can be judged from the fact that eight thousand seven hundred boys and girls ranging in age from eight to eighteen years fought, struggled and cheered for admittance at the entrances of the twelve public schools appointed as vacation schools in Chicago, the second largest city of the United States. Of this crowd the school authorities could not accommodate one thousand seven hundred. The rest were evenly distributed in crowds averaging six hundred in the various schools.

The unusual enthusiasm of the youngsters to get back to the realm of the book and ferrule was explained by a little fellow. He yelled: "Gee whiz! Dis wont be like real school! Dere aint no books in de rooms and we are going to have eatin's made by de goils." Another voice volunteered, "Dey are goin' to have a real show; better'n the nickel theater, an' we guys are goin' to be actors."

The vacation schools are a great success. The children are not confined to the regular work. To do so would be worse than useless as it would be impossible to claim the attention of the people. Therefore a programme of entertainment is arranged. Under its garb of attraction real instruction is carefully concealed. Fifty more vacation schools could be opened in Chicago and still there would be an overflow.

On the same lines as these vacation schools are what are known as the "University Extensions." To these extensions professors and lecturers of national and international reputation are invited to deliver lectures.

An educated Indian with awakened consciousness, when passing through the United States, is impressed with the carelessness of the government that has the education of the children of India in its charge. The young folks of Hindustan, speaking from an educational point of view, have no opportunities whatever. Children in India are brought into existence, while four-fifths of the villages are without a school-house. While the whole of India is sadly deficient in providing technical, industrial and commercial institutions, the United States Government is most assiduous in this respect.

The technical institutes are lavishly supplied with appliances which make it possible to give the most thorough instruction in the courses taught. The staff consists of experts and specialists. Numerous institutes of this description are operating throughout the United States. In addition to these technical institutes other means and methods are employed to impart the knowledge that boys and girls need in their after life. For instance, sewing, cooking, taking care of babies, domestic science and similar practical arts are taught to the girls at public expense. Usually a special school is established in the central portion of the city, and girls from public schools are required to attend one or more classes of this description once or twice a week. In many of the larger cities all the large schools are equipped with such classes, and the pupils have the advantage of learning these arts on the premises. In either case these things are taught as an essential feature of the regular curriculum; the ideal being that education, unless practical, is comparatively valueless.

Similarly, for the boys, manual training schools are provided at public expense. Carpentering, smithing, engineering, clay-modeling, ornamental wood and iron work, chemical

qualitative and quantitative analysis, are a few of the numerous subjects taught in these schools. The instruction imparted is intensely practical and thoroughly up-to-date.

In addition to this, special facilities are provided for commercial training. Stenography, typewriting, book-keeping, card indexing, are taught with the greatest care. Particular attention also is paid to penmanship and spelling, and now there is a movement on foot to teach scientific salesmanship in the schools.

A special feature of these schools, in fact of all public schools, is that careful attention is paid to physical culture. Ample provision is made for the proper development of the body. Exercise in the playgrounds and gymnasiums, drilling and dancing to the music of violin and piano under the superintendence of trained experts conserve perfect health, vivacity and vigor.

Incidentally it may be remarked here that in addition to the gymnasiums and playgrounds attached to the public schools special playgrounds sometimes known as "Neighborhood Centres," are provided at public expense in suitable locations throughout the larger cities. These neighbourhood centers not only supply gymnasiums for indoor exercise but encourage the use of parallel and horizontal bars, swings, Indian clubs and other paraphernalia lavishly supplied for the use out of doors of the little ones. Of an evening these neighbourhood centres present a spectacle of animation and bustle. Children of both sexes, of all kinds and conditions, nations and races, speaking a jargon of languages, or badly accented English, engage themselves with great zest in play and physical culture.

Public-spirited organizations and individuals add their quota to the educational facilities furnished by the State. Several universities in the United States are maintained by multi-millionaires. In addition to these, others are conducted by religious denominations. Schools of various descriptions are run at the expense of religiously inclined or philanthropic organizations or individuals where academic and technical education is imparted absolutely or almost free. Public bodies also make provision for men of recognized ability to deliver lectures. To these boys and girls as well as their parents are invited and much good results from them.

But one example of an institution maintained without subsidy from or interference of the State will suffice to show what is being achieved in this line. The Tuskegee Industrial and Agricultural Institute was started a few

years ago amidst the most depressing circumstances by a young Negro who had formed the ambition of uplifting his race when but a few years previously had been freed from slavery. The classes were started in a dilapidated hen house, later transferred to a miserable shanty and still later removed to a church which was so old and ramshackle that the roof leaked and the crevices in the walls admitted the inclemencies of the weather. Booker T. Washington, its founder, had to depend mainly upon his own efforts to raise subscriptions in order to pay for his personal expenses, also for those connected with this school of his. Slowly and steadily did he work, and finally but surely came to him help in men and money. One by one the buildings went up, and furniture was made in instalments and what once was wilderness became, through the efforts of teachers and pupils, a veritable garden with beautiful mansions, devoted to instruction, worship and residence.

In this institute Mr. Washington to-day is engaged in solving the greatest problem of our times—the problem of life as man and man, eradicating all racial distinctions. The Negro problem in the United States is probably one of the acutest and the largest which any race or country has had to face. The whites accuse the Negroes of being their inferiors in more respects than one; even of being criminally inclined. The Negroes are discontented that, as citizens of the United States, they often are maltreated against their citizenship rights. Between the two it is hard to decide which is which. One thing is certain, however, namely, that the Negro has to improve his material, moral and spiritual condition in order to be a legitimate factor in the progress of humanity. This is what Booker T. Washington is doing.

At Tuskegee Mr. Washington is providing an impetus for his people to rise in the scale of nations. His effort is to train the head, heart, and hand simultaneously and harmoniously—to inculcate that education means added facilities and inclinations to serve society. His constant aim and effort is to teach his people that education should render them, in every sense of the word, useful members of their race. Education, unless it is of the right sort, always has a tendency to make the members of a young race do best physical work and consider clerking petty and worthy of an educated man. Mr. Washington has to contend against this tendency just as much as the educators in India—probably more so. He is inspiring them with the idea

that work on the farm is not inconsistent with ability or even proficiency in reading and writing. He is demonstrating to his race that a person thinketh as he liveth: also liveth as he thinketh. He is implanting in the hearts of his people that **brains wedded with brawn alone produce wholesome results.** He is thus providing an opportunity, an impetus and a guidance to his race that is simply inestimable. To his ideals, to his ambitions and to his efforts, the Negro race is indebted for education, fulfilling its purpose—the harmonious development of man and woman.

Like Booker T. Washington, there are a few other public-spirited educators who are doing all they can in order to place educational facilities of the right kind within the reach of the boys and girls of the United States. It is touching to see these public-spirited citizens of America aiding the State in every manner possible to develop the boys and girls of the nation into men and women of the right kind. But it is far more touching to witness how the young folks of this country struggle to educate themselves.

There is hardly a high school or university in the land of the Stars and Stripes that has not a corps of students known as "pay-the-way pupils." These people work in the hotels and restaurants as waiters and porters, sell newspapers in the streets and do such other odds and ends of jobs out of their school hours and on holidays. One is surprised at the ingenuity of these folks in obtaining suitable work which will enable them to pay their expenses while at school or college. The case is cited of a young man who recently played the postman, delivered the town letters of a large business house over an area of thirty miles and got paid for the postage he saved the firm thereby. This arrangement caused some inconvenience to the business firm, but the managing director of the house was so very touched with the enthusiasm of the young man in question, that he ordered his office to put up with it for the sake of the boy. It is a common sight to witness high school boys doing physical work in factories and mills during their vacation months and thus accumulating money enough to pay their expenses during the school months.

What pen has the presumption to depict the hardships of these plucky fellows—or attempt to write an appreciation of their indefatigable perseverance? Theirs is a precarious life indeed. They eat scanty miserable fare, often subsisting on cheap meals served in filthy res-

taurants. Hard work both in and out of school, penury and hunger, such is their miserable existence. But these are the men who have made America what she is to-day. Dark and dreary though their life, they do not lose heart but keep on and achieve what they set out to accomplish.

In the ranks of the pay-the-way students one frequently comes across school girls and university women. Like the boy pay-the-way students, they work for their board and lodging and such other expenses incidental to their remaining in school or college by doing odd jobs. Their lot is hard but they go through the experience cheerfully, and these are the women who adorn the womanhood of this country—the women who make womanhood respected by manhood.

Nothing pleases an oriental observer of things in America more than to watch the Indian students catch the spirit that is abroad in the land. Such a wonderful thing it seems to him that the Japanese and Chinese students should put aside their orientalisms and dress, live and even think as Americans so long as they sojourn in this continent. It is interesting to see these Eastern students work as waiters and dish-washers in restaurants and cafés, chop wood, pick fruit, gather berries, work in factories and fisheries during their vacation months and after school hours. In this category are included a few Indian students. Their number, however, is limited. A few of the Indian students in America have suffered from the color animosity. There are a few others who, unable to divest themselves of their turbans, long hair and such other socio-religious regalia find themselves in a very false position when endeavouring to pay their way through school or college. Mills, factories and homes find it impossible to entertain them for labor as their unique dress attracts too much attention. But, as a rule, those of the Indian students who endeavour to pay their way and find it in their heart temporarily to put away their religious idiosyncrasies and accept with graciousness whatever comes in their way, find themselves successful in achieving their object.

A great deal is being written in India in these days about sending students to foreign countries. The example of Japan is quoted frequently. But always it is forgotten that the Japanese students in America ever have been willing to put away their idiosyncrasies of whatever kind and adapt themselves in such a way as to render themselves as inconspicuous as possible among the people with

whom they work. It also ought to be remembered that the Japanese students in America do not expect some Hercules to come to their assistance. Nor do they desire to get a thing without paying a square price for it. It is not their intention to buy success with mere wishings and frettings. They believe that there is no royal road to glory and wisdom. As they are intent upon achieving success in whatever line of study they may engage in, they are prepared to make every sacrifice in their power, put up with the prejudices and slights of the American rabble and amidst cheerless circumstances pluckily plod the way to reach the summit of their ambition. The moral is apparent.

There is an invaluable institution in America of which the people of India ought to take the fullest advantage. The Americans themselves do. The correspondence schools are being established throughout the length and breadth of the land and those already operating have hundreds of thousands of pupils on their rolls. These correspondence schools really are institutions demanded by the exigencies of our times. They are eminently suited to our wants and their growth during the last few years has been phenomenal. It is true that a number of bogus correspondence schools have had mushroom careers and probably there are some of such description operating at this time. But doubtless there are among the list several correspondence schools of a reliable character which make it possible for men and women of all ages to learn arts, industries, professions, trades, languages and sciences of all kinds and conditions with a reasonable expenditure of time and money, and without their being necessitated to leave their homes. A few of the subjects successfully taught by correspondence are: book-keeping, stenography, advertisement writing,

show card writing, window trimming, commercial law, illustrating, civil service chemistry, textile mill superintending, electricity, electric engineering, telephone engineering, electric lighting, mechanical engineering, surveying, stationary engineering, civil engineering, building, contracting, architecture, structural engineering, bridge engineering, mining engineering, mechanical and architectural drawing.

Some of these correspondence schools are employing a very novel method of teaching languages. Correct accentuation, pronunciation and enunciation of foreign languages is taught by means of phonographs.

The fees charged by the correspondence schools usually are reasonable. In many instances the payment is accepted on an instalment basis and in some cases the payment is deferred until the pupil has finished the course and obtained a salaried position. Many of these institutions have employment bureaus in connection with them which make a speciality of securing positions for their pupils without making any additional charge for their service.

This is an educational facility which does not exist in India. The chief cause of America's progress is that her people are ready and assiduous in providing such opportunities for their rising generation.

There is one phase of education in America which should be impressed upon the people of India. The educational institutions in this continent make it their constant aim and effort to put hope and life and enterprise into its young people. India needs education. More than anything else it needs ambition and aggressiveness. Education alone can impart ambition and aggressiveness. The energies of the Indian educators ought to be focused in developing these traits.

SAINT NIAL SING.

SOME PROBLEMS FOR INDIAN RESEARCH

III

The relation between Buddhism and Hinduism.

THERE was never a religion in India known as Buddhism, with temples and priests of its own order." These words of the Swami Vivekananda, appear to myself the first postulate of any clear study of the

question laid down as the title of this paper. Socially Buddhism in India never consisted of a church, but only of a religious order. Doctrinally, it meant the scattering of that wisdom which had hitherto been peculiar to Brahman

and Kshatriya, amongst the democracy. Nationally, it meant the first social unification of the Indian people. Historically, it brought about the birth of Hinduism. In all these respects, Buddhism created a heritage which is living to the present day. Amongst the forces which have gone to the making of India, none has been so potent as that great wave of redeeming love for the common people which broke and spread on the shores of Humanity in the personality of Buddha. By preaching the common spiritual right of all men, whatever their birth, He created a nationality in India, which leapt into spontaneous and overwhelming expression so soon as His message touched the heart of Asoka, the Peoples' King. This fact constitutes a supreme instance of the way in which the mightiest political forces in history are brought into being by those who stand outside politics. The great Chandra Gupta founding an Empire, B. C. 350, could not make a nationality in India. He could only establish that political unity and centralisation in whose soil an Indian nationality might grow and come to recognise itself. Little did he dream that the germ of that Indian solidarity which was to establish his throne on adamant foundations, lay not with himself, but with those yellow-clad beggars who came and went about his dominions, and threaded their way through the gates and streets of Pataliputra itself. Yet time and the hour were with him. He builded better than he knew. From the day of the accession of this Chandra Gupta, India was potentially mature. With the conversion of Asoka, she becomes aware of her own maturity. Nothing appears more clearly, in the mind of the great Asoka, than his consciousness of the geographical extent and unity of his territory, and his sense of the human and democratic value of the populated centres. We find these things in the truly imperial distribution of his decrees; in the deep social value of his public works—roads, wells, hospitals, and the rest; and, above all, in the fact that he published decrees at all. Here was no throne-proud autocrat, governing by means of secret orders, but a sovereign, publishing to his people his notion of that highest law, which bound him and them alike. Never did monarch live who so called his subjects into his councils. Never was there a father who more deeply gave his confidence to his children. Yet without the work done by Chandra Gupta the grandfather, and completed by Asoka himself in his earlier years, in the long-repentant conquest of Kalinga, or Orissa, this blossoming time of true nation-

ality, when all races and classes of Indian folk were drawn together by one loving and beloved sovereign, would not have been possible. Asoka owed as much to the political unity of India as to the wondrous vision of all that it means to be **a man**, high born or low born, Aryan or non-Aryan, **a human being**, which he had received from Buddha.

But the question, Of what spiritual confraternity did Asoka hold himself a member?—becomes here of considerable importance. To belong to a new sect does not often have the effect of opening a man's heart to all about him in this fashion. Sects, as a rule, unite us to the few, but separate us from the many. And here lies the meaning of the fact that Buddhism in India was no sect. It was a worship of a great personality. It was a monastic order. But it was not a sect. Asoka felt himself to be a monk, and the child of the monk-hood, though seated on a throne, with his People as his church.

Similarly to this day, there may at any time rise within Hinduism a great Sannyasin, whose fully-enrolled disciples are monks and nuns, while yet he is honoured and recognised as the *guru* by numberless householders. The position of the memory of Buddha as a Hindu teacher, in the third century before Christ, was not in these respects different from that of Sri Ramakrishna to-day, or that of Ramdas of Maharashtra in the seventeenth century. In the two last-named cases, however, the citizen-disciples, *Grihastha-bhaktas*, have a well-defined background, in which they inhere. Hinduism is long ago a virtual unity,—though that fact may not yet have been realised and defined,—with its choice of religious systems to meet the needs of various types of character, and the great monastic *guru* stands outside all of these as a quickening and spiritualising force, whose influence is felt in each of these alike. The citizen-*bhakta* of Ramdas or Ramakrishna remains "a Hindu."

In the days of Asoka, however, Hinduism was not yet a single united whole. The thing we now know by that name was then probably referred to as 'the religion of the Brahmins.' Its theology was of the Upanishads. Its superstitions had been transmitted from the Vedic period. And there was as yet no idea that it should be made an inclusive faith. It co-existed with beliefs about snakes and springs and earth-worship, in a loose federation, which was undoubtedly true to certain original differences of race.

With the age of Buddhism, however, all this was changed. The time had now come when men could no longer accept their beliefs on authority. Religion must for all equally be a matter of the personal experience, and I see no reason to doubt the claim made by the Jainas, that Buddha was the disciple of the same *Guru* as Mahavira. We know the age of a heresy by the tenets it contradicts, and in repudiating the authority of the Vedas, Jainism proves itself the oldest form of non-conformity in India. And in the same way, by its relative return upon Vedic thought, we may find in Buddhism an element of re-action against Jainism. Only by accepting the Jain tradition, moreover, as to the influence which their *gurus* had upon Buddha, are we able, as it seems to me, to account satisfactorily for the road taken by Him from Kapilavastu to Bodh-Gaya, through Rajgir. He made His way first of all to the region of the famous Jain teachers. If, again, there should be any shred of truth in Sir Edwin Arnold's story (presumably from the Lalita-Vistara) that it was at Rajgir that He interceded for the goats, the incident would seem under the circumstances, the more natural. He passed through the city, on His way to some solitude where He could find realisation, with His heart full of that pity for animals and that shrinking from the thought of sacrifice, which was the characteristic thought of the age, one of the great pre-occupations it may be of the Jaina circles He had just left. And with His heart thus full, He met the sacrificial herd, marched with them to the portals of Bimbisara's palace, and pleaded with the king for their lives, offering His own in their place. Whether this was actually so or not, it is certain that one of the great impulses of the day lay in the rebellion against the necessity of the Vedic sacrifice, one of its finest sincerities in that exaltation of the personal experience which made it seem natural to found on it a religion. That a man's religious convictions must be the result of his own private realisation of truth is an idea so old in India as to lie behind the Upanishads themselves. But that such a realisation had a right to be socialised, to be made the basis of a religious sect, is a principle which was first, perhaps, grasped by the Jainas. It is this decision, thus definitely arrived at, and clearly held, that accounts for the strength and certainty of Indian thought, to this hour. For the doctrine that direct perception is the only certain mode of proof, and that all belief, therefore, rests on the direct perception of

competent persons, is here unshakable, and it is easy to understand how such an attitude, on the part of a whole nation, exalts the individual thinker, and the mind of generations.

The world is now so familiar with the spectacle of the religious leader going out from amongst his fellows, and followed by all who think with him, to found some sect which is to be even as a new city of the human spirit, that it can hardly think itself back to the time when this was a thing unknown. In the age of the Vedas and Upanishads, however, this spectacle had not yet been seen in India. The religious teacher of those days lived retired, in the forest clearings and gathered round him not a sect, but a school in the form of a few disciples. Jainism, with its sudden intense revolt against the sacrificial idea, and its sudden determination to make its pity effective for the protection of dumb animals, was the first religious doctrine to call social forces to its aid, in India; in other words, it was the first organised sect or church, and by forming itself it invented the idea of sects, and the non-Jainas began to hold themselves in some sort of unity round the Aryan priesthood. Buddha, in his turn, accepted from Jainism its fearless pity, but not contented with the protection of the dumb creature, added to the number of those to be redeemed man himself, wandering in ignorance from birth to birth, and sacrificing himself at every step to his own transient desires. He realised to the full the career of the religious teacher, as Jainism had made it possible, yet the doctrine which he preached as the result of his personal experience was in all essential respects identical with that which had already been elaborated in the forest-*ashramas* of the Upanishads, as the 'religion of the Brahmins.' It was in fact the spiritual culture of that period brought into being and slowly ripened in those *ashramas* of peaceful thought and lofty contemplation, that pressed forward now to make the strength behind Buddha as a preacher. He declared that which the people already dimly knew. Thus, by the debt which he owes to both, this Great Sannyasin, calling all men to enter on the highest path, forms the bridge between the religion of the Aryans tracing itself back to the Vedas, and the religion of the Jainas, holding itself to be defiant of the Vedas.

Such was the relation of Buddha to his immediate past, which he himself, however, overtopped and hid by his gigantic personality. We have next to look at the changes made by him in the religious ideas of succeeding generations. Taking Buddha as the founder,

not of a sect, but of a monastic order, it is easy to see that his social organisation could never be cumulative. There must, in fact, come a time when it would die out. No new members could be born into his fold. His sons were those only on whom his idea had shone, those who had personally and voluntarily accepted his thought. Yet he must have had many lovers and admirers who could not become monastics. What was the place of the citizen-*bhaktas*, the *grihastha*-devotees of Buddha? We obtain glimpses of many such, in the course of his own life. They loved him. They could not fail to be influenced and indeed dominated by him, in all their living and thinking thereafter. Yet they could not go out into the life of the wanderer, leaving the duties of their station. He was their sovereign, as it were, monarch of their souls. But he was not their general, for they were not members of the army. That place belonged only to monks and nuns, and these were neither.

Whatever was the place of the citizen-*bhakta*, it is clear that he would express in that place, the full influence of the personal idea that Buddha represented. Not Indra of the Thousand Eyes, delighting in sacrifice, could ever again be the dream of the soul that had once loved Gautama. Calmness of meditation, light and stillness, detachment and knowledge, are now seen to be the highest powers of man. And this new realisation, constantly re-inforced by new admirers, will do its great work, not within the Buddhist order, but outside it, in the eventual modification of some other system. The conscious aim of the order as such will be to maintain its first condition of purity, truth and ardour. The unconscious aim of the world without will be to assimilate more and more of the overflow of idealism that comes from within it, more and more of the personal impress left by One in whom all men's aspirations have been fulfilled. From this point, we can see that the Order itself must some day die out in India, from sheer philosophical inanition, and the want of a new Buddha. But its influence on the faiths outside it, will echo and re-echo, ever deepening and intensifying.

Those faiths, were, as we have seen, three in number, (1) Jaina; (2) Arya-Vedic; and (3) popular unorganised beliefs. It would appear, therefore, that the citizen-*bhakta* would necessarily belong to one or other of the groups. Already Jainism must have been a force acting, as we have seen, to unify the Arya-Vedic and the popular unorganised beliefs giving it first impetus, in fact, to

the evolution of what would afterwards be Hinduism, and this process Buddhism, with its immense aggressiveness for the redemption of man, would greatly intensify. Yet the period would be considerable before this influence of the Buddhist idea would be sufficient to make itself perceptible in Hinduism, and its emergence, when that period was completed, might be expected to be abrupt.

My own opinion is that this influence made itself visible in the sudden advent of the idea of Siva or Mahadeva to a dominant position in the national life. In tracing out the evolution of the Siva-image, we are compelled, I think to assume its origin in the *stupa*. And similarly, in the gradual concretising of the Vedic Rudra into the modern Mahadeva, the impression made by Buddha on the national imagination is extraordinarily evident. Stirless meditation, unshadowed knowledge, fathomless pity are now the highest that man can imagine of the soul. And why? For no reason, save that Buddha had gone to and fro for forty years after the attainment of Nirvana, and the print of his feet could by no means die out in India! The caves of Elephanta, in the Bay of Bombay, are a Cathedral of Siva-worship. They contain, moreover, not only an emblem of Siva which may be more or less modern but also a great many carvings. And none of these has a greater interest and importance than that on the left side of the entrance, a bas-relief of Siva, wearing beads and tiger-skin, and seated in meditation. It is Siva: it is not Buddha. But it is the Siva of the Transition, and as such it is most significant.

For hundreds of years, then, before this emergence of Siva as the main Hindu conception of God (which for a time He was), devout souls had loved Buddha and hastened with a special devotion to give alms to *sadhus*, without on that account suspecting for a moment that they were of any but the accepted Arya-Vedic household of faith. Less dependence on the great powers that dwelt beneath the mountain springs; less sense of the mystery of serpent and forest; an ever-deepening reverence for the free soul, for the *sadhu*, for the idea of renunciation, this was all of which anyone was conscious. And yet in this subtle change of centres, history was being made, a new period was coming to the birth. Verily, those were great days in India between 500 B. C. and 200 A. D. or thereabouts. For the national genius had things all its own way, and in every home in the land the little was daily growing less, and the real and the universal were coming more and more prominently into

view. Those were probably the days of *Gitas*, made in imitation of the Buddhist *Suttas*. And this fact alone, if it be true, will give us some hint as to the preoccupation of the period with great thought.

Thou that art knowledge itself,
Pure, free, ever the witness,
Beyond all thought and beyond all qualities,
To thee the only true Guru
My Salutation :
Siva Guru ! Siva Guru !
Siva Guru !

These words, quoted as they are from the Upanishad (?) may be taken as the keynote of this first period in the making of Hinduism. The National Faith will form itself henceforth like a great white SANKHA (conch-shell) coiled in broadening spirals about the Vedic pillar. The theological Iswara believed in by the Brahmans is referred to vaguely but conveniently by themselves and others at this time as "Brahma." He is the God to whom the sacrifices are made. But in the presence of Buddha and the memory of Buddha, a new and higher conception begins to prevail, and as time goes on, this higher conception takes name and form as Siva or Mahadeva. Hinduism is thus born, not as a system, but as a *process* of thought, capable of registering in its progressive development the character of each age through which it passes.

It follows, then, that the heirs of Buddha-*bhakti*, so to speak, in India, might be on the one hand Jainas, or on the other Saivite Hindus. These were the two churches whose children might be born as if in the shadow of Buddha. And it is in accordance with this that we find Saivism and Jainism subsequently dividing between them such places of Buddhist history as Benares and Rajgir.

One knows too little of Jainism to be able to estimate rightly in any detail its services to India, or its place in Indian history. To-day, to the world outside, it appears as a gospel of mercy to dumb creatures and of devotion to the saints. It has been said of it that "it

has netted India with shrines of pilgrimage," and assuredly, as one travels, one is struck over and over again with its constantly recurring prominence in past history. Kumtha Rana of Cheetore, for instance, early in the 15th century, is said to have been a Jaina. At any rate, he or some other king of the period, indisputably built a Jaina temple. It would seem on the face of it, as if it might be a faith that would appeal to heroic persons. But of the elements of this appeal, or the history of the gradual development of the faith as a whole it is difficult to learn enough to make a clear demonstration. I have often suspected that there was once in Jainism a definite place for Buddha worship, so that a suddenly discovered love of Buddha might seem to a man a motive for betaking himself, with his whole family, into the Jaina fold. There is, in the Son Bhandar Cave at Rajgir, an old four-sided stupa, of perhaps the first century of the Christian era, which appears to represent Buddha in its four panels from a Jainistic point of view. In spite of the steeple-like form of the stupa, picturing it, I think, about the Christian era, it would seem—by the awkwardness of the standing figure, which is carved as a child would draw a man with feet apart—to be somewhat early. That it is Jaina or at least Jainistic one gathers from the fact that the man is naked. Indeed, this fact may be held to prove that the figure is *not* that of Buddha, but one of the Jaina masters. But the most striking feature of the representation is the ringing impress of the personality of the great teacher upon it; from the top and sides of each of the panels point hands, half-covered by branches of trees, as if to accompany the words "Behold the Man!" If the figure be, as one imagines, that of Buddha, it was clearly made by some member of a community in which his memory was still fresh. If it be not Buddha, it betrays a love and conviction which form the key to a whole religion.

NIVEDITA OF RK.-V.

DEFECTIVE EYESIGHT AND CRIME

THERE is no one of the five senses the deprivation of which appeals more strongly to the compassion of the majority of men than that of the sight. From the days of Bartimeus to our own the blind man has aroused a special sympathy in the human

breast. No sonnet of the great epic poet of English Puritanism has laid so firm a hold on the popular imagination as that in which the mighty Milton so pathetically laments his darkened days.

But, while people are ever ready to pity the

sorrows of the blind, it is only in comparatively recent years that the world has begun to realise the miseries and dangers involved in defective vision, and its past ignorance has been the cause of a great amount of suffering, bad health, and, undoubtedly, at least, a certain percentage of crime. It is my purpose to explain as clearly as I can how this comes about. My experience has brought me in personal contact with thousands of sufferers of all ages and of all classes, so that my conclusions are founded on actual observation of a vast number of facts.

The human eye in some important respects is represented by the photographic camera; only the image, instead of being formed on a plate, is produced on the retina—an exceedingly delicate tissue coating the interior back portion of the eyeball. From the retina perception of images is immediately conveyed to the brain, and we are said to see. If through imperfection in the construction of the eye, blurred or otherwise imperfect images are thrown on the retina we get one or other of the conditions known as myopia or short sight, hypermetropia or long sight, astigmatism or blurred sight, etc.

All these faults in construction, if left to themselves, tend to produce a large crop of subsidiary troubles which to those uninitiated in ophthalmic secrets may seem to have no connection with them. Happily, by artificial means, we can reproduce nearly all the effects of the eye considered as a sentient optical instrument, so that a skilled optician who thoroughly understands its structure and functional arrangements, is able by scientific use of lenses to correct almost any error due to imperfection in its natural mechanism.

The eye is connected by the optic nerve with the brain cells and fibres in the visual and motor area—i.e., the section controlling the sense of sight and the muscles which control the movements. Indeed, every one part of the body is bound up with every other part in the wonderful unity of our organism, so that if one member suffers all the members suffer with it. Primarily, however, the head is affected, and the amount of suffering owing to unremedied mechanical defects of the eyes in these days of compulsory education is much greater than the public at all realise, though the connection between eyestrain and various kinds of ill-health has been common knowledge to optical specialists for years past. The sufferers themselves are often—nay, generally—unconscious of the true cause of their malady, though the frequent headaches and numerous

nervous disorders may be clearly traced to defects of the ocular system; not necessarily lack of vision, because the hypermetrope or long-sighted individual, for instance, can by bringing into play the power of accommodation, which he does unconsciously, force himself to see well, when the defect is not very great and consequently cannot conceive that there is any defect of eyesight, and puts down the headaches resulting from this eyestrain to any cause but the right one.

Naturally, I am not prepared to make so absurd a statement as that eye trouble leads necessarily to crime. It is no more a ground of suspicion against a man's character than keen and perfect vision constitute a certificate of his moral innocence. But there can be no question that brain and nerve discomfort may exert a disastrous influence on the higher nature of man, and is not the condition most favourable to the development of his moral qualities. Indeed, the case may be put more strongly than this, if we may place credence on a statement recently cabled from America. This is to the effect that in the New York State Reformatories an important connection has been traced between defective eyesight and crime, no fewer than four hundred inmates of one Reformatory having been discovered to be sufferers from eye defects. It is not necessary to lay stress on the significance of this fact; indeed, any man of common-sense will perceive that eyestrain may influence the brain morbidly, and so indirectly the moral health.

According to very competent students, and in a very remarkable instance according to my own experience, eyestrain is ultimately sometimes fatal to proper self-control, and is an important factor in superinducting the morphia and alcoholic habits.

The report from the New York State Reformatories is, of course, in no sense a new discovery, and is merely the natural result of investigations which has followed the arguments which I used in a letter to the *Times* as far back as 1892, when I drew attention to the relation which might possibly exist between defective eyesight and crime in the case of Dr. Neill Cream who was convicted and sentenced to death for murder. Before he obtained a miserable and world-wide notoriety as the Lambeth poisoner, while he was still moving freely about among his fellowmen, he consulted me on the condition of his eyes. When he came to me I was able, by the application of my ordinary methods of examination, to determine that the ocular

defect from which he suffered had been of lifelong duration, and that an incalculable amount of harm might have been prevented if his eyes had been corrected in childhood.

The defect was what is known as hypermetropia. This means that the optical axes of the eyes—i.e., the measurement from front to back—were too short, and it was further complicated with astigmatism, which is an irregularity in the curvature of the transparent outer coating of the front portion of the eyeball; consequently the rays of light passing into the eye did not focus perfectly on the retina. When a child suffers from this defect it puts unconsciously a great strain on the natural power of accommodating the vision to varying distances, and with the advance in years the strain causes headache and nervous pains. This is especially so where the eyes have to be constantly used for purposes of study. Now Neill Cream was a man of considerable information in medical matters, and such knowledge was evidently the result of much reading. Therefore, with the structural eye defect from which he suffered the strain to achieve natural accommodation must have been long and constant.

Given this condition of things, with terrible and frequent headaches, the progress towards the confirmed morphia habit by one who had, owing to the nature of his profession, the control of any drugs he might choose to experiment with is easily understood. As a matter of fact, we know that he did indulge in opiates, making use of them in excessive quantities. It is to this fatal drug habit that we must in the first place look for that perversion of the moral sense which led to his crimes. But the nervous breakdown which made opiates seem a necessity of existence to Neill Cream was due to the eyestrain caused by the defects of vision which I corrected later on by means of glasses. Had this correction been made at the proper time—viz., before he was as a lad put to any definite course of study—his after life might have been different, but forty years ago these matters did not receive the attention which is now being given to them, and the advantages to health to be derived from correcting defects of vision by means of spectacles and eyeglasses were not recognised. This is proved by the fact that when on his last journey back from America he lost one pair of his glasses he telegraphed from Liverpool on his arrival for another pair to be instantly made, and when he reached London he explained to me that since wearing the glasses

which I had prescribed he had obtained great relief from his sufferings.

Another peculiar feature of this case, showing the intimate connection between the accommodation of the eye and the convergence (the muscular action), was that he squinted, the left eye turning inwards to such an extent as to be a serious disfigurement, and to make him a marked man, so much so that at his trial I was required to identify him, the man wearing spectacles and not squinting, with the individual who was known in Lambeth as the squint-eyed doctor. The defect had been with him since childhood and had been the cause of great and long cerebral suffering. I put forward these considerations at some length in a communication to the *Times* soon after the trial. My theory, then quite new, attracted considerable notice, and I think I may say that from this time may be traced the greater amount of attention given by the London School Board and other educational authorities to the subject of the examination of children's eye-sight and the necessity for the treatment of any defects.

The obvious question which will occur to many on reading the above is, 'How did our forefathers manage in the days of the infancy of optical science?' Many of the world's most renowned men have been the victims of cruel suffering owing to the neglect of their eyesight in childhood. For example: Dr. George M. Gould, a distinguished American ophthalmic surgeon in his work, recently published, on "Biography Clinics," has no hesitation in attributing De Quincey's opium eating to eyestrain. "Without," he says, "a scrap of direct evidence as to the existence of eyestrain, a study of the clinical biography of De Quincey by a competent oculist should convince him that the mystery of De Quincey's life and disease, the keynote to the original cause," as he puts it, of his suffering was "reflex ocular neurosis." Why, then, did not his eyes pain him and suffer? "It is one of the greatest of unutilised truths, long known, strangely ignored, that in the vast majority of cases of eyestrain the morbid results of the astigmatism are not felt in the eyes. It is perfectly explainable why this is so. The value of the eye so overtops that of almost any other organ that the reflex results of its unphysiologic function must be shunted anywhere except back to the eye itself. In women it goes to the head, and the world is full of those tortured nearly every day of their life with headache and sick headache ('bilious' or 'nervous' headaches). In many, and

especially in men working much with the eyes, the reflex is to the digestional organs, with 'indigestion' and 'liver derangements,' etc. The truth that eyestrain induces these functional gastric, intestinal, and biliary disorders cannot much longer be ignored. When acted upon it will constitute one of the greatest advances in practical medicine that has ever been made.

"In the meantime the supercilious indifference and ignoring of the fact is one of the awful experiences of life and an opprobrium of medicine." He diagnoses De Quincey's ailment as myopic astigmatism, which defect could, of course, be only capable of partial correction in those days, as the properties of cylindrical lenses were not then understood. Now opium, as De Quincey took it, would produce myosis, or narrowing of the pupil of the eye to a pin-point diameter. This would greatly help him in shutting out the confusing rays or diffusion circles caused by the defect in his eyes and would practically improve his

vision for the time being. Here we have a strong reason for his addiction to the opium habit. It facilitated his studies as well as afforded him temporary relief from discomfort. "At any time of his life," says the writer, "a proper pair of spectacles would have relieved De Quincey of his suffering, would have enabled him to quit opium taking, and would have allowed him to pursue a far more wonderful literary career."

In effect the lessons of modern optical experience are obvious. It is with the eye, as with any other portion of the body subject to a mechanical defect. The defect must be corrected, or the rest of the organism must suffer from its unaided, untutored efforts to remedy it. The longer our delay in coming to the help of the imperfect organ, the worse for it and for its owner, and there is no excuse for such self-neglect and practically self-immolation, seeing how easily our troubles may find a complete remedy in the optical resources of civilisation which are all but inexhaustible.

JAMES AITCHISON.

INDIANS AND THE ARTILLERY

IN Vol. XI, p. 224, of *The Annals of Indian Administration*, published in 1867, at Serampore, we read that "no such thing as Native Artillery exists except a few Mountain Batteries in unhealthy districts." This statement, we believe, still accurately represents the position of Indians in the Artillery. Now, our contention is that this ought not to be the case. As inhabitants of the country, Indians have a natural right to be employed in all branches of the public service and, therefore, in the Artillery. This natural right is supported, moreover, by the Charter Act of 1833 and the Queen's Proclamation of 1858. Their claims, therefore, can be set aside only on the ground of unfitness or of untrustworthiness. The Sepoy Mutiny is considered to be a proof of the latter. But if that were so, it would prove too much, and would necessitate the total exclusion of Indians from all arms of the military service. Moreover, all sepoys did not mutiny; and the exclusion of sepoys from the artillery had been a subject of official discussion long before that deplorable incident, which only furnished an occasion for the step. For we read:—

"Instructions were sent through the Secret Committee to the Supreme Government, on the 3rd April, 1815, framed in accordance with the sentiments expressed by Lord Buckinghamshire. 'It appears to us (say the Committee) that the proposed plan, without its advantages, is liable to all the objections which can be urged against the subsidiary system; and whatever weight may be due to the opinions that have been brought forward in its support, the possible consequences of its establishment we deem of a magnitude sufficient to deter us from authorising its further encouragement, particularly with reference to the artillery, an arm in which it ought to be our policy not to extend the knowledge of the natives.' (P. 264, *Appendix to Report from Select Committee on the Affairs of the East India Company, VI, Political.*)

Long before the outbreak of the Indian Mutiny of 1857, British Military Officers in this country had been advising the authorities to exclude Indians from the artillery branch of the Service. Thus, in his evidence on 1st March, 1832, before the Select Committee on the Affairs of the East India Company, Colonel Salmond, who was Military Secretary at the India House, answered to the following question:—

"547. Will you state to the Committee in what particular branch of the service those reductions might be made?—I should first say all the native

artillery, horse and foot, which I think at present unnecessary, and at all times dangerous."

Again, in his reply to the Circular letter from Mr. T. Hyde Villiers, dated India Board, 2nd February 1832, Colonel Salmond wrote on the 24th February, 1832:—

"General considerations of policy require that the most powerful weapons of war, the artillery and cavalry, those arms which enable us to command the supplies and resources of the country, ought not to be trusted in the hands of natives, further than uncontrollable necessity exists."

Colonel Salmond even was in favour of excluding natives from the cavalry. He proceeded in the letter from which an extract has been given above:—

"A large proportion of the Native cavalry (which however serviceable in war, are useless in peace, and at all times dangerous), might also, I conceive, be reduced with safety and advantage. * * *

"Ten thousand European cavalry and horse artillery could command all the resources of India, and could put down insurrection in any part of it almost instantaneously. Native cavalry and Native horse artillery cannot, it is obvious, be so safely trusted."

Opposed to the views of Colonel Salmond who was merely a soldier and not a statesman, were those of Major-General Sir John Malcolm who was as gallant a soldier as he was an astute diplomatist, an accomplished administrator and a far-seeing statesman. He answered as follows the question

"668. What is your opinion as to the efficiency of the native artillerymen?—The golandauze, or native artillerymen, are, in my opinion, most efficient. The artillery is a favourite service with the highest tribes of the Hindoos in India, and they are remarkable for attaining excellence both in discipline and in gunnery. Some of the native horse artillery belonging to Madras have lately been under my orders, and they appeared to me a most efficient body of men. I have further to remark upon the native artillery, that they are of the greatest use in saving the European artillery from going upon those lesser detachments to posts at a distance from their head-quarters which have been found very materially to deteriorate their discipline, and I deem the native corps of artillery in this particular, as well as in others, a very essential one. *I am not of opinion with many, that we incur any risk of a political nature by imparting such knowledge to the natives, because the natives have proved, in the corps that they have formed, that they have perfect means of becoming instructed, and instructing others in this branch of military force. The native artillery of Scindia and Holkar were not inferior, in my opinion, to any body of that class of men that we have formed.*" [The italics are ours.]

After the Mutiny, the Queen's Proclamation to the princes, chiefs, and people of India was issued in November, 1858. That proclamation was first read in open durbar at Allahabad in 1858. In the course of that memorable pro-

clamation which is often referred to as the Magna Charta of India, Her Majesty, said:—

"We desire to show Our Mercy by pardoning the offences of those who have been thus misled but who desire to return to the path of duty."

But no mercy was shown by Her Majesty's chief functionaries to the Native Artillery, as they disbanded all the artillery corps. No, the innocent were punished along with the guilty. For it was the Bengal Artillerymen who had mutinied, and not those of the Punjab, Bombay or Madras. The latter did not receive any reward for their fidelity, but were on the contrary punished by their corps being disbanded.

Colonel Pennington, who had served in the Bengal artillery, on being examined on 12th March, 1832, was asked the following questions:—

"814. Do you see any danger in our instructing natives to be artillerymen?—Not any.

"815. From your experience during former wars, both with Sindia and Holkar, should you say that the native artillery were well-trained and in excellent discipline?—Unquestionably; equal to anything we could produce against them in the field.

"816. Were those men deserters from the British services, or were they natives of the country that had been trained to those native services?—They were persons trained to the native service. A part of the enemy captured at their guns were delivered over to me by Lord Lake; we at that time had not 40 men European, and we were so low that we were 11 days in the trenches without relief, and I transferred those men to me, and I had occasion to drill them a little; but when practised to all the business of loading and firing, they were as prompt and as ready as any man. They did not at first know manœuvring, but with a little patience I soon taught them manœuvring. They were footmen, but no men ever stood better to their guns than they did."

Regarding the fidelity of the native artilleryman, he added:—

"The men are perfectly efficient for all purposes; and I think, with regard to Europeans and natives, the more they are mixed the better, for you may confide in a native artillery man as much as you may in an European; there are no men in whom you may put more trust."

Major-General Sir Theophilus Pritzler, who had served in the Madras Presidency for twelve years, in his examination before the Select Committee on the 22nd March, 1832, answered the question

"1207. Do you think it would be desirable to discontinue altogether the use of native artillery?—I am of that opinion; but I think that the reduction should be gradual, and not made all at once, because it might produce a bad effect, the discharging those people.

"1208. Do you form that opinion from the inefficiency of the natives in that service, or from motives of general policy?—Both; I think they require physical strength for artillerymen, which the natives do not possess."

Again, in his letter to Mr. Villiers, dated 17th February, 1832, he wrote:—

"I have always doubted the expediency of native artillery, because I do not think they have or will become very efficient, and still more the policy of making them so if it were practicable." *

Colonel David Leighton, C.B., who had served nearly 36 years in the Presidency of Bombay, on being questioned by the Parliamentary

Committee whether he considered the natives good artillerymen, said:—

"Yes, very good; and they save the Europeans from being detached in small bodies; they stand the climate much better and save a great number of lives of Europeans."

The arguments in favour of the exclusion of Indians from the artillery will be found in pp. 112-113 of our August number.

Our conclusion is that in order to fulfil the promises made in the Charter Act of 1833 and the Queen's Proclamation of 1858, Indians should again be employed in the artillery.

THE MURDER OF NARAYAN RAO PESHWA

THE murder of Narain Rao Peshwa has always excited a good deal of interest among the students of Mahratta history.

The love of power so innate in human nature has been so well-known to have led to brutal deeds culminating in treacherous and cold-blooded murders, and the reader of history must have come across so many of such instances of murder and bloodshed that it becomes needless to comment here any further on this phase of human character. It needs, however, to be mentioned for the information of the curious reader that Mahratta history happily affords not many instances of brutal murders, and, as the following account will go to show, even the murder of Narayan Rao Peshwa, which, so far as this writer is aware, is the only instance in Mahratta history of a dark deed of its kind, was not a pre-meditated and deliberate act. The object in contributing the present article is to bring to light the hitherto unpublished information contained in the original papers of those times relating to this sad event in Mahratta history. The subject of this murder is shrouded in great mystery, and not a few students of history would be interested to know whether or not this deed was pre-meditated and who were the personages that had joined in or were otherwise aware of the conspiracy that led to this murder. The original documents given below were written in those very times, and may, therefore, be considered as containing reliable information, and the reader may judge for himself how far it could be said that the Peshwa's murder was an act deliberately contemplated and undertaken by his enemies.

Before proceeding to comment upon the testimony published below in connection with this event, it will be useful to give here a succinct account of the circumstances which led to it.

After the death of Shivajee, Sambhaji, Raja Ram and Shahu ruled successively for the period of seventy years from A.D. 1680 to A.D. 1750, over the vast empire founded by their illustrious ancestor. During the reign of Shahu, however, the administration passed into the hands of the Peshwas. Balaji Vishwanath, Bajirao and Balaji Bajirao were the first among the ministers in whom as a result of this new change, the administration came to be vested and their careers extended from A.D. 1714 to A.D. 1761. The death of Shahu took away what visible vestige of real power still apparently remained with the person on the throne, and from that time onwards, the Peshwa became the real masters of the Mahratta empire. It is too well-known to need any mention here how the weakness of some of these Peshwas gave rise to disaffection and disunion in the administration which led finally to the overthrow of this vast and powerful empire. The murder of Narayan Rao Peshwa, which is the subject of the present article, is in no small measure the result of the weakness and want of tact on the part of that Peshwa himself.

It will be remembered that when Madhavrao, the fourth Peshwa died in 1772, he called around his bed his uncle Raghunath Rao and his ministers, Sakharam Bapu, Nana Fadnavis and others, and entrusted to their care and protection his brother Narayan Rao who was then merely a boy hardly 17 years old. Had,

* Appendix to Fifth Report from Select Committee, p. 390.

however, this trust been dutifully carried out, and had the impressive advice enjoined by that most tactful of the Peshwas upon those to whose care he left his young brother, been scrupulously followed, Mahratta history would not have had to record this dark deed. The Fates had, however, destined otherwise, and though Madhavrao had by his last testament bequeathed to his uncle Raghunath Rao, Jaghirs yielding Rs. 5,00,000 annually, and directed further sums to be paid to him for his expenses, this did not satisfy Raghunath Rao's aspirations.

After the funeral obsequies of his brother were over, Narayan Rao proceeded to Satara where he was invested as Peshwa by Ram Raja who was on the throne of Satara. During Narayan Rao's regime as the Peshwa, Sakharām Bapu, Moro Baburao, Balaji Janardan better known as Nana Fadnavis and Buljaba Purandhare, were the chief ministers of the State. Narayan Rao for some time after Madhavrao's death continued to follow the directions of his testament to give Raghunath Rao the Jaghir and other expenses, and it was also settled at the time of the investiture of Narayan Rao as Peshwa that Raghunath Rao was to assume the title of "Naib" and to have full powers of administration. But this did not continue long. Disputes arose in the ministry, conspiracies began and jealousy towards each other created factions in the State. The main reason of all this was the feeling of hatred that had sprung up between Gopikabai, the mother of the Peshwa and Anandibai, the wife of Raghunath Rao, who, on account of her lust for power and strong masculine character is described as the "Lady Macbeth" of Mahratta history. Gopikabai was not on good terms with Raghunath Rao, and she accordingly constantly interfered with his management. This heightened the unpleasantness and matters finally culminated in the imprisonment of Raghunath Rao, as we shall see hereafter.

Contrary to the directions of Madhavrao to appoint Sakharām Bapu as prime-minister and to act according to his advice, Narayan Rao allowed himself to be guided by Nana Fadnavis. Nana Fadnavis, who in his subsequent career so well distinguished himself, stood high in the young Peshwa's esteem and by reason of the equality of age and his amiable nature Nana had come to become his great favourite and his advice was acted upon in all matters of State. This made Sakharām Bapu and Nana Fadnavis jealous of each other and led to two hostile factions being formed.

The breach between Nana and Sakharām Bapu was further widened by the enmity of Gopikabai towards Raghunath Rao. To add to these, took place the adoption by Raghunath Rao of one Amritrao as his son. In this adoption the principal hand being that of Madhoji Bhosle of Nagpur whose intentions to acquire control over the Peshwa's wealth and power were well-known, this act of adoption by Raghunath Rao was construed by Gopikabai as a means of preparation on Raghunath Rao's part to usurp the power from Narayan Rao's hands, and feelings between the rival parties had reached such a height that open hostilities were proclaimed by the contending sides. All power was snatched away from Raghunath Rao's hands and, as we have already seen, on 11th April, 1773, he was imprisoned in an apartment of the same palace in which Narayan Rao usually resided.

Anandibai could not, of course, be expected to tolerate this and rest quiet. She now set more vigorously than ever to carry on her campaign against her most detested enemy, Gopikabai, and to frustrate all the hitherto successful plans of the latter by releasing her husband Raghunath Rao from imprisonment and placing him on the throne. On the altar of this hatred between two women both contending for power, was sacrificed the young and unwary Peshwa Narayan Rao.

We have already seen that Narayan Rao and Sakharām Bapu were not on good terms. Sakharām was, therefore, secretly intriguing to dethrone Narayan Rao, and after releasing Raghunath Rao to proclaim him as the Peshwa. Almost all old officers except Trimbakji Mama, were not friendly to Narayan Rao and the new and young favourites of Narayan Rao amongst whom were Haripunt Facke and Nana Fadnavis were about him his only supporters. Though matters had assumed such a grave aspect, had Narayan Rao been a little more wise and tactful, the clouds that were overhanging would have been scattered away, as the following observations of William Taylor show. In his letter of 9th October A.D. 1775, to the then Governor-General, Warren Hastings, he sums up the situation thus:—

"Had Narayan Rao possessed the least degree of prudence, he might have remained secure in the Peshwaship, for though by the instigation of his mother and the choice he had made of confidants he had created himself a deadly enemy in the Dewan Sakharām Bapu, yet the influence and abilities of the Fadnavis, Nana and Moroba, and their adherents were more than a counterpoise to him. But without the least share of judgment and wholly devoted to low vices and pleasures, Narayan Rao paid not the least

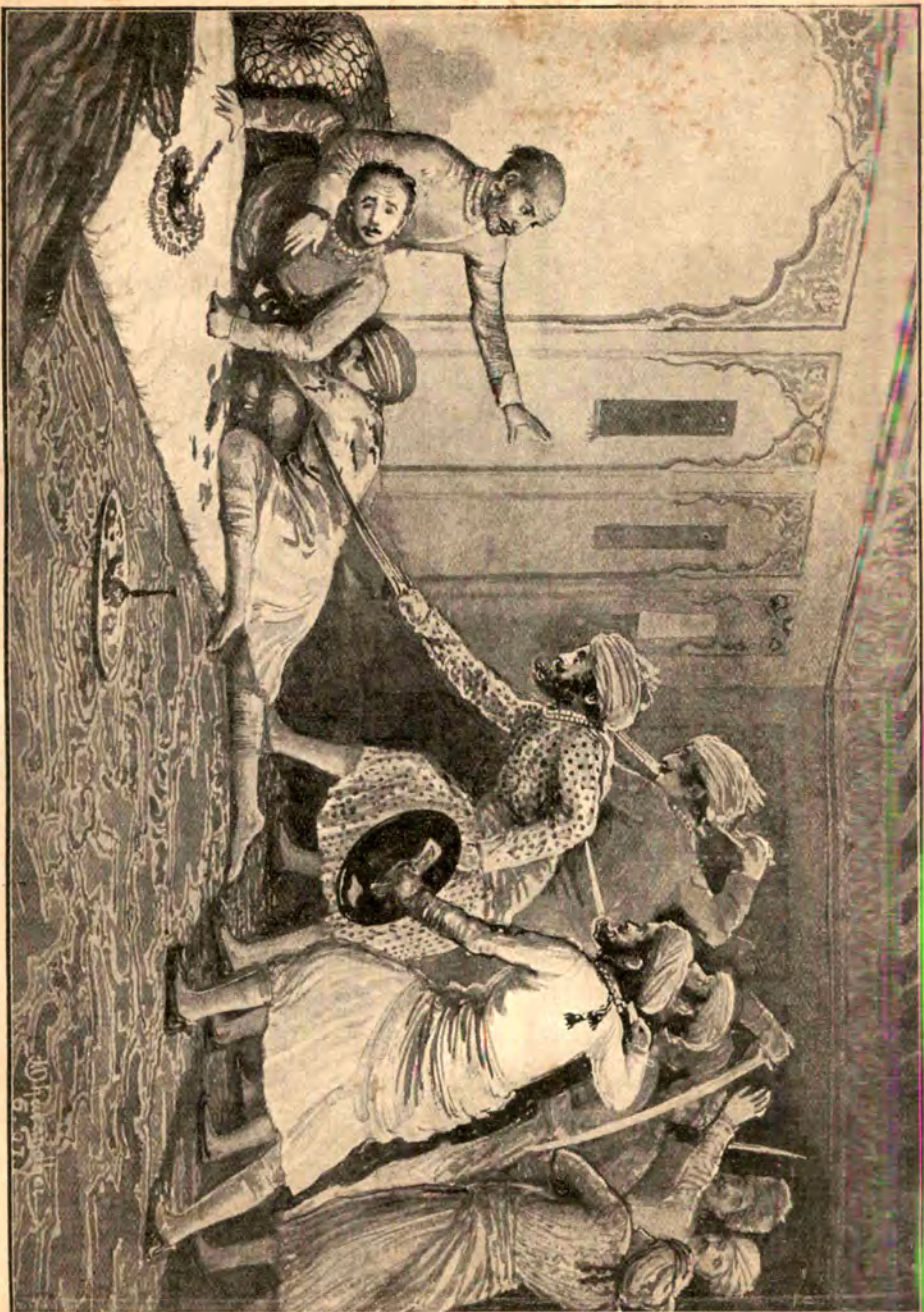
regard to any one. On the contrary he behaved in so senseless, imperious and disgraceful a manner even to the ministers in his own party that they became lukewarm in his interest and in time suffered him to fall a sacrifice to the machinations of his enemies.

"It is said, by means of Madoji Bhonsle, the Dewan, Sukharam Bapu received information of an intention to assassinate him and Raghoba at the instigation of Gopikabai. Certain it is that this woman was well-known to have been constantly advising his son to deprive him of the Dewanship, which was the first step to the loss of riches and perhaps of life. From this instant Sukharam Bapu and his party set about concerting the means of deposing Narayan Rao releasing Raghoba and placing him in the Peshwaship."

The account of the event that followed as a result of the circumstances will be found given in Maratha *Bakhars* as well as in Grant Duff's History. In the morning of the 30th August, A. D. 1773, Narayan Rao went to the temple of Parvati and after paying a visit to Raghoji Angre, returned to the Shanwar Palace. After taking meals he retired to take his usual noon nap. In the morning of that ominous day there was visible considerable commotion amongst the Peshwa's forces, and while returning from the visit to Raghoji Angre this circumstance had attracted the Peshwa's notice, and accordingly, before going to take his meals, the Peshwa had drawn Haripant Fadke's attention to it and asked him to take precaution, if any such were necessary, against any disturbance. But the inscrutable fates misled Haripant Fadke, and he did not take any notice of it. Seeing Narayan Rao had retired to sleep in his private apartments, Tulya Pawar who was Raghunath Rao's Khitmaddar and who, as we shall presently see, took a leading part in this treacherous deed, made signs to Subedar Summersing and Mahmud Yusuf, who, thereupon, marched with two thousand Gardas on the palace where Narayan Rao, little knowing of the great danger hanging over him, was having his pleasant noonday rest. They arrived at the palace at about 2 o'clock and entered it with great clamours. Khadaksing who commanded the palace guards turned traitor and joined them; and their passage having been thus made easy, they rushed towards the apartments of Narayan Rao. That side, however, was guarded by Budhsing Jamadar, who was more faithful than his wicked comrades and he sternly declined to join in their act of infidelity. They, thereupon, attacked and killed him. Hearing all this noise, Ichharam Pant, a Karkoon of the Peshwa's Household Paga (infantry), rushed out and came running to the spot of the disturbance to make inquiries as to what all this was for. Having been attacked

by the turbulent *gardas*, he fled to the Gow shala to save himself and concealed himself under a cow there. This, however, did not save him. He was followed and cut into two together with the cow under whom he had sought shelter. Having thus disposed of a who offered resistance, the conspirators proceeded towards the Peshwa's apartment. Seeing them advancing, Abaji Pant Karkoo attempted to close the doors of the Peshwa apartment, but before he could close the door he was attacked and killed. They all now entered the Peshwa's apartments. Narayan Rao so rudely awakened from the sleep and overtaken by intense fear, not knowing what to do, escaped through the Gunpati mahal to the Kothi's stair-case to the apartment of his uncle Raghunath Rao. He was, however, closely pursued by the insurgent Summersing. He flung himself into his uncle's arms piteously entreating:—"You may imprison me and rule as Peshwa, but save my life, you have instigated this revolt, yet taking pity, you may spare me by sending these insurgents away. Take pity on me and save me!" The Peshwa's piteous entreaties moved Raghunath Rao and he requested the guards to spare him, but it was too late. Tulya Pawar caught the Peshwa by his feet and drew him forcibly from Raghunath Rao's arms and Summersing and Mahomed Yusuf threw their swords at the wretched youth. At this moment Narayan Rao's faithful domestic Chafaji Tilekar entered the apartment and although unarmed, boldly rushed towards his master and to save him from these ruthless attacks, fell over his body, so as to cover his master and receive himself the blows intended for his master. Notwithstanding incessant blows cutting up his body, this faithful servant did not shrink and it was only when he was killed that this most faithful of servants was severed from his master's body. Thus uncovered and exposed to the attacks of his cruel enemies, it was easy to kill the Peshwa instantaneously and thus in open daylight and in his own palace was murdered this unfortunate youth.

The history of the period after the murder of Narayan Rao does not concern us here. The events, however, immediately following this dark deed and the attitude of the ministers at the time, needs to be reviewed in so far as they throw light on the question as to who were implicated in this disgraceful affair. After thus murdering Narayan Rao, the conspirators brought Raghoba-dada out of the imprisonment and enthroned and proclaimed him as the Peshwa and presented



THE MURDER OF NARAYAN RAO PESHWA.

By M. V. DHAKSHINAR.

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arms. Naroji Naik Jasud, an old servant of the Peshwa in the Intelligence Department, could not patiently tolerate this act of gross injustice and treachery and rushing forward scornfully addressed Raghoba as follows:—"Being born in the Peshwa's family, by this praiseworthy deed of yours, you have this day gained good fame." For this bold utterance he was killed there and then. Whilst all this was taking place in the palace, the people in the city having heard of some tumult, were thrown into great consternation. Shops were closed and men were seen running here and there in wild confusion, not exactly knowing what had actually happened, and the whole of Poona presented the appearance of a besieged town. It is curious to note that though so much excitement prevailed both in the palace and in the town outside, not a single minister is known to have stirred out to enquire into the cause and take the necessary steps. Haripant Fadke, Sakharam Bapu, Bhavanrao Pratinidhi, Maloji Ghorpure, and other ministers, no doubt, went as far as the gates of the palace, but on seeing the tumult they seem to have quietly returned to the Budhwar Chawdi. Maloji Ghorpure and Bujaba Purandhare, however, made bold subsequently, and entered the palace through Ganesh Durwaza (gate), had an interview with Dada Sahab (Raghunath Rao) who told them at length what had happened. Ghorpure, on hearing this, spurned at Raghunath Rao, saying, "By this praiseworthy act, you have achieved good fame and renown!" Raghunath Rao said, "What has happened cannot be undone. Now you may issue proclamations in the city in my name!" After this it became quiet in the palace. Gangabai, widow of Narayan Rao, was about to become Satee, but Anandibai forcibly shut her in a room. When tranquillity once again established itself everywhere, all ministers, officers and sardars assembled in the evening in the palace and the body of the unfortunate Peshwa, with the other dead bodies, was taken to the river and near Lakdi bridge, Trimbak Mama set fire to the body of the departed Peshwa.

The ostensible cause as given out to the public for this deplorable occurrence was said to be that the guards getting enraged at the arrears of their wages having not been paid, had taken the law into their hands and done all this; and it was also given out that Tulya Pawar was actuated by motives of personal revenge in consequence of having been publicly flogged by Narayan Rao's orders. On the tenth day of the murder of Narayan Rao,

Nana Fadnavis, Haripant Fadke, Trimbukji Mama, Sakharam Bapu and other ministers, altogether twelve in number, assembled together on the river-bank, and at the time the libations were being given during the performance of the funeral obsequies of the murdered Peshwa, they all took sacred vows to the effect that they were not to manage the State affairs unless under some one of the descendants of Nana Sahab (Balaji Bajirao) Peshwa, and that they should not respect Raghoba and his progeny. This assemblage is known in Mahratta history as the "Barabhaichi Muslat" or the combination of Barabhai (or twelve comrades).

Now we shall proceed to examine the original documents in connection with his event. There cannot be even a shadow of doubt that Raghunath Rao was fully implicated in the conspiracy that resulted in the murder of his nephew. It is, no doubt, true that though a vague feeling of suspicion existed in the minds of all against Raghunath Rao as being at the bottom of this unfortunate affair of Narayan Rao's murder, even so impartial and fair-minded a man as Ram Shastri could not, in the absence of any direct proof, raise any objection to Raghunath Rao succeeding his nephew as the Peshwa. When, however, this just-minded Shastri instituted a searching inquiry into the circumstances that had led to what has been stated above, these feelings of suspicion were confirmed, and conclusive proofs of Raghunath Rao's implication were discovered. Ram Shastri, thereupon, interviewed Raghunath Rao and Grant Duff has given the following account of this in his "History of the Mahrattas":—

"About six weeks after the event, having obtained proofs against Raghunath Rao, the Shastree waited upon him, and accused him of having given authority to Sumer Sing and Mohammed Yusuf to commit the deed. Raghunath Rao is said to have acknowledged to Ram Shastree that he had written an order to those men, authorising them to seize Narayan Rao, but that he never had given the order to kill him. This admission is generally supposed to have been literally true; for by the original paper afterwards recovered by Ram Shastree, it was found that the word "dhurame," to seize, was altered to "murve" to kill. It is universally believed that the alteration was made by the infamous Anundee Bye; and although Raghunath Rao's own conduct in subsequently withholding protection even at the hazard of his life, sufficiently justifies the suspicion of his being fully aware of it, the moderate and general opinion in the Mahratta country is that he did not intend to murder his nephew; that he was exasperated by his confinement, and excited by the desperate counsels of his wife, to whom is also attributed the activity of the domestic Truleea Pawar, who was set on by the vindictive malice of that bad woman.

"After Raghunath Rao had avowed his having so far participated in the fall of his nephew, he asked Ram Shastree what atonement he could make. The sacrifice of your own life, replied the undaunted and virtuous Shastree; for your future life cannot be passed in amendment; neither you nor your government can prosper; and, for my own part, I will neither accept of employment, nor enter Poona, whilst you preside in the administration! He kept his word, and retired to a sequestered village near Wace."

On a second occasion, not mentioned in any of the published books, Raghunath Rao admitted his guilt. Having come across the original letter in which Raghunath Rao had thus admitted his guilt, I give it below. The occasion for this second confession by Raghunath Rao was as follows:—

When Raghunath Rao in 1783, expressed a wish to see Gopikabai, the mother of Narayan Rao, she insisted on Raghunath Rao making *Prayashchitta* (atonement) for his son and would not consent to see Raghunath Rao unless he had done so. On that occasion he wrote a letter to Gopikabai and the following occurs in that letter:—

"Now that I am determined to make a clean breast, I will not hide anything from you. I together with the conspirators who planned that act made a resolve to seize Narayan Rao, and at that time they intimated to me, 'you should not blame if in the act of (while) seizing, the Peshwa is killed in the contest.' They took a promise from me in the matter (that I should not hold them responsible if the Peshwa got killed in the contest) and set to work out the plan. When at that time he (Narayan Rao) came running and embraced me, I got embarrassed, found no time and opportunity. While by putting my hands around him I was attempting to ward off the attacks from two sides, the murderers, to save their own lives, gave blows. The very first stroke proved strong. The account of subsequent events is known to you all. Hence my only guilt is my saying and sanctioning at the time of the meeting (conspiracy) to seize (Narayan Rao), that there would be no blame (attaching to any one) if in the contest by accident he be killed. That guilt ought to be expiated for, and I would take *prayashchitta* for that guilt (alone)."

The other two original documents referred to above are two letters reporting the evidence of Mahomed Yusuf and Tulyaji Pawar taken down after the murder of Narayan Rao. It will be remembered that Mahomed Yusuf and Tulyaji Pawar took the leading part in the conspiracy and it was they who carried the conspiracy further than was the intention of most of the persons in the ring, by not stopping merely at seizing Narayan Rao but by murdering him, though there was no necessity for that act. It seems they were induced to make a clean breast of their crime and the statements made by them on that occasion will be found in these two letters which run as follows:

"This is the information. Mahomed Yusuf has been seized and brought (here). It was your order that he (Mahomed Yusuf) should be coaxed and privately asked as to who were in the conspiracy against Shrimant Narayan Rao, and that having ascertained that, it should be written (to you), in a confidential manner. Kessopant was (accordingly) sent and (at that time) it was told to him that (he) should ascertain and having coaxed (Mahomed Yusuf) he (Kessopant) should ask. Thereupon immediately upon meeting him (Mahomed Yusuf) he (Kessopant) asked him. He (Mahomed Yusuf) on the understanding that he (Kessopant) would not punish him said that the first idea (was) to release Dada Saheb (Raghunath Rao) and to imprison Narayan Rao Saheb. Amongst the first originators he has given the names of Shivaji Rao, and others. To only Nana Fadnavis, (Trimbuckji) Mama and Haripant was this not known, (all) others knew it. Shivaji Rao brought seventeen hundred pitlis (gold coins) of the house of (belonging to) Moroba Dada and gave (them) to me. Maloji Ghorphade had once come to my house with one thousand and five hundred gold mohurs from Sadashiv Ramchandra. According to what he said, the only (idea was) to set free Dada Saheb. Other respectable persons were coming to my house. Maid-servants (of Anandibai) were also coming. Moneys were thus received by me from those two. In this way I have received from others also but I have not met them personally. Kessopant pressingly questioned him (Mahomed Yusuf) about the name of Bajaba. But he said, I had no visit from him. Shivaji Rao used to mention to me all the names saying they were in the conspiracy. Shivajipant told me that Abaji Mahadev had come to Poona and returned at night after having seen Morobadada. This is all that Mahomed Yusuf said. It was the intention of no one that the Shrimant (Peshwa) should be killed. On the spur of the occasion, Sumersing did it. This is what Mahomed Yusuf was saying. No more information could be gathered from him (Mahomed Yusuf) beyond this. He (Mahomed Yusuf) also said that Jabitjang was in the party of Dada (Raghunath Rao). All that is written that your honour may know. Mahomed Yusuf was in the belief that he would not be killed and that (at most) he would be awarded punishment. But what is the use of keeping (alive) such a wicked person? He is of no earthly use. We have, therefore, killed him. By his death a wicked soul has been sent away from this earth. This is the information."

The following is the statement made by Tulaji Pawar: "I (Tulaji Pawar) used to go to Mahomed Yusuf's house. Mahomed Yusuf took a promise from me (that I should join in) the plot which was formed by them of joining Shrimant Rajeshri Dadasaheb (Raghunath Rao) and imprisoning the Peshwa, and releasing Dadasaheb. I thereupon said, 'There are many other places in the country for getting a livelihood besides this. I would not join in this business.' He (Mahomed Yusuf) thereupon much persuaded me and said he (Raghunath Rao) also is a son of Bajirao, and many have joined in the plot. Then I asked him who were in the plot. He then gave these names:—

Abaji Mahadev, Shivaji Rao, Nur Mahomed, Sadashiv Ramchandra, Bhavan Rao Pratinidhi, Hoossein Beig, Darag Singh, Govind Ganesh on behalf of Mahadji Nilkanth, Sukharam Hari, Sukharam Bhagwant, (he was also in this plot. If you require I shall be able to prove it from his Chopdar), Chhota Faras, Narsingrao Deshmukh. All the officers of the artillery, (he, Mahomed Yusuf, said, are on our side. I do not know the names of them all), Moro Baburao (but he was not near the Hazur then), Govindrao Gaikwad, Nilkanth Ramchandra (his people were guarding the palace, we gave 100 rupees to each of the men and they came over to our side), Mahomed Yusuf, Summersingh.

The abovenamed persons were (in the plot) at the time. This and other plots have commenced since the death of Madhavrao the great, at Theur. I came to join the conspiracy only at Poona."

Though both Mahomed Yusuf and Tulaji Pawar disavow any murderous intention on their part or on the part of any of the conspirators, it becomes difficult to believe that they were quite innocent of having contemplated the murder of Narayan Rao. The reader is referred to the account of the murder of Narayan Rao as given above, and he will note therefrom that the only persons to deliver blows of swords on the Peshwa's body were Summersingh, Tulaji Pawar and Mahomed Yusuf. Narayan Rao had flung himself at the mercy of Raghunath Rao, and Raghunath Rao for whose release this conspiracy had been formed, was himself not anxious to take his nephew's life. There is nothing in the accounts of this event which I

have hitherto come across which could show any justification for the act of murdering Narayan Rao. Raghunath Rao in his letter given above says, "The murderers to save their own lives gave blows." I fail to see from any of the accounts of the murder what risk to their lives there was that the murderers had to avert by killing the Peshwa. At the time Tulaji Pawar dragged Narayan Rao away from his uncle to whom he had clung for saving his life, there was no one on behalf of Narayan Rao to attack the conspirators. Even that faithful domestic of Narayan Rao, Chafaji Tilekar comes at a little later stage and all he did at the time was to protect his master from the murderous blows and not to attack the conspirators. This theory, therefore, that Summersingh, Tulaji Pawar and Mahomed Yusuf did not actually contemplate the murder of the unfortunate Peshwa, cannot be said, at least from the materials on the question hitherto discovered, to be very tenable. Raghunath Rao, it must be said, to do him justice, may not himself have contemplated this murder, though with a greater strength of character he could have averted this event. It seems reasonable to suppose that Anandibai, who, out of her spite for Gopikabai, changed the word "dharame" (seize) into "marawe" (kill), must have planned not only the imprisonment of her rivals son but his murder and Summersingh, Tulaji Pawar and Mahomed Yusuf must have been merely the tools of her vengeance.

It is quite plain that almost all important officers in the State were aware of this conspiracy having been set afoot, and not a small number of them were also implicated in it, as already appears from the statements of Mahomed Yusuf and Tulaji Pawar given above. The absence of any of the officers from the palace, the circumstance of none of them coming up to the palace when the tumult was known, the boldness of the conspirators in carrying out their plan in open daylight at two o'clock in the afternoon—all these are sufficiently indicative. Though, no doubt, Haripant, Nana Fadnavis and Trim-buckji Mama cannot be suspected to have been aware of and much less having joined in the conspiracy, they cannot escape the verdict of having remained negligent in not unearthing and baffling this great and terrible plot.

P. V. LAXJEE.

AN OPEN LETTER TO THE MUSALMANS OF INDIA

BROTHERS, Mr. Morley's scheme is now before the public. You have now a clear idea of the concessions you have gained. The time, in my humble opinion, has come when in the light of actual facts you should re-consider your position in regard to the politics of the country. You were led to form high hopes, and it is for you to determine whether they have been realized. Take an account of your gains and losses and settle your policy for the future.

Of late we have been told a good deal about the differences between the Hindus and the Musalmans in this country. This declaration by men of position and influence has been utilised by "our enemies"—to use Mr. Morley's now historic expression—for the purpose of obstructing our progress. But let us for a moment carefully analyse the present situation. My submission is that the bulk of our people are living in perfect peace and harmony all over the country. Go to any village and you will at once find out the truth of my observation. The Hindus and the Mahomedans are living like excellent neighbours and are ignorant of those points of difference, on which some of us are so fond of constantly harping. Sharing one another's joys and sorrows, they are for all practical purposes a thoroughly united people. True, they have occasionally their riots over religious processions and ceremonies. In moments of excitement a few heads are broken, but the disputes are soon settled and forgotten. Have you not noticed that they leave behind no permanent feelings of bitterness or animosity, and that they are generally confined to the men of the lower strata of our society? The best men in both the communities discountenance them and invariably keep aloof from them. This occasional disturbance, I say, is the only rift in the lute. Why, this is exactly the state of affairs that you will find not only in villages but in most of the cities as well. But it does not end here. Go to the Native States and you come across similar mutual good-will and confidence. It is not necessary to appeal to history, see what are the facts even to-day. Mahomedan rulers have got trusted Hindu ministers and Mahomedan officials serve with devotion and faithfulness Hindu masters. In their innocence or ignorance, if you will,

they refuse to recognise these much-talked of differences and are living like good friends and neighbours. Blessed is that innocence or ignorance, but cursed is this culture and refinement which attempts to make us unfriendly or hostile. "Where ignorance is bliss, it is folly to be wise."

Of course, I cannot shut my eyes to the feeling that is unhappily springing up in certain quarters. An unholy attempt is being made to make the two communities regard each other with feelings of suspicion and distrust. Any man, be he a Hindu or a Mahomedan, who undertakes this task, is a traitor to the best and abiding interests of his community and country. But our misfortune is that the separatists are educated men who have learnt the hateful art of concealing their real motives and sentiments by the use of fascinating and deceptive reasoning. We should have expected that men who had read the history of other nations would endeavour to heal the old sores and further strengthen the bond between the two communities. But alas! their self-interest or short-sightedness does not allow them to take a broad and far-reaching view of the present situation. Happily, their influence has not as yet extended far and wide. I shudder to think of the fate that is bound to overtake both the communities, if their ideas filter down to the masses. The least imaginative amongst us can easily foresee the awful consequences that are bound to follow the present course of action. Let the masses feel convinced that there need be no union between them, and you will find that they will not be content with speeches, articles, deputations and associations. They will go much farther than this, and we shall always rue the days when this policy was first advocated. Does not East Bengal, for example, teach us a lesson? The leavening process has begun and I entreat the Hindus as well as the Musalmans to prevent the leavening of the whole lump. Let us cry out, halt, to these separatists, while there is yet time. Let us sternly put down these men who are laying the axe at the very root of all progress. Remember, there is yet time to-day, it may be too late to-morrow.

Before I proceed any further, I would beg

you to draw a veil over the past. Not that as a Hindu, I am in the least afraid of any enquiry into the causes of the growing estrangement of feeling, but I am otherwise fully convinced in my own mind of the utter futility of such an examination. Let us forget old incidents, and let us forgive each other. "Let the dead past bury its dead," says the poet. We should act up to this advice. Heaven knows, how much bickering and bitterness is due to our raking up old controversies. I appeal to all concerned to take facts as they find them and to try to discover a way out of the present difficulties. It is immaterial whether you or we should be held responsible for having originally set the ball rolling, it is enough that the policy is mischievous and baneful. Let us in all earnestness make an united effort to do away with it.

Brothers, remember India is as much your home as it is ours. India has a right to expect as much devotion and service from you as from us. It is positively sickening to hear some of your talking in a way as if India were not your native land. Equally sickening is the attitude of some Hindus who are reluctant to regard you as the children of the soil. Are you going to leave India bag and baggage for Arabia or Turkey? Is your sojourn in this land brief and temporary? This is your home and of your children and children's children. Your origin may not be Indian, but is that any reason for looking upon India as a step-mother? History tells us that the present-day Hindus are not the original inhabitants of India. Should we, therefore, not regard India as our motherland? Your religion has given to the world the message of democracy and brotherly love. But in spite of this, the Indian Musalman does not regard himself the equal of the Musalmans of other countries. A Mahomedan gentleman of education and position, went on a pilgrimage to Mecca, and in the mosque itself at the time of saying prayers he observed Indian Musalmans receding, as if it were instinctively, to the back rows in order to make room for the stalwart and armed Mahomedans who hailed from other countries. It grieved me immeasurably when I heard of this experience. Brothers, we shall respect ourselves and be respected by foreigners only when India rises in the scale of nations.

Now let us see if there be such points of difference as render our co-operation in political matters impossible. Some men amongst you occupying high places in society have assured us that we must work out our des-

tinies independently of each other. But except making this bold statement, they have never been pleased to descend to details. I do not wish to question their motives, but I do maintain that in spite of repeated challenges, they have not considered it prudent to give us specific instances. Should not their reticence lead us to conclude that there is no substance in their statement? Are there one set of laws for you and another for us? Are we not labouring under the same disabilities and have we not the same rights to work for? Where then this substantial difference comes in, I for one am unable to perceive. As regards the questions of representation and employment in the public services, some of you hold opinions which do not unfortunately agree with ours. Assuming for the sake of argument that there are irreconcilable differences as regards these two questions, there still remain those numerous questions in respect of which no disagreement can be suggested by wit or ingenuity. Is it not then fair to openly declare our unanimity in regard to them? But will your "leaders" make this declaration? I pause for a reply.

Time was, when those who are pleased to constitute themselves as your leaders proclaimed from the house-tops the doctrine of what may be called political abstinence. You were represented as so many children who could not be safely allowed to meddle with politics. It was gravely asserted that Mahomedans should busy themselves only with educational and social conferences and ought to eschew politics completely. But the forces and exigencies of modern times swept away these theories of your self-constituted leaders, and you notice to-day a change in their attitude. Believe me, every right-thinking Hindu welcomes this change most heartily; his only regret is that it should not be bold and courageous. But we rely on these very forces and confidently hope that the day is not far distant when our Musalman brothers will take their rightful place in the political agitation of the country. Your "leaders" now approve of loyal and respectful representations being made to Government, and the formation of an association to safeguard your interests. Will not the next step be to carry on a loyal and respectful but vigorous agitation to obtain your rights and privileges? You have got only to take a short step in order to come to our level, and we are quite hopeful you will have soon to take it.

As for the present protestations of loyalty, no matter from whatever quarter they

emanate, the less said the better. The game has become an old one and will soon cease to be paying. The real trump card hidden dexterously somewhere high up in the sleeve has come to be visible, and no one will now be deceived. The Government knows that the people as a whole are thoroughly loyal, and it does not, it may be apprehended, attach any importance to these loud professions of loyalty. It takes at its proper worth these petitions for Rai Bahadurships, Khan Bahadurships or other official titles or favours.

To resume; your "leaders" tell you that this policy of not making common cause with the Hindus will keep the Government in humour. They ask you to hold your souls in patience, for the Government is sure to reward you for it in a befitting manner. Brothers, the reforms that the Congress asks for will benefit the entire country and not any particular community. The Congress claims equality for all, favouritism for none. Will you let the Hindus alone toil and suffer for our political advancement? Take the expansion of the Councils and the appointment of Indians in the Council of the Secretary of State. Is it not fair to acknowledge the service rendered by the Congress in these directions? You must give credit, where credit is justly due. I leave it to you to decide, whether patriotism consists in keeping aloof from a body of men who are labouring for their as well as your own advancement.

But I would beg you to calmly consider your own gains. As practical men, you should form a just estimate of them. True, some officials have said very sweet things about you. Soft words, but empty all the same, cannot satisfy intelligent men. We want deeds and not words. Take Mr. Morley's scheme itself. Two seats in the Supreme Council have been allotted to you. The Viceroy will nominate at least two more Mahomedans to his Council. As for the rest, you have been left exactly where you were before. If the contention of your "leaders" be correct—which I indignantly and stoutly deny—is there a ghost of a chance of any Musalman being returned by a mixed constituency of Hindus and Mahomedans? How has your position improved, I ask? Your "leaders" would have had some sort of claim on your gratitude if their demand of making the number of Hindu and Mahomedan members equal had been accepted. You have got, I maintain, the shadow and not the substance. What influence will these four members have? I say, not much.

And now pray look at the unfortunate results. A distinction has been recognised and given effect to. In spite of ourselves, you and we might always be reminded of the fact that our interests are separate and distinct. This small beginning, I fear—let me hope that this fear will prove to be unfounded—might lead to gigantic results. Separation in one matter will lead to separation in all the rest. Again, have not these tactics weakened the chances of Musalman candidates seeking the suffrages of a mixed constituency? "You have been crying hoarse over the distinctiveness of our interests, how then do you expect me to give you my vote?" might be the lamentable answer of a Hindu voter to a Musalman candidate. This attitude of the Hindus would lead to a further estrangement of feelings between the two communities. I fervently pray that no Hindu may be so foolish and unpatriotic as to adopt an attitude which will dash to the ground all our hopes of progress and advancement. I appeal to the Hindu community to rise above pettiness and little-mindedness. Let us ever keep our ultimate goal in view, and in order to attain to it we have to take our Mahomedan brothers along with ourselves. Any other policy will be a source of untold miseries.

Have you in the light of actual facts ever paused to carefully examine the statements of your "leaders". Look to our experiences in these Provinces, a stronghold of Mahomedan culture and influence. The very first year when the right of election was given to the people, the late P. Bishambar Nath Saheb proposed that the late Mr. Syed Mahmood should represent us in the Supreme Council. Who was our first representative in the Council of the Viceroy? Was he not a Musalman? Was he elected only by Mahomedan votes? Do we not know that one of the staunchest supporters of Rai Sri Ram Bahadur at the last election was a Musalman gentleman? There may be some traces of this Hindu-Mahomedan feeling observable in the lower ranks of our society but real statesmanship and true patriotism consist in trying to obliterate them and surely not in exaggerating and accentuating them. One is lost in wonder and amazement at the sight of gentlemen who have themselves found their way into the Councils with the help of Hindu voters, solemnly asserting that the two communities do not possess the confidence of each other. I would only ask you, my brothers, to judge of conduct such as this. In this connection, you might well remember

that Mr. Surendra Nath Banerji, the brilliant swordsman of modern radicalism, has not been able to find his way into the Supreme Council in spite of the great hold that he has deservedly got over the educated community. His rival, His Highness the Maharaja of Darbhanga, has invariably scored a victory over him. Does it not show that there are many considerations which determine the results of an election? If a Musalman candidate is defeated by his Hindu opponent, what justification have you for insinuating that his defeat is solely due to the fact of his being a Musalman? Let us not distort facts to suit our own purposes.

The next sore point is the employment in public services. This seems to be the real bone of contention, and we wage a furious war over it. The Hindus and the Musalmans have to cast to the winds all their past associations and traditions for the sake of a few Deputy Collectorships, Sub-Registrarships and last but not least Sub-Inspectorships of Police! The rabid section of the press—Hindu as well as Musalman—in order to supply exciting matter to its readers, keeps up a hot controversy over these paltry appointments. But what about the higher appointments? They are left to take care of themselves. Do you really believe that our national prosperity and advancement depend on these posts? And what do you expect of the Government in this matter? One official favourably inclined towards the Hindus may give them a few more posts than they are entitled to, while another partial to the Mahomedans may show a similar favour to them. But it is the duty of the Government to be fair to all, and it cannot well depart from its policy of impartiality.

But the seed has been sown; let us prevent its taking root. You have got certain concessions and I do not, I assure you, grudge them. But what is to be your attitude in the future? Do you intend singing hallelujahs in praise of this scheme of Mr. Morley? Will you express your admiration for this brilliant Council of Notables? Will you support the proposal to prefer acres over brains? Remember, we have fought single-handed so far, and we are determined to fight single-handed even now. But I would entreat you to make common cause with us. Come and join hands with us in this struggle, which is loyal, but at the same time patriotic. This *Swadeshi* spirit has come amongst us to stay. Be it said to the everlasting credit of Sir John Hewett, that the first important act of his government has been to bless it. Should you not, my brothers, put

your shoulder to the wheel of *Swadeshim*? Do not let it be said that although the Government is in favour of *Swadeshi*, the Mahomedans are lukewarm towards it. There can be no genuine co-operation as long as suspicion and mistrust are lurking in our minds. Who are the *Jolahas*? Are they not Musalmans? I had a talk with a poor *Jolaha* the other day, and he blessed the *Swadeshi*, for it brought bread for his starving children. *Swadeshi* will bring relief and comfort to many a starving family, it will cheer up and brighten many a home.

Remember, my brothers, nations by themselves are made. We have to rely on our own exertions. The Government, however benevolent and well-intentioned, can but partially help us. You and we, both have need to be manly and self-reliant. Trust no extraneous forces. Depend on yourselves. In this struggle for individual and national existence, victory will fall to the lot of the strongest and the most strenuous. Has any nation risen by mere favours and concessions? The history of the world teaches us how other nations have arisen. Union, self-reliance and manliness are writ large on the pages of history and woe betide the individual or nation that shuts its eyes to them.

I do not ask you to join the Congress, if you consider it a dangerous weapon forged by wily Hindus for the injury of the Musalmans. But independently of the Congress, join hands with the Hindus where combined action is possible. Will you not, for instance, protest against the treatment of our countrymen in the Transvaal? Do you know that the number of the Musalmans there is much larger than that of the Hindus? The only consoling feature of their misfortune is that the Hindus and the Musalmans are suffering and working all together. The tale of their woe fills every Indian heart with feelings of pain and anguish. The members of both the parties from their places in the House of Commons have expressed their sympathy with them. Will you sit quiet? Shall we not make a joint and united protest against the hardships our own countrymen are suffering in a foreign land? The Congress at its next session will give expression to its feelings in no uncertain note. The Congress, some of you say, has serious defects. Why don't you come and help us in correcting our mistakes? Are you aware of the existence of a rule of the Congress that any resolution which is objected to by the members of any community as a whole—quite regardless of their number—will be dropped by the

Congress altogether? Is it not a sufficient safeguard for your interests? Come and tell us what you want and let us see if we cannot come to a satisfactory understanding. But I protest against your condemning the Congress without giving it a fair trial. Whether you come to the Congress or not, do please endeavour by all possible means to strengthen the bonds of union between the two communities. Pray do not misunderstand me when I earnestly beg you not to regard every man of wealth and position to be capable of leadership. Believe me, you have to dethrone some of your so-called leaders who have wrought incalculable mischief to your cause. But even a man of real worth and merit is not entitled to blind submission and obedience. Analyse his principles, follow them if sound; but reject them, if dangerous or short-sighted. A good deal of mischief in this country is due to our burning incense at the shrine of gods as well as demons. Beware of charlatans and notoriety-hunters!

A word to the Hindus may not perhaps be out of place here. A feeling is growing up in certain circles that our former attempts at reconciliation having failed, our sense of self-respect should prevent us from making further advances. This is an unwise and unpatriotic attitude. Mahomedans are our brothers and we should not get offended at their ignorance or backwardness. Was not Sir Syed Ahmad quite right when he said that the Hindus and

the Musalmans were like the two eyes of a beautiful maiden and he who injured the one also injured the other? All our dreams of national advancement will be turned into realities only when the Hindus and the Musalmans work together in peace and harmony. The best friend of his own community is he who tries to serve both the communities.

Brothers, if any remark of mine has offended you, pray forgive me. I beg to assure you that the mistakes you find are of the head and not of the heart. According to my own poor lights, I have placed the facts before you. It is not my intention to cause you offence or annoyance.

India at the present moment is passing through a period of stress and storm. Every well-wisher of the country is devising ways and means of ameliorating our condition. To my mind, the essential condition of success is the co-operation of the Hindus and the Musalmans. Is our ultimate union a dream and a chimera? I say with all earnestness, no. Let us be honest and straight-forward. Let us realize that we are brothers, and children of the same mother. A wave of nationality has swept over educated India. Let us so train ourselves that each one of us may be able to say with Dadabhai Naoroji, I am an Indian first, a Hindu, Musalman, Christian, Sikh, Jain or Parsee next. It is in this feeling that our salvation lies. It is better to work and fail than never to work at all.

Yours fraternally,
ISWAR SARAN.

THE INFLUENCE OF CHAITANYA ON BENGALI SOCIETY AND LITERATURE

THE social history of Bengal in the fifteenth century, glimpses of which we obtain from the records left by old Bengali writers, scarcely claims any redeeming feature. Buddhism with its noble traditions of morality had well nigh become a thing of the past:—the scrutinising eye of a historian could discover its last embers burning in the vitiated forms of Tantrik worship, which had at the time found favour with the masses of the country. The Saiva religion of Sankara—his noble interpretation of the Vedanta philosophy, could not appeal to ordinary people,

and, as it entirely omitted the ethical side of religion, laying stress upon its metaphysical portion only, its numerous followers, who could not soar in the higher regions of *advaita-vaad*, sank into Tantrikism of a gross and even of an atrocious character. We quote the following from the "Narottam Vilas," a work of great historical value written more than 300 years ago. The passage refers to the misdeeds and atrocities committed by the Tantriks.

"Who can count their sins? the blood of goats and buffaloes stain each house. Many

of them hold in one hand the heads of men sacrificed at the altar of their gods and in another a sword and dance in frightful ecstasy. If anybody falls in their way, he is sure to be sacrificed at the altar of their gods. There is no way to avoid death—not even if he be a Brahman. All of them are addicted to meat and wine and are lost to all sense of sexual morality.”

In another book of authority which is older still, we find—“They (the Tantriks) are great meat-eaters and drunkards and with meat and wine worship their gods.” The restrictions of caste were little heeded; we find Brahmans drinking wine in the company of low-class people. They felt no scruple even in eating beef. Men and women sat in what was called a *chakra* (circle) and drank profusely while discharging functions of the Tantrik worship. Many Brahmans became notorious debauchees, who held in absolute disregard all principles of morality and religion. It is said of Jagai and Madhai—the two notorious sinners who turned saints under Chaitanya’s influence—in the Chaitanya-Bhagavat, a book written 400 years ago, that “though Brahmans, they were the greatest moral wrecks. They indulged profusely in wine, women and beef.” But they were not social outcasts.

The great virtues which constitute the back-bone of character in men and women, were lost sight of, and in their place a highly artificial code for the guidance of men was enforced by orthodox society. This code appears to verge on the ridiculous in our unsophisticated eyes, but men and women of the past age believed in it in all sincerity. Rajendra Das, one of our earliest translators of the Mahabharata, gives a list of the greatest sins that a human being can commit. We enumerate some of them below:—

(1) Shaving oneself after the taking of one’s meals.

(2) The eating of *mula* (a vegetable root) in the month of Magha.

(3) The eating of fish on prohibited days.

(4) Leaving the customs of one’s own caste and adopting those of others.

A man who gets himself shaved after meals is brought under the same category as a parricide and is reckoned to be the greatest sinner! Such were the superstitions which held the masses of Bengal in iron sway.

The virtues and meritorious works in the estimation of a society whose idea of sin is recorded above, indicate alike the high watermark of artificiality and conventionalism.

The same author, Rajendra Das completes his code by referring to the greatest act of virtue,—“one who with a true and unwavering spirit of devotion worships the feet of a Brahman, goes to the highest heaven. His virtues are unbounded. Even Brahma the creator with four faces cannot enumerate them.”

Kasiram Das—the famous translator of the Mahabharata, who lived 300 years ago, has the following adulatory effusion in praise of the Brahmanical power:—

“It is a Brahman’s anger which like fire burnt down the great dynasty of the Jadavas and of Sagar—the distinguished king of the Lunar Race. It is a Brahman’s anger again which has placed a blot in the Moon’s surface, and the god of fire, Agni Deva, and the god of the sky, Indra Deva, were smitten by Brahmanical curse. A Brahman’s anger has made the waters of the great sea saline. The great god, Vishnu, bears the mark of a Brahman’s feet on his bosom.”

The Mahabharata of Kasiram Das from whose text the above translation is quoted, is even now the most popular book in Bengal, being read by millions of people who believe everything that is written in it.

It should be noted here that many legends and tales invented to substantiate the description of Brahmanical power given above, are to be found in the Puranas. So great was the respect for the Brahmans taught to people that Kasiram Das in giving an account of the king Parikshit who is described to have died of serpent-bite by the curse of a Brahman, writes of the prince as becoming restless and anxious when the serpent did not approach to bite him at the appointed hour! He saw, however, a little worm creeping over a fruit that was presented to him and cried out, “let this worm become a snake and bite me, rather than that a Brahman’s word should prove untrue.”

Such were the teachings all over the country. The Brahmanical rule had in fact grown wearisome and even intolerable life that of the old man who sat on the shoulders of Sindabad, the sailor. The ideal of high character, of the great human virtues, was lost sight of and the whole nation was groping in the darkness of depravity and crime.

The true Brahmanical element, the *Bramhajan*, was missing and those that called themselves Brahmans were so in name only. They did not possess the knowledge of the Divine which has ever been the Brahman’s forte.

But a true Brahman came to change the order of things. He came as a power to

place the Brahmanical ideal once again before the nation. He came to crush the *regime* of the false Brahman and found that of the true Brahman. As when the sun rises, the mists disappear, so were all artificial notions and prejudices dispelled at his advent, and he founded once more the kingdom of godliness and truth.

When to touch the feet of a Brahman, though he might be a great knave, was held to be a privilege of all other castes, Chaitanya—himself a good Brahman, exclaimed in an unswerving voice, “If a Chandal (a person of the lowest caste in Hindu society) has faith in God, he should be respected as the best of Brahmins.”—“If a Moochi (cobbler) can with a clean heart offer his prayers to God, I bow down at his feet a hundred times.” “A person who takes rice cooked by a Dom (one of the meanest castes) becomes pre-eminently entitled, by that act of kindness, to God’s mercy.”

Chaitanya embraced Haridas—a Mahomedan, and Raghunath—a Sudra, as tenderly as he would his own brother. And when Raghunath was eating a handful of refuse rice thrown from the Jagannath Temple at Puri, he took a portion of the same and ate it with great joy.

A Brahman is known as *Bhudeva* or a living god on earth. On his feet are fixed the admiring eyes of all other castes. His great kindness to them is shewn by his condescension to bestow a little dust of his feet on people of other castes. This dust is sacred. But the Brahman Chaitanya went to the river-ghat and offered his services to all people without distinction of caste. Sometimes he would wash the clothes of a person who had just bathed, sometimes he would take a heavy basket from a weary old traveller and carry it home for him and many mean offices which a Brahman could not and would not do—he did gladly and willingly, and when people would object to them because of the caste to which he belonged, he would say in an imploring voice, “Brothers, forbid me not to do these little services to fellow-men. These little acts nourish and develop my faith in God.” But these little acts were great acts and pre-eminently shewed the heroic strength of his character, for so long the conventional belief was that a Brahman was born to be served by people of all other castes, and that he was too high a personage to serve them in the ways mentioned above.

In their work of reformation, the Vaishnavas under Chaitanya’s influence shewed unique earnestness and strength by breaking down old and time-honoured institutions as playfully as it were as one would break a house of cards, bringing Brahmins, Chandals and Mahomedans to the same level, opening the portals of their newly formed society even to fallen women for whom there was no place in the orthodox society, assailing customs the sanctity of which was never questioned before and altogether doing a remarkable work of reformation all over the country. In Literature also we find them bringing on a new epoch in which the accumulated filth of the past age was removed, and a strange current of purity and appreciation of beauty was brought to flow in a new channel of thought. The influence of Chaitanya is pre-eminently seen in the old Bengali Literature. Nearly 2000 old MSS. have up to this time come to light in which the story of this wonderful revolution is recorded in some shape or other. The Vaishnavas became new exponents of the Shastric texts, they simplified the old code and made it humane and rational. Biographical literature in Bengal owes its origin to the Vaishnavas. After the decline of Buddhism in Bengal, men had ceased to discover beauty or truth in their own lives. If any memoir was to be written, they invariably made a Rama, a Yudhishtira, or any other worthy of the Puranas, the theme for inspiring them, and they would not believe that in this dark age (Kali Yuga) any man could become so noble that his life would be worth describing. Chaitanya’s great presence inspired literary activities in the biographical branch of literature. Many biographies were written which now form standard works in classical Bengali. Many biographies of Chaitanya’s followers are highly interesting, as the history of the period may be gleaned from them. In this department also, the spirit of freedom which is the characteristic of all Vaishnava efforts is manifest. Lives of persons of the Sudra caste were narrated by Brahman writers in a spirit of humility and enthusiastic regard for the subjects of their memoirs.

Before the advent of Chaitanya, no Bengali writer would begin any literary work without ascribing the undertaking to a divine order obtained in a dream, as if they were too diffident of their own powers and dared not write anything of their own initiative. The literature of the Sakti cult is full of these references to divine commands that

the writers are said to have obtained in their dreams. One of the writers goes so far in recording the order of his inspiring god that the order assumes the form of a threat. He is writing a book on the god of tigers. The deity while communicating his wishes to the writer in a dream is said to have declared—

“Tell people, if any one does not like your poetry, he and all members of his family will be devoured by my tigers.”

The god Dharma is said to have appeared in strange and mysterious shapes to the authors of Dharma Mangal. One of them writes that the god not only ordered him to write a book to propitiate him, but that knowing that the writer had no materials at his command at the moment, he condescended so far as to furnish our author with some paper, ink and pens. All literary attempts in Bengali before the advent of Chaitanya are marked without exception with prefatory descriptions of divine orders received in dreams. But the literature of the Vaishnava cult which follows is entirely free from such pretensions. Indeed, as in society, so in literature, everything had become artificial and false. The spontaneity of feelings which should be a poet's true fountain of inspiration had been lost, and in its place artificial efforts to improve upon the classical metaphors by intellectual subtlety had grown to be the fashion. One acquainted with the latter-day Sanskrit Literature and Persian knows what the fountain-head of inspiration was to the Bengali writers of that period. When Krittibas described Sita's waist to be so slender that one could hold it within the grasp of a hand, one is naturally reminded of the Persian poet's description of a beauty's waist “that it was as thin as a hair or even half of it.” The Bengali Literature of the Sakta cult is full of abnormal metaphors and absurd pedantism—the similes used to indicate the grace and beauty of a female form often turn into monstrous literary puzzles from which no sense or meaning can be gathered. The similes and metaphors of the Vaishnava poets shew that nature asserted her position once more in our literature. They are homely, plain and to the point. A Vaishnava poet thus throws down an open challenge to the metaphors laid down in books of rhetoric while describing the love of Radha for Krishna:—

“You say the sun loves the lily, but this cannot be accepted. The lily dies in frost, the sun cares not for her. You speak again of the love of a bee and a flower. If the bee does not come, the flower does not go to him,

where is then true love here? The cloud and the bird Chatak are in love, sing our poets, but the cloud does not bestow a single drop of water upon his love, if the time for showers does not come! You say that the moon and the bird Chakrabak are in love, but how can true love grow when the respective positions of the lovers are not equal?”

The poet finds nothing to compare to Radha and Krishna's love. In the last line he says, they could not bear separation from each other for a moment, just as the fish cannot live when drawn out of water.

From the clumsy writings of most of the early Bengali writers which often sicken the soul by their forced and fantastical similes, we rise with a refreshed spirit when we find beautiful portraiture of feelings as in the following. We are afraid, much elegance will be lost in the translation but nevertheless we make an attempt. It is a description of the *Purba-rag* or antenuptial love:—

“When she bathes in one part of the pond, thither he stealthily goes to the opposite side and with out-stretched arm waits for a touch of the ripples of water produced by the motion of her graceful form. When the sun is up, he cleverly moves near her so that his shadow might touch hers and knowing from what direction the gale blows he selects a place to stay for the whole day so that the gale that touches her body, might also touch him. He seeks the washerman who washes her clothes and finding him out, gives his own clothes to him for washing, overjoyed at the thought that his clothes might claim the fortune of touching hers. If he sees a single letter of the word that makes her name, he is in a trance with joy. For giving expression to his inner sentiments he has recourse to a thousand devices understood by her only.”

For a true appreciation of the above sentiments one should realize the situation of lovers in a society where men and women have not the liberty to mix freely and where manoeuvres as described by our poet are resorted to for silently conveying love-sentiments.

Throughout the vast range of the Vaishnava Literature, whether in the descriptions of Radha's love for Krishna or in the exposition of religious matters of grave importance, everywhere do we feel a freshness and new spirit which conquer our heart as we turn our eyes from the wrinkled and calculating brow of orthodox society to this newly-born thing of light and beauty. The joyous carelessness with which this new child of freedom gave blows to the older society, shook

it to its very foundation, and we find the monster of convention that was so long holding an undisputed authority, rising with all its power to resist the growing child. New verses were at once composed by veteran Pandits and interpolated into the body of the old Puranas. In Tantra-Ratnakar, a work of great authority amongst the Tantriks, we find the following reference to Chaitanya and his sect.

"Batak Bhairab asked the god Ganesh, if the demon of Tripura who was killed by Siva really expired or took some other form and still lived.

"Ganesh replied:—The demon Tripura having been killed by Siva felt a great rage and reduced himself to three forms. The first one in which he appeared was that of *Chaitanya*: he was born in the womb of Sachi. The second form which the subtle demon adopted was that of *Nityananda* and the third

of *Advaita*. Taking these three forms they came to this earth to frustrate the aim of Siva bent on the good of humanity. They deluded people by teaching them effminacy."

Effminacy, because Chaitanya Deva did not recognize such cruel rites in religion as human or animal sacrifices, but taught that one should know his own sins and in a truly penitent spirit approach his God with tears! His followers abstained from fish and meat altogether and from all intoxicating drugs or liquors. He was thus effminate in the eyes of those who in the name of religion drank wine, ate all kinds of meat and were followers of *kapaliks*, those dreadful people who could do deeds worse than robbers.

But this effminate man revolutionized the whole society and is truly recognized as the greatest personage that Bengal claims as her own.

DINESH CHANDRA SEN.

LIMITED MONARCHY IN ANCIENT INDIA

THE two great epics of the Hindus are the Ramayana and the Mahabharata. There is certainly a diversity of opinion among Oriental scholars as to the probable dates of their composition; but all are agreed that they were composed long before the Mahomedans came to this country, and that, therefore, they present to the reader a true picture of Hindu Society and Hindu Government, as they existed in Ancient India.

Mr. Romes Chandra Dutt, C. I. E., holds with some European *savants*, that the Mahabharata is an older work than the Ramayana. This view, however, is opposed to the orthodox view which regards the former to be a later production. That the great battle of *Kurukshetra* which forms the central theme of the Mahabharata was fought long long after the conquest of the non-Aryan tribes in the south by Rama, the ideal king of Ajodhya, does not admit of a doubt; but even a cursory perusal of the Mahabharata also reveals the fact that it contains many stories, accounts of primitive Aryan society, and ancient history, which are not only foreign to, but also older than the main theme of the Epic. The Mahabharata is, therefore, very rightly regarded as a compilation of ancient Aryan rhapsodies, cleverly grouped round the central theme, and

a wonderful store-house of all that is worth knowing about the ancient Indo-Aryans. From this point of view, the value of the Mahabharata cannot be too highly rated.

The gradual evolution and development of modern institutions, social, religious and political, has long since formed a favourite subject of research and speculation with philosophers and antiquarians. For instance, among these thousand-and-one questions, it is often asked, what was the beginning of the different forms of Government that obtain or once obtained in the world? People naturally feel eager to go to the root of a thing in order to be able to lay their hands on the fundamental principle that is working under it. The necessity for this becomes all the greater and more urgent in view of the many accretions that form themselves in course of time, and gather round the fundamental principle, thereby obliterating it completely from one's view, and obstructing its free play and working. But if it is once got hold of, and rightly understood, the accretions that gather round it can easily be shaken off, like those on the plates of an electric battery, and the working of the principle renewed and re-invigorated, to the great benefit of mankind. An omission to take this step, either through ignorance, negligence, or interested motives,

has been the fruitful source of a world of evils, and has, from time to time, led to serious political upheavals, upsetting the existing order of things, and producing chaos, disorder, and great human misery. This is according to the well-known Law of Nature, which always helps the Moral Order of the Universe to assert itself, whenever it is in danger of being choked to death or reduced to inactivity. The best Government in the world is, therefore, that which always keeps the fundamental principle in view, and maintains its free working, at all costs, by shaking off the foreign accretions that gather round it.

Now, what is this fundamental principle of Government? To be able to answer this question, we must first understand whether kings were born or made in ancient times. Researches into the ancient history of mankind have led scholars to hold that wild savage men lived in the early days, as they do even now in some parts of the world, in tribes led by a chief who used to be elected as such by the common suffrage of the tribesmen, on account of his valour and ability to lead them from one hunting ground to another, and protect them and their interests from the invasion of rival neighbouring tribes. In this sense, the chief, who was the *King* of later times in embryo, might he said to have been *made* by the tribesmen or the people.* But he might also be said, in a special sense, to have been *born*, in as much as the valour and ability which went to make up his leadership were also born with him. But he was certainly *not born*, in the accepted sense of the word, which implies hereditary right to be king or leader, by reason of his mere *birth*, irrespective of personal fitness. In the early stages of human civilization, however, *personal fitness* alone decided the choice of the people in the selection of a chief; and as history repeats itself, we find the same principle working in a developed form in modern Republican and Democratical forms of Government. The fundamental principle of Government appears to be an inherent right of the people to govern themselves under the

* "Neither was that an inconsiderable moment when wild armed men first raised their Strongest aloft on the buckler-throne, and with clanging armour and hearts said solemnly: Be thou our Acknowledged Strongest (well-named King, Kou-ning, Can-ning, or man that was able). What a symbol shone now for them—significant with the destinies of the world! A world of true Guidance in return for loving obedience; properly, if he knew it, the prime want of man. A symbol which might be called sacred; for, is there not in reverence for what is better than we, an indestructible sacredness? On which ground, too, it was well said there lay in the Acknowledged Strongest a divine right; as surely there might be in the Strongest whether Acknowledged or not—considering *who* it was that made him strong."—Carlyle's *French Revolution*.

direction and guidance of a leader whom the people choose on account of his personal fitness, and who is invested with certain powers by the people themselves with a view to enable him to carry on the work with which he is entrusted. The rights, privileges and powers of the leader or king are made up of the rights, privileges and powers of the people themselves,—*willingly* parted with in his favour in return for security and protection of their life, liberty and property. Where the leader is left too much to himself, without any healthy control from the representatives of the people, his tendency is invariably to usurp and arrogate to himself *all* the rights, privileges and powers of the people, and play the Autocrat or Tyrant. This, unless checked, leads to the thorough demoralization and degradation of the people. But, as we have already said, the Moral Order of the Universe reasserts itself in the long run, by means of violent upheavals, social and political, as are taking place, at the present time, in Russia, and took place more than a century ago in France,—and re-adjusts the balance of power as between the King and the People. Autocratical, bureaucratical and oligarchical forms of Government are unnatural, demoralising and unsuitable to the progress and advancement of mankind; and they contain seeds of destruction in themselves, which germinate and fructify in course of time. The best form of Government is democratical, whether we find it in pure Democracy, or Limited Monarchy.

It is a mistake to suppose that the Hindus have been accustomed, from time immemorial, to an autocratical form of Government, and that the popular element never existed as a distinct force in the country. I have already shown in a previous article that Local Self-government existed in Ancient India even in a better form than that in which it exists at present under British rule, and we propose to show in this article that it was not Absolute but Limited Monarchy that flourished in Ancient India. But before this Limited Monarchy was firmly established, many revolutions and political upheavals had taken place in order to re-adjust the balance of power, as between the King and the People. The following extracts from the Mahabharata will illustrate our meaning:—

"Bhishma said: 'Listen attentively, O thou foremost of the virtuous, how Monarchy was first created in the Satya Yuga. At first, there was neither king nor kingdom, punishment nor object of punishment, on this Earth. Men used to protect themselves and

one another, following the just principles of Religion. They went on in this fashion for sometime; but afterwards they found it difficult to protect themselves or one another, inasmuch as infatuation got hold of their minds. This led to the subversion of wisdom and of the Moral Order; and people became avaricious, subject to evil passions, addicted to worldliness, and devoid of all sense of right and wrong. * * * Men having thus strayed out of the path, the Vedas and Religion became (almost) extinct."

"It is said that the sacrifices and *Yajnas* having been discontinued, the gods became greatly alarmed. They repaired in a body to *Prajapati*, the creator, and represented to him the deplorable condition to which the human race had been reduced. Whereupon, *Prajapati* wrote out a work, consisting of 100,000 chapters, on Social and Political ethics, for the special benefit of mankind, and handed it over to the gods. *Siva* took it and compressed it into 10,000 chapters, and called it by the name of *Vaisálaksha*. *Indra* compressed it again into 5,000 chapters and called it by the name of *Vāhūdanika*. *Vrihaspati* further reduced the number of chapters to 3,000, and *Sudarshana* still further reduced it to 1,000, with a view to enable men to read the whole of it, in course of their short life-time. Then the gods went to *Vishnu* who, at their request, created a *mānasaputra*, *Viraja* by name, to be the head of mankind. He was followed by a succession of kings who ruled over the earth, with more or less righteousness and justice. Then came *Vena* who, on account of his tyranny, profligacy and immoral ways, was killed by the *Maharshis*, or the great sages devoted to the worship of *Brahma*, the Supreme Being. They, then, set on the throne his son, *Prithu*, who became an ideal king, and ruled over the earth, with great wisdom and justice."*

The above account, taken from the *Mahabharata*, shows that before the monarchical form of Government was established, a democratic form of Government had existed among the ancient Indo-Aryans, which, however, in course of time, had degenerated into anarchy. Whatever the form of Government, it has been always found that there should be a competent leader or chief who could command the confidence of men, by governing them strictly according to the principles of equity, justice and the Law, and holding the balance of power even as between himself and the ruled. Whenever this balance was sought to be disturbed by the chief, the people or their representatives availed themselves of the first opportunity to re-adjust it, by overthrowing him, as was done in the case of *Vena* by the sages in Ancient India.

There is another very important passage in the *Mahabharata*, which goes to show how the king was created by the ancient Indo-Aryans on the principle of "Give and Take," and how the people willingly submitted to be guided

by him in return for his protecting them and their interests, and maintaining peace and order in the country. It will also illustrate the principle underlying the right of taxation on the part of the king, and how that right was voluntarily made over to him by the people themselves. The following is a translation of the passage referred to:

"In days of yore, when the earth became devoid of a king, the people began to devour one another. At that time, some virtuous persons met together, and made an agreement among themselves to the effect that they would banish all such men as were harsh-tongued, of angry disposition, adulterous and voluptuous, and addicted to the habit of stealing and misappropriating another's property. Securing the confidence of the people, they lived (peacefully) for sometime; but, in the long run, with a heavy heart, they had to approach *Brahma* (the Creator) whom they addressed (thus): 'Lord, we are being annihilated for want of a king. Grant us, therefore, a king. We all will adore him, and he will protect us (in return).' Hearing this prayer of the people, *Brahma* asked *Manu* to take up the duty of protecting them; but *Manu* declined (the honor), saying, 'I am always afraid of committing a wrong and sinful act. It is a very difficult task to govern a kingdom, and particularly to keep people on the path of virtue and righteousness.' Then the people addressed themselves to *Manu*, saying, 'Lord, do not thou be afraid of anything. Sin will never touch thee. We will fill up thy (royal) treasury by contributing into it heads of cattle,† a fiftieth share of gold (money), and a tenth share of grain. * * * Those, who are capable of bearing arms and riding, will follow thee, as the gods follow *Indra*. Thus thou wilt be as powerful as *Kuvera* himself, and able to protect us with ease. Thou wilt also be entitled to a fourth share of the spiritual benefit which we may be able to acquire under thy protection. Protect us, therefore, Oh Lord, like *Indra*, the chief of the gods, and sally forth, like the burning sun, to conquer our foes. May their pride be humbled by thee, and may *Dharma* protect us for ever.' The people thus saying, the powerful *Manu*, who was sprung from a noble race, issued forth (from his castle), in a blaze of glory, followed by innumerable armed men, with a view to take up the duty of protecting the people."‡

The above account of willing submission of the people to a king tallies, in substance, with *Carlyle's* account of wild armed men raising their Strongest aloft on the buckler-throne, and with clanging armour and hearts, saying solemnly, "Be thou our Acknowledged Strongest." Both the accounts furnish us with an unmistakable clue to the fundamental principle underlying Government, a deviation and departure from which has, more than anything else, retarded the progress of mankind.

I will now proceed to relate the manner in which the king carried on his government

† *Pasu*, equivalent to Lat. *Pecus* (cattle), which afterwards came to mean "wealth."

‡ *Santi Parva*, chapter 67.

* *Santi Parva*, chapter 59.

and kept the whole machinery a-going. It has been already stated that an elaborate Political and Social Constitution, drawn up by *Prajapati*, and subsequently much reduced in bulk and matter, and considerably simplified by the gods, with a view to bring it within the reach of the knowledge of ordinary mortals, had been in existence before the Monarchical form of government was firmly established in the country. This constitution, among other things, laid down the duties of the king, and the manner in which he was to qualify himself for his high office. The king had, in his boyhood and youth to pass through a course of special training and rigorous discipline, under the guidance of learned Sages who always took care to instil into his mind the principles of good government. The good of the people formed, as it were, the central point of his many-sided activities, and he was taught from his infancy to act and behave in such a way as to win popular praise, and secure popular contentment. The very word *Raja* connotes the idea of *pleasing* the minds of the people by acts of good government.* So far as my knowledge of the Sanskrit language goes, there is no equivalent word in it for Autocrat or Despot or Tyrant. Autocracy, Despotism and Tyranny were antagonistic to the genius of the Indo-Aryans, and they never took kindly to our soil. The king was, no doubt, the Supreme Personage in the State, but his mere word was not law. His powers were defined and circumscribed by the Constitution, which was in the keeping of the holy sages, who always guided his counsels, and restrained him from vagaries and eccentricities. It would be interesting to read in this connection some extracts from the Mahabharata, showing the constitution and function of the various Councils which helped the king in the work of government.

But before we make the extracts, we must refer to a belief which was generally current among the old Indo-Aryans, and which exists partially, even to this day, among their descendants,—I mean the belief in the efficacy of sacrifices and *yajnas* performed in honor of, and for the propitiation of the gods, presiding over the various spheres of our solar system. Sacrifices and *yajnas*, if properly performed, were regarded as very efficacious in producing plenty of rain, an abundant harvest, and consequent happiness and prosperity of the people. The ancient

Sastras highly eulogise the performance of sacrifices and *yajnas*, and every householder was enjoined to perform the five sacrifices everyday. That having been the current belief among the Indo-Aryans, it should not be a matter for surprise at all, if the performance of sacrifices was regarded by them as supremely important, and essentially necessary for the well-being of individuals, as well as of the State. The king, as head of the State, had to perform large and difficult sacrifices, for which he had to engage the services of the best man available. These men were not only highly pious and spiritual, but also very large-hearted, as they generally belonged to the Order of the Sages or *Rishis* who had renounced the self and the world for the good of mankind. The *Purohita*, or the Royal Priest, who was oftentimes also the *Guru* or Spiritual Preceptor of the king, was selected from this Holy Order, and came first in precedence. Then came the *Ritwiks*, or the performers of sacrifices in each of the six seasons, who also were drawn from the same Order. The Royal Priest, besides presiding at sacrifices, and serving as Spiritual Guide of the king, also acted as his Prime Minister. Some of the *Ritwiks* also often acted as *Mantris* or Ministers. The indispensability of the *Purohita* will appear from the following passages quoted from the Mahabharata:—

“The *Purohita* should be nominated and worshipped first, and the king installed on the throne, afterwards.”† Then again, “the prosperity and protection of kingdoms depend entirely on the king and the Royal Priest.”‡

Next to the *Ritwiks*, in order, came the *Mantris*, i.e., Ministers or Councillors, whose number was never less than three. They were selected from the best men of the country, and their duty mainly consisted in advising the king on *all* important matters, relating to the well-being of the State, but it also partook of a diplomatic character. One performed the office of Home Minister, another of Foreign Minister, while the third had control of the Intelligence Department and so forth. They were also the custodians of what are known as State Secrets. On all important matters of State, the king first sought their counsel. Then it was placed before the *Guru* or Spiritual Preceptor, together with the personal opinion of the king thereon. The *Guru* carefully weighed all their opinions, one by one, and came to a decision which again was placed before the council and acted upon

* राजा प्रकृतिरङ्गनात् ।

† Santi Parva, chapter 73.

‡ It. chapter 74.

according to the votes of the majority.* Next in order, came the council of the *Amatyas* or those Ministers who always remained with the king to advise and guide him in all matters, important or otherwise, and execute the Royal command. This council was truly representative of the people, inasmuch as the members, whose number was not less than 33, were drawn from all the classes, identified with the principal castes. The following extracts from the Mahabharata will be found interesting here :—

Bhishma, addressing Yudhisthira, said: "You should appoint as *Amatyas* four *holy Brahmanas*, who are well versed in the Vedas and have returned home from the abode of their preceptors after finishing their studies, (*Snatakas*), eight powerful *Kshatriyas* who can wield arms, twenty-one *Vaisyas*, possessing vast riches, three *Sudras*, distinguished by humility and purity of character, and one *Suta* (charioteer), well versed in the Puranas, and possessed of the eight virtues. All the *Amatyas* should be fifty years of age, modest, intelligent, impartial, just and devoid of the seven disqualifications, viz., avarice, fondness for hunting, &c. You will promulgate an order by consulting only eight out of these thirty-three *Amatyas*, viz., four *Brahmanas*, three *Kshatriyas* and the *Suta*."†

I should now like to put it to those who always take delight in declaring from the housetops that the kings in ancient India were autocrats, whether the above account of the several councils of the ancient Hindu kings does not clearly demonstrate the existence of a Limited Monarchy, established on a firm footing, and whether the people were not adequately (according to the circumstances of the country, at that time) represented in such councils?

Besides these councils, there were, of course, the courtiers who daily attended the Royal Court, and helped the king in his daily deliberations. These men were selected from the best and noblest families, for their sterling virtues. Bhishma advised Yudhisthira to appoint as courtiers men who were "modest, truthful, characterised by straight-forwardness and a control over their minds and passions, and possessed of eloquence." (*Santi Parva*, chap. 83). He also advised him to appoint to all high and important posts men who were

"well-trying, sprung from noble families, averse to bribe-taking, unprofligate, faithful, versed in the Vedas, devoid of pride, modest, intelligent, possessed of purity, spirited, patient, forgiving, devoted to the king, efficient, grave, sincere, of few words, possessed of knowledge as to what to do and what not to do,

* Read interesting accounts of the function of the *Mantris* and the procedure of their council in chapter 83 of *Santi Parva*.

† *Santi Parva*, chapter 85.

capable of understanding hints, compassionate, capable of acting according to time and circumstance, and devoted to duty."

The officers, who were in charge of the revenues of the State, were also to be possessed of the above qualifications.

I have, so far, dwelt on the constitution and functions of the various councils of the king, and the manner in which the Central Government was carried on. I will now write something about the way in which Government in the country and the Provinces used to be carried on. Let me again make some extracts from the Mahabharata :—

"The king should appoint some one as the head of one village, some one as the head of ten villages, some one as the head of twenty villages, some one as the head of a hundred villages and some one as the head of a thousand villages. Their principal care should be the protection of the people. The lord of one village should communicate to the lord of ten villages, and he to the lord of twenty villages, and he to the lord of hundred villages the faults and failings, of the people, living within their respective jurisdictions. Thus every lord shall communicate to his immediate superior the faults and failings of the people. The lord of a village has a right to all the things produced in it. He shall pay revenue to the lord of ten villages, and the lord of ten villages shall pay revenue to the lord of twenty villages, and so on. The lord of a hundred villages shall enjoy all the products of a thickly-populated large village. But this village shall remain under the control of the lord who is his immediate superior. The lord of a thousand villages shall be entitled to possess a country-town, full of riches and grain. The king should appoint a vigilant and wise Minister (*Mantri*) to superintend the military arrangements and other affairs of the lords of the villages, and a Governor-General to superintend all the affairs of the country-towns. As the stars are placed high above the planets, so should the Governor-General be placed high above all the courtiers, and they shall keep an eye on their work and whereabouts."‡

From the above account, it will appear that there was a healthy and sound system of both centralisation and de-centralisation in Ancient India.

A few words as to the system of taxation and the collection of revenue will not be out of place here :—

"The king should save his people from the hands of envious and thievish knaves. He ought to fix the rules and rates of taxation, after carefully considering the condition of sale and purchase of goods on the part of the merchants, the margin of their profits, the condition of the roads and ways over which goods are conveyed, and the expenditure which they incur for their maintenance. Taxes should be levied on artisans also with special reference to the nature of their products and the margin of their profits. * * * Rules of taxation should be framed in such a way, s

‡ *Santi Parva*, chapter 87.

to enable both the king and the tax-payers to enjoy the fruits of their labour. Actuated by a desire for inordinate gain, the king ought never to allow trade, agriculture, industry, and his kingdom to perish. Exorbitant taxation makes the king an object of popular displeasure. How can he, therefore, expect any good? He, who is unpopular with his people, can never gain any object. As a calf, by drinking milk from the udder of a cow, becomes strong and able to carry burdens, but fails to do so, if it does not obtain a sufficient supply of milk, so do the people, by becoming rich in consequence of the levy of moderate taxes by the king, become able to inaugurate many a useful work. But if they are robbed of all their gains by the king, they cannot accomplish any good. So the king should never levy immoderate taxes."*

Necessity, sometimes, arose in ancient, as it does in modern times, for raising public loans, as, for instance, in times of a threatened invasion. The king, on such occasions, had never recourse to force to raise the requisite capital; but he used persuasive language as follows:—

"The enemy are threatening to invade my territory; and as a public calamity is impending, I ask you to make contributions with a view to enable me to avert it. When the calamity will have been averted, I will return you your money. Should you, however, allow the enemy to come, they will not only rob you of all your wealth, but also carry away your

* Santi Parva, chapter 87.

wives and children. In that event, there will be none left to enjoy your property. You all are like unto my sons, and I am glad to witness your prosperity. Now that there is an impending calamity, I am asking for your contributions. None ought to prize wealth, when danger is threatened."†

Would an Autocrat ever think of using language like this, towards the people whom he oppressed? I have no doubt that the above extracts would at once bring home to the reader's mind the cordial relations that existed between the king and his people in Ancient India.

There is another excellent passage in the Mahabharata, illustrating the principle on which rates and taxes should be levied. I cannot resist the temptation of giving a translation of it here:—

"As the bee collects honey from flowers, without hurting the plant, as men draw out milk from the udder of a cow, without cutting it off, or starving the calf, as a leech insensibly draws blood from the body, as a tigress catches hold of the neck of her cub, with her teeth without hurting it, and as a mouse nibbles off flesh from the feet of a sleeping man without being discovered, so should the king imperceptibly collect his revenues, without oppressing or annihilating his people." (Santi Parva, chapter 37).

ABINAS CHENNAI DAS.

† Santi Parva, chapter 87.

THE MARQUIS ITO

IT was a hot summer day, and the crowds around the approaches of the little Japanese railway station betokened unusual excitement. Officials, some in frock coats and silk hats, some in the dark-crested and flowing native garments, and still others in elaborate military uniform, thronged the platform.

The people around me showed by their dress and their manner how Western ways are affecting Japan. I had travelled down from the mountains in company with a Korean Prince, a young man dressed in a frock coat of Bond Street cut, who spoke admirable English. The railway officials might, so far as uniform was concerned, have belonged to some Continental line, and the diplomatic and military officials on the platform wore a purely European dress. The little lady with her kimono and obi, her straight-brushed hair and almost bare feet, stood meekly by the side of

the warrior in stiff uniform and thick leather boots. East and West were meeting in the habits, the dress, and the manners of the waiting people.

My application at the ticket office for a first-class to Kobe was politely brushed on one side. All the first-class seats were reserved, the booking clerk told me. Would I not go second-class? But second-class on a Japanese express is too crowded to be pleasant. I refused stubbornly, and before the express started again I found myself and my traps in one end of a long first-class car. The open door connecting it with the other part revealed the attraction that had drawn so many. A sturdily-built, active, elderly man was smiling and bowing at the window of the carriage as the train steamed out. The crowd raised repeated Banzais and cheers, and he smiled again. The man was Ito—the maker of modern Japan.

As we arrived at each station on that long journey, he would get out, and walk up and down the platform, receiving the local celebrities who had come to meet him. In the car itself one could not but observe his ceaseless energy. Now he would be talking over affairs with his colleagues and assistants. Now he would be submitting himself graciously to local interviewers. Now while puffing hard at his cigar, his knit forehead would tell that he was revolving in his own mind some of the problems awaiting him in Korea, where he was going.

On one stage of that long journey I had a long talk with him. I looked with interest, as we sat together in his private car, at the figure before me. The broad, capacious forehead, the large ears, the teeth blackened with much smoking, the moustache and goatee beard trimmed with silver, and the well-brushed hair were all the framework for a pair of luminous, kindly, piercing eyes, that seemed to read one through and through. The thickset body proclaimed that physical vigour of the man which is to-day almost a proverb in Japan. "Ito at sixty could do more than three young men at twenty," your Japanese neighbour will tell you. And when he began to talk, one appreciated the fact that here was a son of Nippon who had apparently thrown off Oriental habits of thought. There is a frankness, and openness, and an air of confidence about his conversation that cannot fail to entrance one.

As he puffed steadily away at his strong cigar, he talked about many things. He apologised for his English, but there was little need, for his speech made clear every idea that he wanted to drive home. He talked of the coming commercial advance of Japan, of the difficulties created in Korea by the Korean Government, and by some of his own people, and of the relations between Japan and the white nations. As he spoke one learnt to appreciate why it is that the younger men of Japan to-day, eager for imperial greatness, look on him as somewhat of a brake on the wheel of their ambitions. For Ito spoke not alone of victories and expansion, but of a future faced by dangers manifold.

The Marquis Ito is the maker of modern Japan, and the greatest man in the Far East. His intellectual dominance can only be compared with the position of Gladstone in the last few years of his life. Ito is abundantly criticised by his own countrymen, as Gladstone was. Many of his old followers regard themselves as now beyond him, as some of

Gladstone's followers did with the English leader. And yet the man himself stands forth, the one great figure, the preacher of caution in progress, and yet of war against reaction—the man who is bold enough to tell his ambitious nationals that the policy of expansion has duties as well as desires. "Ito will die with a knife between his shoulder-blades, a knife driven home by his own countrymen," is a forecast one has heard more than once. No higher tribute could be paid to his courage in resisting popular tumult. The one fundamental difference between the two men is that Gladstone was essentially and profoundly religious. To Ito, religion is largely a matter of political expediency. He is reputed to have recommended some years ago that Japan should become Christian, because Christianity would give her a better standing with Western nations.

The life of this man has been a world romance. In himself he has bridged the gulf between the mediæval and utmost modernity. Forty-three years ago, when with his companion, Kaoru Inouye, he left Japan for London, he knew that he was daring death by torture for attempting to learn modern ways. Japan was then feudal, reactionary, and exclusive, a country where clan was divided against clan, where samurai and blustering shoshi, in their fantastic dress, ruled with high hand. From this Japan, fairy-like, courtly and stern, the land of beautiful scenery and of amazing artistic ideas, Ito and Inouye transferred themselves to the gloomy, tragic and poverty-stricken East End of London.

After a year in London the two young men returned to Japan. They did not know what reception would await them. Inouye, as a matter of fact, was waylaid by a party of his fellow clansmen, and nearly killed, for having mixed with the "red-haired barbarians." Ito landed at Shimonoseki to find Japan on the verge of war with the white nations. A fleet of foreign warships, English, American, and French, was outside the narrow Straits, making ready to attack the Japanese forts there. In the great fight between the reactionaries and the progressives in Japan, the men of Choisi, controlling the land defences at Shimonoseki, had been notoriously anti-foreign. Time after time they had fired from their cannon at foreign merchant vessels passing the Straits. Time after time the foreign ministers had protested to the Government, but the Government was powerless to do anything. Now the foreigners were about to take things into their own hands. "We

believed that the barbarians could do nothing," one of the Japanese present at that time afterwards told me. "Our warriors had been told that the barbarians, while very powerful on the water, were useless on the land, for they had no proper legs, and could not walk. So we resolved to pretend to be defeated at the forts, and if the foreign guns were strong, to retire inland, let the foreigners come ashore and follow us, and then fall on them and slay them."

Ito remonstrated and reasoned with the clansmen, but in vain. He told them of what he had seen and known of outer lands, but they laughed at him, and mounted the parapets of their feeble forts. Then the allies began their bombardment, and soon the retreat of the Japanese was made in earnest, for their antiquated weapons were useless before the guns of the fleet. When the allied troops landed, the clansmen realised that tradition had deceived them, for the foreigners could run and follow and fight on land as well as themselves. The bombardment of Shimonoseki was the blow from Thor's hammer that decided the opening of Japan.

It was a fitting thing that thirty years afterwards Ito should come back to Shimonoseki, this time for a very different purpose. There had been thirty years of progress. Shimonoseki, now surrounded by modern forts, bade defiance to the world. The cliffs on the opposite side of the water were black with smoke from the hundreds of factory chimneys engaged in modern industries. The waters of the bay were full of shipping. Japanese transport officers were still making ready their supplies for the triumphant Japanese armies in China. Japan had at last revealed herself strong and strenuous, a mighty military and naval power, able to bring even China to its feet. At Shimonoseki the greatest man in China, Li Hung Chang, was waiting to sue for peace, and to pay for it with a gift of many millions and much land, and great prestige.

I wonder if, when Ito drove over the hills then, he recalled the former days. He, the son of a minor clansman, was now the Premier of Japan. The great feudal system had disappeared; the high nobles who had ruled like kings when Ito first entered manhood, were now many of them poor and powerless. The two-handed swordsmen, the endless retainers in the halls of the chiefs of the clans, were now enlisted into a national army. Ito himself, as diplomat, as student in foreign lands, as the maker of the new Japanese

Constitution, as the first Japanese Premier, stood as the embodiment of the new era. He could cast his eye back to thirty years of work, work that had placed Nippon from semi-barbaric rank to a high place among the world powers.

The Peace of Shimonoseki would have made a grand culmination for Ito's career. But since then he has gone on to fresh heights. Retiring from partisan politics, he became the adviser of the nation, the man above party strife. As the premier Elder Statesman he had supreme rank, supreme influence, and a life of comparative ease that might have satisfied any man. It was he who made the Anglo-Japanese Alliance during his visit to England in 1902.

Within the last three years the Marquis Ito has given the supreme proof of his unselfish patriotism. It is an open secret that he was not among those who counselled haste in the Japanese campaign of revenge against Russia. But when war came, he, an old man of over sixty, abandoned ease and home-life and undertook the most difficult diplomatic task before Japan. He persuaded the Emperor of Korea to allow his country to be dominated by Japan. When after some months the Japanese administrators there did not seem to be getting on very well, Ito himself became Japanese Resident-General in Seoul. It is as though Lord Salisbury or Mr. Gladstone in the final days of their careers, had gone to South Africa as High Commissioner to help the British cause there, or as though President Roosevelt at the end of his term of office were to go as governor to the Philippines. In November, 1905, the Marquis Ito secured from the Emperor of Korea a new treaty, establishing Japanese supremacy in the Hermit Kingdom. This is not the place to discuss how that treaty was secured. Shortly afterwards Ito himself settled in the fine house of the Japanese Minister on the hill-top overlooking the Korean capital. From then till now he has ruled there, the power over the Korean throne.

For eighteen months he has submitted himself to the caprice of the Korean court. He has tried to absorb a weaker nation and its territories in the least bellicose fashion, and if he were backed up by many assistants like-minded with himself, things would have gone easier than they have done in Korea during the past three years. He has fought against the exacting demands of his own countrymen. In his own words to me: "I am

standing half-way between my countrymen and the people of Korea, trying to bring them both together."

That he has not wholly succeeded in Korea has not been his fault. The man who can conquer mediæval Japan now finds himself face to face with a greater spirit than fiercest mediævalism ever was. The new Japanese imperialism, clamorous, exacting and determined, confronts him. In the day of Ito's prime his countrymen strove that Japan

might be able to hold her own among the nations. The young men of to-day look rather to the time, which they believe is now almost with them, when Japan shall be the dominator of many others. For an old man to keep such youth in hand is a task of overwhelming difficulty.*

F. A. MCKENZIE.

* Since this article was written, the empire of Korea ceased to exist as an international entity on July 19. On that date the Marquis Ito became Emperor of Korea in fact.—Ed., *M. R.*

DEMOCRACY AND THE MULTIPLICITY OF RELIGIOUS SECTS IN INDIA

IT is very often said that democracy is not suited to India because it is inhabited by people of different creeds and religious sects. This argument is made use of by the people of Christian countries from the experience they have had of their own countries. In those countries, secularisation of politics is a thing not many centuries old. Because in Europe members of different denominations used to persecute one another, hence they argue that such must be the case in other countries also whose inhabitants are not composed of one religious sect. But the natives of India have been always comparatively tolerant. India should not be judged by the standard of the Christian countries and Christian nations of the West. The great German thinker and philosopher Schopenhauer has very truly observed :—

"In comparison with the Christian centuries that followed, the ancient world was undoubtedly less cruel than the Middle Age, with its deaths by frightful torture, its countless burnings at the stake; further, the ancients were very patient, thought very highly of justice, and frequently sacrificed themselves for their country, showed traits of magnanimity of every kind, and such genuine humanity, that, up to the present time, an acquaintance with their doings and thoughts is called the study of Humanity. Religious wars, massacres, inquisitions as well as other persecutions, the extermination of the original inhabitants of America and the introduction of African slaves in their place, were the fruits of Christianity, and among the ancients one cannot find anything analogous to this, anything to counterpoise it. * * *

"Think of the fanaticism, of the endless persecutions, the religious wars, that sanguinary frenzy of which the ancients had no idea; then, think of the Crusades, a massacre lasting two hundred years, and perfectly unwarrantable, with its war-cry, *It is God's*

will, so that it might get into its possession the grave of one who had preached love and endurance; think of the cruel expulsion and extermination of the Moors and Jews from Spain; think of the massacres, of the inquisitions and other heretical tribunals, the bloody and terrible conquests of the Mohammedans in three different parts of the world, and the conquests of the Christians in America, whose inhabitants were for the most part, and in Cuba entirely, exterminated; according to Las Casas, within forty years twelve million persons were murdered—of course, all *in majorem Dei gloriam*, and for the spreading of the Gospel, and because, moreover, what was not Christian was not looked upon as human. * * *

"As a matter of fact, intolerance is only essential to monotheism; an only god is by his nature a jealous god, who cannot permit any other god to exist. On the other hand, polytheistic gods are by their nature tolerant: they live and let live; they willingly tolerate their colleagues as being gods of the same religion, and this tolerance is afterwards extended to alien gods, who are, accordingly, hospitably received, and later on sometimes attain even the same rights and privileges; as in the case of the Romans, who willingly accepted and venerated Phrygian, Egyptian, and other foreign gods. Hence it is the monotheistic religions alone that furnish us with religious wars, persecutions, and heretical tribunals, and also with the breaking of images, the destruction of the idols of the gods; the overthrowing of Indian temples and Egyptian colossi, which had looked on the sun three thousand years; and all this because a jealous God had said: "*Thou shalt make no graven image.*"

Schopenhauer has placed Muhammadanism also on the same level with Christianity as having caused murder and bloodshed in the world. That may have been so in other parts of the world, but certainly not so in India under *Musalmán* rule. When the Muhammadians settled in India as rulers, they generally showed every scrupulous regard for the religious susceptibilities of their Hindu subjects.

Much of the proselytising zeal and fanaticism of the followers of the Crescent had disappeared when they came to India. This was mainly due to Islam being tempered with Sufism, which is allied to Vedantism. Sufism is another aspect of Vedantism. Most of the Persian poets were Sufis, and Muhammadans having settled in India were indirectly influenced by the teachings of the Vedanta, for no one living in India can avoid its subtle influence. Says Max Muller:—

"This Vedanta spirit pervades the whole of India. It is not restricted to the higher classes * *. It lives in the very language of the people, and is preached in the streets and in the forests by mendicant saints."

The Christian English have not come under its influence because they have not settled in India and do not mix with the natives of this country. Just as "conquered Greece conquered her conquerors," so the conquered Hindus had conquered their Muhammadan conquerors by infusing into their minds the spirit of the Vedanta. What is the spirit, what is the teaching of the Vedanta? It is expressed in that formula in Sanskrit *tat tvam asi*, i. e., "Thou art He." Professor Deussen says:—

"The Gospels fix quite correctly as the highest law of morality: 'love your neighbour as yourselves.' But why would I do so, since by the order of nature I feel pain and pleasure only in myself, not in my neighbour? The answer is not in the Bible (this venerable book being not yet quite free of Semitic realism), but it is in the Veda, is in the great formula '*tat tvam asi*,' which gives in three words metaphysics and morals together. You shall love your neighbour as yourselves,—because you are your neighbour, and mere illusion makes you believe, that your neighbour is something different from yourselves. * * * "And so the Vedanta, in its unfalsified form is the strongest support of pure morality, is the greatest consolation in the sufferings of life and death,—Indians, keep to it!"

Yes, Indians—whether Hindus or Muhammadans—have always kept to it. And because the Muhammadans came under its influence, they lost their fanaticism and became tolerant. What spirit of catholicity breathes in the poems of the Mahomedan poets!*

It must be admitted that Aurangzib was a bigot. But then he was an abnormal specimen of a man. He ill-treated his father by making him a captive, murdered his brothers,

and sapped the foundation of the Moghul Empire by his unprovoked wars in the Deccan. From a man of his nature, it was too much to expect toleration or good government. However his bigotry and want of toleration may be accounted for, if we remember the fact that he spent the most impressionable years of his life in Southern India and thus came more or less under the spell of the Portuguese who were notorious for their Inquisition and persecution of the non-Christians. Aurangzib imbibed their spirit. Many a Hindu temple did he demolish and many a Hindu did he cruelly persecute. Regarding his zeal for breaking Hindu temples, one of his Hindu courtiers once said to him:—

بہیں کرامت بتھنئے موالے شیخ * اگر خراب شود خانہ خدا گردد

"Behold, my lord, the miracle of my house of idol; when it becomes useless, it becomes the house of God."

This observation of one of his Hindu courtiers made such a deep impression on him, that he gave up the practice of breaking temples and idols.

It is not true then that the Muhammadans made a business of cutting the throats of the Hindus. India is about equal to Europe minus Russia. Period for period, there has never been greater bloodshed in India than in Europe. Until they came under the influence of Europeans, Moslem and Hindu were living in comparative peace and harmony and as brothers, because they were all children of the Indian soil. Many a Hindu prince built mosque for the Muhammadans, and this feeling was reciprocated by the latter also. In these provinces which contained the capitals of the Muhammadan sovereigns of India, and where anti-Muhammadan feeling should have been very predominant had the Hindus been generally persecuted by Muhammadans, we find Hindu princes catering to the religious needs of their Muhammadan subjects. Thus in Bareilly which was founded by Raja Makaranda Rai, a *Jama Masjid* was erected by that prince for the use of the Muhammadans.

In our article on "Swaraj or Self-rule in Oriental Countries," we have shown how Hindus are well treated by their Muhammadan

* There is a pretty story in the *Mantiq-ul-Taiq* of Farid-ud-din Attar which shews the religious tolerance of the Persian poet. It runs thus:—One night the words "I hear" came from the Presence of God. Gabriel said, "There must be some servant of God, calling on Him, a man of pure heart and subdued passion. I must know who he is." The Angel sought in vain through the seven heavens, on sea and on land, in the hills and in the plains. At last by the command of God Gabriel went to Rum. There he found the man he sought praying before an idol. "O Thou Source of all good," cried the angel, "unveil to me this mystery. This man is invoking an idol, and Thou in Thy grace answerest him." Then God said,

"If from ignorance he has missed the way, shall I who know the way not teach him? My grace shall plead for his pardon and bring him to the truth."

This is no isolated utterance as all who have a y acquaintance with Persian literature will testify. Over and over again we are told that all who earnestly seek God, whatever be their religion, will find Him. Nor is Mahomedan tolerance a mere matter of theory. It has always been displayed in practice by the best Mahomedan rulers. The Omeiyads might almost be said to have carried tolerance to an excess, for they discouraged the conversion of the Christian subjects. —*The Indian People*.

neighbours in Afghanistan. We know the Afghans are an illiterate class of people and, therefore, given to blood feuds and quarrels. If they were religious fanatics, then there would be nothing to prevent them from polishing off the Hindu inhabitants of Afghanistan in no time. But they do not molest or ill-treat the Hindus.

The fact is that Europeans judge others by their own standard. They imagine that the votaries of one creed would behave towards those of another creed, as they themselves are in the habit of treating non-Christians or even Christians who do not belong to the same sect as they do. Because they themselves lack toleration, they imagine that others must likewise do the same.

But a homogeneous population in a country is not necessarily an advantage from the point of view of the political progress of that nation. In his "Dialogue on the best form of government," the Right Honorable Sir George Cornwall Lewis, Baronet, M. P., puts the following in the mouth of *Aristocraticus*:—

"It is mainly by the existence of parties powerful enough to secure attention to the interests and arguments of a minority that political improvement is accomplished. Entire unanimity on political questions is in general an evil; political discord, up to a certain point, is an advantage to a State. All received opinions on political subjects cannot be right; all existing laws cannot be wise and expedient. * *

"Even unity in matters of religion is, for civil purposes, disadvantageous. The existence of various sects is a guarantee for religious liberty, and a protection against religious tyranny and persecution. Nothing, in a political and intellectual point of view, would at present be more beneficial to Italy and Spain than the formation of religious sects, strong enough to resist the dominant Church. If Charles V, Philip II, and Louis XIV, had understood the true interest and duty of a civil ruler, they would, instead of extinguishing religious dissent by force, rather have thrown, like Cadmus, a stone into the midst of the conflicting parties." (p. 42.)

Nature abhors monotony and discord, but loves diversity and harmony. India has been the home of different religions and creeds, but because there was always comparative harmony amongst them, so there was always religious liberty and not much religious persecution. It is because of the existence of this toleration and religious liberty, that it has been possible for India to have given to the world Comparative Philology and Comparative Mythology. Says Sir Henry Sumner Maine:—

"It may yet give us a new science not less valuable than the sciences of language and folk-lore. I hesitate to call it Comparative Jurisprudence, because, if it ever exists, its area will be so much wider than the field of law. For India not only contains (or to

speak more accurately, did contain) an Aryan language older than any other descendant of the common mother-tongue, and a variety of names of natural objects less perfectly crystallised than elsewhere into fabulous personages, but it includes a whole world of Aryan institutions, Aryan customs, Aryan laws, Aryan ideas, Aryan beliefs, in a far earlier stage of growth and development than any which survive beyond its borders."

It would have been quite impossible for India to have given all these sciences to the world had there been one common religion in this country as it is in many other lands.

No, varieties of religion do not stand in the way of *swaraj* or self-rule, if some one does not try to create mischief by pitting the followers of one religious sect against those of another.

Let us now take a specific episode of religious persecution in the history of India. The Sikhs were badly treated and persecuted by the fanatic Maghul Emperor Aurangzib and his effeminate descendants. This accounts for the retaliatory spirit of the Sikhs. The sect founded by the mild and meek Baba Nanak was forced by circumstances to become a church militant under Guru Govind. Sir John Malcolm in his sketch of the Sikhs, says:—

"Though the Sikhs had already, under Har Govind, been initiated in arms, yet they appear to have used these only in self-defence: and as every tribe of Hindus, from the Brahman to the lowest of the Sudra, may, in cases of necessity, use them without any infringement of the original institutions of their tribe, no violation of these institutions was caused by the rules of Nanak; which, framed with a view to conciliation, carefully abstained from all interference with the civil institutes of the Hindus. But his more daring successor, Guru Govind, saw that such observances were at variance with the plans of his lofty ambition; and he wisely judged, that the only means by which he could ever hope to oppose the Muhammadan Government with success, were not only to admit converts from all tribes, but to break, at once, those rules by which the Hindus had been so long chained; to arm, in short, the whole population of the country and to make worldly wealth and rank an object to which Hindus of every class, might aspire. * * *

"In the character of this reformer of the Sikhs, it is impossible not to recognise many of those features which have distinguished the most celebrated founders of political communities. The object he attempted was great and laudable. It was the emancipation of his tribe from oppression and persecution; and the means which he adopted, were such as a comprehensive mind could alone have suggested. The Muhammadan conquerors of India, as they added to their territories, added to their strength, by making proselytes through the double means of persuasion and force; and these, the moment they had adopted their faith, became the supporters of their power against the efforts of the Hindus; who bound in the chains of their civil and

religious institutions could neither add to their number by admitting converts, nor allow more than a small proportion of the population of the country to arm against the enemy. Govind said that he could only hope for success by a bold departure from usages which were calculated to keep those, by whom they were observed, in a degraded subjection to an insulting and intolerant race. 'You make Hindus Muhammedans, and are justified by your laws,' he is said to have written to Aurangzeb: 'now I, on a principle of self-preservation, which is superior to all laws, will make Muhammedans Hindus. You may rest,' he added, 'in fancied security: but beware! for I will teach the sparrow to strike the eagle to the ground.' A fine allusion to his design of inspiring the lowest races among the Hindus with that valor and ambition which would lead them to perform the greatest actions."

It is true that Guru Govind gave the following injunctions to his followers: "It is right to slay a Muhammedan wherever you meet him. Employ your constant efforts to destroy the countries ruled by Muhammedans; if they oppose you, defeat and slay them." But had the Sikhs acted on his injunctions, it is not too much to say, that not a single Muhammedan would have been this day left in the Punjab. Maharajah Ranjeet Singh was never intolerant to the Muhammedans. He appointed Muhammedans to positions of trust and responsibility. The most noted of his ministers was a Muhammedan.

It is often alleged by those who ought to know better, that the Sikhs destroyed the mosques of the Muhammedans. Had this been so, not a single mosque would have been seen in the Punjab to-day. On the other hand, the following instances of Sikh religious tolerance are mentioned by Mr. R. W. Trafford in the Punjab Notes and Queries, Vol. I, p. 61:—

"The principal queen of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, lived at Shekhpura (Gujranwala District), where she built a *Masjid* for her Muhammedan subjects. In a similar spirit of liberality a *Masjid* was erected at Botala Sivala by a Sikh Sardar."

Aurangzeb was no doubt a fanatic Muhammedan king. But even he was so tolerant to the Hindus, that he entrusted them with high and responsible posts for the management of his vast Empire.

That the Hindu revival of the latter seventeenth and the early eighteenth centuries under Sivaji and his descendants was not due so much to religious as political causes will be evident from the fact that the faithful servants of the Moghul empire when that empire was in *extremis* were Hindas and not Muhammadans. For it was the English governors and viceroys who were loyal and exerted their utmost for the safety and greatness of the Moghul Empire. The rise of the Marathas was not a little due to the help accorded to them by the treacherous Moghul Viceroy of the Deccan, the first Nizam-ul-Mulk. When with the assistance and connivance of the Nizam, the Marathas were ravaging the territories then under the sway of the Moghul Emperor of Delhi, it is recorded in the *Siyar-ul-Mutakherin*, that the English Viceroy of Malwa, named—

"Raja Giri-dhar, who commanded in that country with a small body of troops, would not suffer his country to be ravaged; and being an officer of character, he engaged Baji Rao several times, after having in vain requested assistance from the capital. His repeated representations to the throne and to the ministers availed nothing, and that brave man, having wasted his small force in endless skirmishes, at last fell himself in one of them."

The Hindu governor of Gujrat was also loyal to the Moghul Emperor. But compare and contrast their conduct with that of the Nizam-ul-Mulk and other Muhammedan viceroys and governors of that period.

Had there been persecution of the Hindus by their Muhammedan rulers, does it not stand to reason that in the hour of need of the latter, they would have one and all conspired against them and tried to throw off their yoke?

English historians have described Tippoos as almost an incarnation of Satan and very intolerant to non-Muhammedans. If such were the fact, how was it that he suffered a Hindu to be his Prime Minister? Purneah, the Talleyrand of Mysore, was his Chief Minister, and the country flourished under him.

THE EAST AND THE WEST

THE edifice of the world is only sustained by the impulses of hunger and love."

This dictum of the great German poet and philosopher Schiller, comprises the difference between the genius of Eastern and

that of Western civilization. The civilization of the West has been the product of the impulse of hunger, and it is this impulse which sustains it. It is, therefore, that the West has enunciated the philosophy of the struggle

for Existence. On the other hand the East has preached the Gospel of Love. All the great religious teachers of the world were born in the East, because they realized that "Love rules Heaven, and Love rules the Earth." The highest philosophy of the East, enunciated by the great Buddha, has been, therefore, *Ahimsa paramo dharmah*. The word *Ahimsa* has no equivalent in any of the languages of the Christian West. The doctrine of "the struggle for existence," and that of "*Ahimsa paramo dharmah*" are diametrically opposed to each other, and consequently, the civilization of the East and that of the West, are different from each other. The civilization of the West is materialistic in its origin, materialistic in its progress and development, and its highest aim is to make everything comfortable for the animal part of man. Whereas, the Eastern, and more especially the Indian, civilization aims at the spiritual progress of man.

The West, especially England, is not favorable for spiritual culture. The climate is so inclement, the weather is so cold, that the natives of England are obliged to provide themselves with many necessities of life not required by the people of the East. Then they have so many luxuries added to their ordinary necessities of life. They are multiplying wants. Consequently they have to struggle hard to keep body and soul together. Hence, the struggle for existence is getting so keen amongst them.

The East is blessed with a climate which makes it unnecessary to provide oneself with so many necessities of life as are required absolutely in the West. Then, again, the people of the East, speaking generally, have not many luxuries. They are not trying to multiply their wants. Under normal conditions they need not, and as a matter of fact, they do not devote all their energies as natives of the West have to do, to keep body and soul together. The struggle for existence is, therefore, under normal conditions not so keen amongst them as amongst Western nations. Their simplicity of life is favorable to their spiritual culture. The Western nations have no time, no leisure to cultivate their spiritual faculties. It is easier for an oriental to be virtuous than for a native of the West, because the Oriental has not to struggle hard for his living, whereas the occidental has to struggle hard, and, therefore, with him, "Necessity knows no laws." It is the glory of the East to have produced Buddha. He renounced his throne, his kingdom, and

everything that could be nearest and dearest to man, and turned an ascetic, to cultivate his spiritual faculties. The people of the West, speaking generally, cannot comprehend Buddha's proceedings, and cannot appreciate his character. Buddha said, "Contentment is the secret of happiness." The West says, "Discontentment is the great stimulus to progress" and characterizes discontent as "divine." The West has also failed to duly appreciate and realize the simple teachings of Christ. Materialism is the order of the day in the West. "Take no thought for the morrow" is laughed to scorn by the Christian natives of Europe.

Christ and his followers, who were Orientals, led ascetic lives and preached asceticism. But in the West, asceticism is looked down upon with contempt. "Asceticism," says a well-known Christian author, "belongs naturally to a society which is somewhat rude, and in which isolation is frequent and easy." ** When industrial enterprise becomes very ardent and the prevailing impulse is strongly towards material wealth and luxurious enjoyments, virtue is regarded chiefly or solely in the light of the interests of society. ** Good is not loved for itself, but as the means to an end." Here in a nutshell is contained the cause why the West lacks in spiritual culture.

The people of the East, especially of India, live chiefly by agriculture. The land is the source of their livelihood and maintenance. The people of the West, especially of England, live principally by industries, trade and commerce. So Indian civilization is of agricultural origin, European, including English, civilization is of industrial and commercial origin. Commercial civilization has to depend for its very existence on other nations. Agricultural civilization, is, on the contrary, almost independent of other nations. A civilization, which depends on commerce, may be aptly termed parasitic civilization. A European scientific writer has defined the "parasite" as follows:—

"The parasite is he whose profession it is to live at the expense of his neighbour, and whose only employment consists in taking advantage of him, but prudently, so as not to endanger his life. He is a pauper who needs help, lest he should die on the public highway. * * * * The parasite profits by all the advantages enjoyed by the host on whom he thrusts his presence."

So it is with industrial civilization. It lives by drawing its sustenance from other people. But if the host dies, the parasite also dies with it. Or, the parasite may be

dislodged. So it may happen with commercial civilization. Supposing, other peoples were quite able to produce and manufacture their articles of necessity and luxury, there would be nowhere then, any foreign market for the sale of goods now manufactured in the West. If such become the case, Western civilization, instead of progressing, would retrograde.

Indian civilization, on the other hand, being an agricultural one, has lived and will continue to live. It has stood the test of ages, and of revolutions. If not advancing, it has not much retreated, but remained stationary. Because Hindu civilization is not a parasitic one, it derives its nourishment and maintenance from within the resources of the country, and is quite independent of other nations and peoples. Agricultural civilization is a natural one, commercial civilization is an artificial one. Tho Hindu civilization of natural growth is destined to survive the artificial civilization of the West.

England owes to Iron and Coal her industrial superiority. It has been estimated that, at the present rate of working, the iron and coal supplies will be exhausted in the course of the next five hundred years. If this happened, then the superiority of England would be gone. Of course, electricity might be pressed into her service. Industries might be carried on by electric machines. But then electricity will not be possessed exclusively by one nation.

It is not pleasant to contemplate the future of England deprived of her industrial superiority. The country now rolling in gold may then dwindle into insignificance and poverty. To realize the position of the suppositional poverty-stricken England, we have to turn to the poor population of that country. It has been said that it is a crime to be born poor in France, but it is a sin in England. Sinners are punished by being condemned to hell. Accordingly by poor people England is felt to

be no better than hell. Poverty is more keenly felt in England than anywhere else. Because as said before, the natives of England require so many necessities of life. Then they do not appreciate simplicity, and do not like plain living. Hence, they are addicted to so many luxuries. As a well-to-do man is crushed and loses heart altogether when overtaken by a sudden reverse of fortune, which is not the case with his comparatively poor neighbour, so would in all probability be the fate of England without her industries, and without her commerce.

India possesses wonderful vitality and the secret of that vitality may be summed up in "Plain living and high thinking." Poverty is not so keenly felt in India as in England, and the country being an agricultural one, its inhabitants would under normal conditions never feel the pangs of hunger. Of course, in agricultural countries, the greatest danger to life arises from famines. But famines do not represent a normal state of things and were generally effectually guarded against in the past by the inhabitants always keeping their granaries well-stocked to meet the situation.

From all that has been said above, it will be evident, that Western civilization is an artificial one, because it is commercial and hence parasitic. It cannot last long and it cannot endure for ever. Indian civilization is agricultural, and hence natural. It will last, and survive the civilization of the West. In ancient times Phœnicia and Carthage were the representatives of parasitic civilizations. Their names alone survive. In the middle ages Venice was the best type of such a civilization. Her glory, too, is departed. In the past, the East civilized the West, and it is to be hoped that in the future, the East again, will play the same part in the history of mankind, thus proving the truth of the motto—*Ex Oriente Lux*.

D. S. W.

THE COTTON MANUFACTURE OF DACCA

THE cotton manufacture of Dacca was formerly a branch of industry of considerable value. It afforded employment to a large body of the inhabitants of the district and was a source of much profit to many merchants both native and foreign.

The muslin of Dacca was and is still a world-known article of luxury. It reached its greatest excellence under the benign and fostering patronage of the Musalman Kings and Emperors and its decline may be dated from 1793. The Commercial Resident of the Dacca

English Factory stated in 1799, that then the industry had been reduced to one-fifth of what it was in 1792; and since 1817 Dacca muslin has been virtually excluded from the markets of Europe. But though thus superseded in a commercial point of view, the Dacca cotton manufacture, regarded as an art which produces some exquisite specimens of textile fabrics is still considered unrivalled. Dr. Ure says—

“Yarn continues to be spun and muslins to be manufactured at Dacca, to which European ingenuity can afford no parallel, * * * it is beyond his conception how this yarn, greatly finer than the highest number made in England, can be spun by the distaff, or woven afterwards by any machinery!”—*Ure's Cotton Manufacture of Great Britain*, vol. i., p. 54.

To furnish some information respecting this manufacture, as regards both its past and present condition, is the object of this article.

India was the ancient seat of the cotton manufacture in the East, and from this country it was introduced into Persia and Egypt and thence into Europe. The Egyptian mummy-cloth which both in quality and beauty frequently surpassed similar fabrics produced by complicated machinery in other countries, was but an imitation of Dacca fabrics. Throughout India the arts of spinning and weaving cotton yarn and fabrics have been practised from a very remote antiquity; but in no part of this extensive country have they been carried to such perfection as in Bengal. El. Baines says:—

“Some of them might be thought the work of fairies, or of insects, rather than of men.—*History of the Cotton Manufacture of Great Britain*, p. 56.

In Bengal again the locality most celebrated for this manufacture was the district of Dacca. The business of weaving was carried on, to a greater or less extent, in almost every village of the district, but the principal manufacturing towns (*aurungs*) where muslins were made, were Dacca, Sonargong, Dumroy, Teetbadee, Junglebaree, Bazitpur, Vikrampur, Sabaar and Kapasia.

DACCA.—It has long been the principal seat of the cotton manufacture of Bengal, and is mentioned by Manrique, Tavernier, and other travellers of the 17th century, as a town of great trade* and “a mart that was frequented by people of every nation.”† In the year 1851 there were 750 houses of weavers.

SONARGONG.—The population consists mainly of Mahomedans. This place has been mentioned by Abul Fazl and by Ralph Fitch,

about the end of the 16th century, as a place where the finest cotton cloths were made. It is celebrated for muslins of a thin texture, also for flowered fabrics, which are chiefly manufactured by Mahomedan weavers. The East India Company had a warehouse for cloths at this place. The number of weavers' houses was estimated at 300.

DUMROY.—One of the most ancient manufacturing stations in the district. The inhabitants are principally Hindus, and were estimated at 6,000 in number. This town furnished the greater part of the fine thread used in the Dacca looms, and was more famed for this article than for its cloths. The number of weavers' houses was estimated at 400.

TEETBADEE.—It is celebrated for the fine quality of the cotton grown in its vicinity, and for the manufacture of thin muslins. The number of weavers' houses was estimated at 200.

JUNGLEBAREE.—It now belongs to the district of Mymensingh. It was at one time a populous manufacturing station. But at the time of Siraj-ud-dowla, 700 families deserted it in consequence of the oppression of the officers of that Nawab and settled in other parts of the country.‡

BAZITPUR.—It now forms a part of the district of Mymensingh. The cotton raised in the vicinity of these places was of a superior quality, and was celebrated for the muslins.

KAPASIA.—It derives its name from *kapas*, i.e., cotton.

Besides these stations, there were several other places in this and the neighbouring districts, where the manufacture of cotton goods constituted the principal branch of industry. Muslins of several kinds were made in Moorapara, Baliapara and other villages on the banks of the Lukia, and mixed cotton and silk goods at Abdoollapur, in Vikrampur. Coarse fabrics were manufactured at Kalokopa in Dacca, Narainpur, Chandpur and Serampur in Tipperah. The three latter places were manufacturing stations or *aurangs*, subordinate to Dacca factory, and supplied large quantities of calicoes and inferior goods formerly exported to England by the East India Company.

The cotton, of which the fine Dacca muslins were made, was produced in the district. This *Deshi* cotton, which had been cultivated from time immemorial, was generally known by the name of *photee*. Another variety of cotton was called *bairatti*. At Dacca this latter variety of cotton having shorter and coarser fibres was considered inferior to the *photee*.

* Tavernier's Travels.

† Murray's Discoveries in Asia, Vol. II., chap. 99.

‡ Bolts's Considerations on Indian Affairs, p. 194.

Cotton was raised in different parts of the district, but the *photee* or the finest kind, was grown only in certain localities along the banks of the Brahmaputra or its branches and the Meghna. Speaking of the latter of these sites of cultivation, the Commercial Resident of Dacca in the year 1800, remarked :—

“A tract of land extending from Feringybazur, twelve miles south-east of Dacca, along the banks of the sea, occupying a space of about forty miles in length and in some places as far as three in breadth, and situated in the pargannahs of Kidderpore, Bickrampur, Rajenagar, Cartickpore, Serampore and Edilpore is allowed to produce the finest cotton (*kapas*) grown in the Dacca province, and, I believe, I might add, in any part of the world, since no cotton that has yet been compared with it, whether the produce of India or of the islands of Mauritius or Bourbon, whose cotton is celebrated for its superior quality, has been found equal to it.”

He attributed the superiority of the cotton raised here to the vicinity of this part of the province to the sea. The other sites of cultivation noticed by him were :—

“The banks of the Luckia from the Dulaseree river to a little above Roopgunge, about sixteen miles in length, and a few miles on the banks of the Brahmaputra, north of the Dulaseree,” which together with the country abovementioned, “furnish the greater part of the *kapas* used in the Dacca province. Of the rest, some is grown in Buldecal, Bowal and Alephsing, and some imported from Boosna in the adjacent district of Rajeshye.”*

Two crops were raised in the district, one in April and May and another in September and October. The former yielded the finest produce. The land intended for this cultivation was generally laid down with rice before the rains, and the crop being reaped in October, the stubble was burned and the ground was prepared for the cotton. The seeds were kept with their wool on them during the rains; and in order to preserve them from damp, these were put into an earthen jar, smeared inside with *ghee* or oil—the vessel with its mouth closed up, being generally hung from the roof over the spot where fire was kindled. They were sown in November, in parallel rows about a foot and a half apart, and at a distance of about four inches from each other in the rows—each seed being moistened with water before it was dropped into the ground. In Vikrampur they were not unfrequently first sown in prepared soil, contained in large earthen pots, and were, after they had germinated, transplanted in rows in the open field. In April and May, the wool was picked from the pods, and afterwards the dry stems of the plants were rooted up.

* Letter from the Commercial Resident of Dacca, to the Board of Trade, Calcutta, dated November 30, 1800.

Cotton was sometimes cultivated on the same land for three years in succession, the ground being allowed to lie fallow during the fourth year, but the more common practice was to raise sesame (*til*) and rice alternately with it. The best growers of the cotton was the Barui caste. That part of the cotton fibre which adheres most to the seed yielded the finest thread. The average price of undressed cotton was three rupees per maund. The cultivation has declined with the manufactures of the district, and it behoves the inhabitants of the district to revive the cultivation and the industry once again.

Besides the indigenous cotton of the district two other kinds called *Seronge* and *Bhoga* were used. The former was imported from Mirzapur (U. P.) in its dressed state. The *Bhoga* cotton grew on the Garrow, Tipperah and Chittagong hills. Formerly a considerable quantity of cotton was imported into Dacca from Aracan, but since the Burmese War in 1824, the traffic in it has entirely ceased; and the introduction of English yarn has excluded the others.

Undressed cotton was and is still cleaned and prepared by the women who spin the yarn. The wool adhering to the seeds was carded with the jaw-bone of the *boalee* fish, the teeth of which, being small, recurved and closely set, acted as a fine comb. Then placing a small quantity of the combed cotton upon a small flat board, made of the wood of the *chalta* tree, and then rolling an iron pin backwards and forwards upon it with the hands, they separated the fibres without crushing the seeds. The cotton was next teased with a small hand bow. The cotton having been reduced by the operation of the bowing to a state of light downy fleece, was spread out and lapped round a thick wooden roller, and on the removal of the latter instrument it was pressed between two flat boards. It was next rolled round a piece of reed and lastly was enveloped in the smooth and soft skin of the *cuchia* fish in order to protect it from dust &c.

All the fine thread was made by Hindu women. Dr. Cooke Taylor says that they have—

“A delicacy of touch which apparently compensates for their want of muscular strength beyond any nation on the face of the earth.”

The finest thread was spun by women, generally under thirty years of age. The spinning apparatus comprised the cylindrical roll of cotton (*puni*), a delicate iron or bamboo spindle

(*takua*), a piece of shell embedded in clay, upon which the *takua* turns and a little hollow stone containing chalk powder, to which the spinner occasionally applies her finger while spinning. Dryness of the air prevents the filaments of cotton from being sufficiently attenuated or elongated; and is, therefore, unfavourable to the spinning of fine yarn. A certain degree of moisture with a temperature of about 82 degrees is the condition of atmosphere best suited. The Dacca spinners work generally from early dawn to nine or ten in the morning and from three or four in the afternoon till after sunset. The finest yarn is spun early in the morning; and when the air is dry, it is made over a shallow vessel of water, the evaporation supplying moisture to the cotton filaments.

The standard quality of the yarn used in the manufacture of the muslins formerly sent to the Court of Delhi is said to have been 150 *haths* (cubits) in length to one *ruttee* in weight (about two grains troy). The yarn of 140 *haths* to a *ruttee* was used for the warp and 160 *haths* to a *ruttee* for the weft. At Sonargong, 175 cubits to one *ruttee* was not uncommon. From one pound of cotton upwards of 250 miles of thread could have been produced. Speaking of this yarn Dr. Cooke Taylor remarks:—

"It requires the assistance of the microscope to discover that the sensitive fingers of the Hindoo spinner have failed to produce a thread equal in evenness and regularity to that wrought by the multitudinous rollers of a Manchester factory."*

The short fibres of the Dacca cotton are not well adapted to spinning by machinery; while, on the other hand, the long and more elastic fibres of the American cotton which are best suited to this process, cannot be made into fine yarn with the primitive spindle. The Dacca yarn is softer than mule twist; and it is generally admitted, that the fabrics made of it are more durable than muslins manufactured by machinery. The cotton which swells the least on bleaching is considered by the weavers as the best. A spinner devoting the whole morning to the spindle can make about half a *tola* weight (90 grains Troy) of fine thread in a month. This is considered the maximum quantity. The price of the finest yarn was Rs. 8 per *tola*.

The Bhoga cotton, which was used in the manufacture of thread for coarse fabrics was separated from the seeds by means of the *churka*.

The loom used in weaving is very primi-

tive in structure. It is remarked in Rees's Cyclopædia that—

"In such looms as this are made those admirable muslins whose delicate texture the Europeans can never equal with all their complicated machinery."

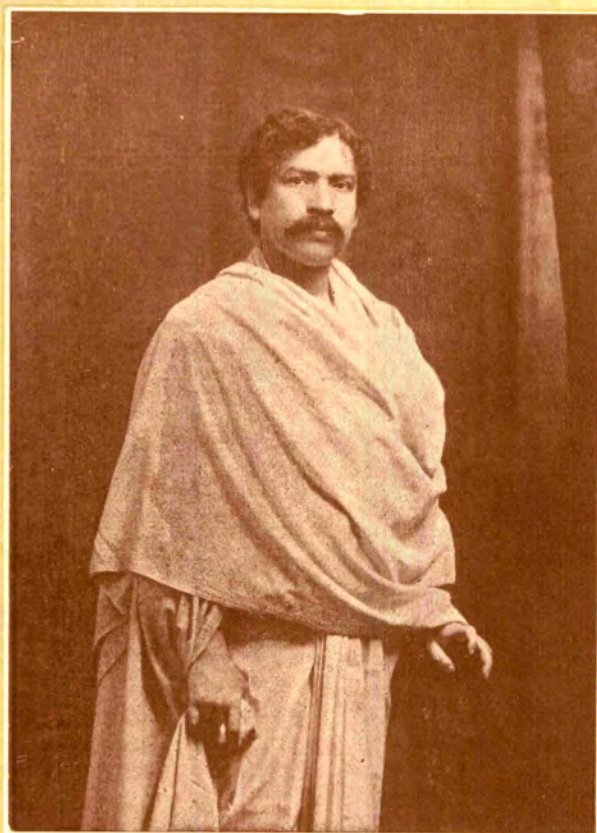
The yarn when delivered to the weaver, is wound on small pieces of reed or made up in the form of small skeins. These are first steeped in water. Then it is reeled. The warp thread is steeped for three days in water which is twice changed daily. On the fourth day skeins of a convenient size having been wound off, are steeped in water and tightly twisted between two sticks, and they are then exposed to the sun to dry. They are next untwisted and put into water mixed with fine charcoal powder, lamp-black or soot scraped from the surface of an earthen cooking vessel. They are kept in this mixture for two days, then rinsed in clear water, wrung out, and hung in the shade to dry. Each skein having been again reeled is steeped in water for one night and is next day opened up and spread over a flat board upon which it is smoothed with the hand and rubbed over with a paste made of *khori* (fried paddy) and a small quantity of lime mixed with water. From before the time of Manu rice has formed the basis of starch used in weaving in India. The yarn for the warp of striped or chequered fabrics is prepared by twisting a certain number of threads together, *viz.*, two for each stripe of the *doorea* and four for that of the *charkhana* muslin. The yarn for the woof is not prepared till two days previous to the commencement of weaving. A quantity sufficient for one day's work is steeped in water for 24 hours. Next day it is rinsed and sized with paste. This process of preparing the yarn for the woof is continued daily until the cloth is finished. Warping is usually performed in a field or any open spot convenient for the work near the weaver's house.

The Indian loom is horizontal like that of the ancient Egyptians. In working the loom the Hindu weaver possesses unrivalled skill. Deficient in physical strength and energy, he is, on the other hand, endowed with fine sensibility of touch and a nice perception of weight, and he possesses that singular command of muscular action which enables him to use his toes with almost as great effect as his fingers in the exercise of his art. Orme says:—

"The rigid clumsy fingers of a European, would scarcely be able to make a piece of canvass with the instruments which are all that an Indian employs in making a piece of cambric (muslin)."

* Handbook of Silk, Cotton, &c., p. 155.

Supplement to "The Modern Review."



Dr. J. C. BOSE.

INDIAN PRESS, ALLEAHABAD.

The stretch of the warp in the loom seldom exceeds one yard in length and to prevent its desiccation in very dry hot weather a brush made of a tuft of fibres of the *nul* plant smeared with mustard oil is occasionally drawn lightly along its extended surface. When a portion of the cloth to the extent of 10 or 12 inches is finished, it is, in order to prevent it from being injured by insects, sprinkled with lime-water, and then rolled upon the cloth-beam. The time favourable for weaving is the morning and evening hours and the best season is during the months of Ashar, Sraban, and Bhadra. In very dry hot weather it is sometimes necessary, during the operation of weaving, to place beneath the extended yarns of the warp in the loom a few shallow vessels of water, the evaporation from which keeps the threads moist and prevents them from breaking. This practice has given rise to the erroneous notion that Dacca muslins are sometimes woven under water. Dr. Ure says:—

"On viewing the Indian yarn it is easy to see how from the want of cohesion it should require to be woven on some occasions under water, in order to give it support, as the anatomist develops flimsy textures while afloat in the same medium."*

The time required for the manufacture of a piece of muslin of the usual dimensions—20

yards by one yard—necessarily depends upon the quality of the fabric and expertness of the weaver,—the latter again depends upon natural aptitude, heredity and constant practice. About time the Commercial Resident states:—

"The preparation of the *tana* or warp thread of a full piece of plain or striped cloth of the Dacca station employs two men, according to the quality of the thread, from ten to thirty days.....if of the ordinary or middling plain assortment, from 10 to 15 days; if of the fine, twenty—the superfine, thirty—the fine-superfine from 40 to 45 and if the cloth be of the fine-superfine *doorea* or *charkhana* assortments, 30 days..... A half piece of *mulmul khas* or of *Sirkar Ali* of the finest kind, costing from 70 to 80 Rupees, cannot be manufactured in less than 5 or 6 months."

In manufacturing figured (*jamdani*) fabrics, the weavers place the pattern drawn upon paper below the warp and work according to the design.

Mr. White says about good hand-weavers that—

"There may be in the Glasgow district, i.e., throughout Scotland, some 6 or 7 in the muslin department and in the same line about Manchester, perhaps one....."†

(To be concluded.)

CHARU BANDYOPADHYAY.

DR. J. C. BOSE'S PSYCHOLOGICAL RESEARCHES

FOR a long time it was a great problem in science how the living matter could be thinking matter, in other words, what difference there is between mind and matter. To many the notion was uncanny, how a form of matter, like salt or sugar, could feel and think. We could analyse it and see its chemical constituents, but we could not explain its consciousness. The weight of the brain was taken, the convolutions were examined, and when that was done, Professor Golgi came up with his researches on nerves showing under microscopic examination the ramifications they had. Then there were two camps warring on the question, if nerves ever touched one another at all. But the examination shed light on one fact, namely, that sensation travels through nerves in something like a wave. Something like expansion and contraction goes on in nerves as well, and so it was concluded that there must be some actual contact between

nerves or it would be impossible for the nerve wave to travel.

But what happened actually in the nerve, how finally its impulse stopped—no light was thrown on this problem. Many vague and foolish theorizings were made. Some thought its motion resembled that of amoeba, some compared it to an electric current, some held that in some stages there was continuity and in others a break in nervous waves and so on, endless theories being started and endless reasons given for their support.

Finally, the nerve wave was measured and the inference was drawn that it must be something like the electrical wave, and even a whisper was sounded that some day the world would find that nervous action, thought and consciousness, and electricity were one and the same.

But still the cardinal question remained, what then is life? Is it to be defined in terms of water and ammonia, or in terms of

*Ure's Cotton Manufacture of Great Britain, vol. I, p. 46.

† White on Weaving, 1846.

some higher law which manifests itself in everything, in more or less obscure degree? If the last distinction between living matter and dead could be struck down, it could be proved that the same physical laws that we discovered in the material world proved good in the realm of mind as well. Thus all the sciences could be knit together and seen in a great synthesis, a synthesis much greater than what Herbert Spencer had attempted.

Now it is Dr. Bose who is actually working out this great synthesis. In his two books, *Response in the Living* and *the non-Living and Plant Response*, he has furnished ample proofs of the truth of his theory, that everything responds to stimuli from outside. He first showed us that metals and plants had sensation and now he takes up Psychology trying to bridge over the last gulf between mind and matter. It need not be said that he has thrown down the distinction between Psychical phenomena and nervous phenomena, basing his theory on experiments, most of them being of a crucial character. We shall try here, to give our readers some idea of what he has done.

It is universally known that nervous excitation is of two kinds, one exhibits it objectively by motile effect, as in efferent nerves, and the other subjectively, by sensation in the brain, as in afferent nerves. These nerves were thought to be of different natures, and no explanation was afforded by Psychologists as regards the changes they underwent, if there was any visible indication of them to be noticed in the nerve or not. The only thing we knew was that these changes induced by stimulus would cause some sensations or feelings. "But what is the characteristic change in the excitation that gives rise to two kinds of tone which the feelings possess, to pleasure and pain?" Such questions were never given any satisfactory answer to by psychologists.

Pleasure and pain were thought to be of opposed character, the one was termed positive and the other negative. These 'tones' of sensations, as they are called, were supposed to vary from positive to negative according to the intensity of stimulus given. For instance, a moderate light or a moderate sound is pleasurable, while an intense light or intense sound is painful. But the nervous changes that accompanied these sensation-tones were not noticed. In this connection Dr. Bose has made some important investigations on nerves, showing that pleasure and pain are not merely psychical phenomena, to be understood and

explained from introspection, but they actually have a concomitant nervous expression. He has shown that "a feeble stimulus applied to the nerve is transmitted as a pulse of expansion," and he has designated it as the positive wave, it being of the nature of what he calls a "hydrostatic disturbance." But a more intense stimulus, gives rise to, he says, "a disturbance of opposite or negative sign, that is to say a pulse of contraction."

The velocity with which this second wave was conducted was found to increase with the intensity of the stimulus. When the stimulus was feeble, the positive wave was transmitted, but with stronger stimulus both positive and negative were transmitted, but the negative being more intense, masked the positive. Thus, it is seen that the second wave is a complex one, as it is not purely negative but has a positive or pulse of expansion masked behind it, and if, in any way, the conductivity of the tissue upon which the latter depends for its propagation be diminished, the two might be separated, or even the negative might be suppressed. He has shown these two nervous impulses of opposite signs by means of a delicate mechanical method and not by the electrical method alone, which is less sensitive.

It may be questioned here, if he has been able to trace this law in all the modifications of sensation, and we need not say that this he has done. He has arranged numerous experiments to support this law about nervous changes.

The only law, dominant till now in psychology, explaining this relation between stimulus and sensation, was that of Weber-Fechner. According to it the strength of stimulus must increase in geometrical ratio, in order that the intensity of the sensation may increase arithmetically. This law obviously assumes that the change of sensation is merely quantitative and not qualitative, and so Fechner supposed that this relation of quantity could not be dependent upon physiological factors, because it was certainly confounding why with the increase of stimulus there should not be more and more sensation in the nerve. Consequently Fechner thought it to be an ultimate law, a law explaining the mysterious relation between body and soul.

The molecular theory, which Dr. Bose upholds, is capable, he tries to prove "to explain not only the quantitative relation between stimulus and sensation (which Fechner tried to explain) but the qualitative variation as well." This is, as our readers will see, a new

march altogether in this branch of physiological psychology.

To demonstrate the truth of his theory, he has to do one thing: to dissociate the complex sensation, known as negative but which, as he has stated, contains within it a masked positive. *A priori*, it seems true, because if sensations are due to nervous impulses then any modification of any one of these impulses should modify the sensation that follows.

We need not dwell much upon how he has proved it, but we may roughly give some idea of his scheme to do it.

Now, in order to point out what particular relation exists between stimulus and sensation, Dr. Bose has shown it as an expression of the peculiar characteristics of the molecular curve. He has shown this curve of response, in the nerve of animals, in plants and even metals, how, with feeble stimulus response is positive, and then this positive response reaches its climax and then it diminishes in amplitude and passes on into negative under increasing stimulation and so on, which will be quite unintelligible to readers without the curve figures actually got from experiments. The question of inhibition comes next. We know that by inhibition, as when we raise or lower the magnet in the galvanometer, we can vary the sensitiveness of its field indefinitely, similarly, we may take the brain as composed of many coils with many pairs of terminals, all receiving impulses from every part of the organism and the whole resulting in one general sensation of consciousness. Here, too, inhibition plays a mighty part. We can, as in the case of the galvanometer, by the action of the will, produce expectation; we can excite certain points and exalt the conductivity of certain channels, and we can depress other points and the conductivity of other channels. This is what the system of yoga professed to do actually in India. Dr. Bose has himself known of an instance in which the pulsation of the heart could be arrested and renewed again. We refused to believe in such things, simply because we did not know that these were actual facts, which could be proved scientifically that attention could be so concentrated that all impulses from without could be thoroughly stopped.

Along with this arrest of diverse impulses, another knotty problem comes up: how to dissociate the complex negative sensation, in other words, how to convert a sensation of pleasure into one of pain and *vice versa*.

We have seen that as the intensity of stimulation is increased, the response passes

from positive, through a point of transition, into negative. This point has been called the "critical point," and if, by any means, the curve be raised above it, sensation will become painful, and if lowered, will become pleasurable.

Now for this exaltation or depression of excitability at will, we generally employ certain anæsthetic agents, but the best means is that of electrotonus.

It is well-known that under the normal condition of a medium intensity of electromotive force, it is the kathode that excites and the anode that depresses. But under the action of a feeble electromotive force, these anodic and cathodic effects are reversed and their anode excites and kathode depresses.

Dr. Bose has demonstrated these generalizations by means of experiments carried out under various forms of stimulation. We quote only one of them. Taking the sensitive back of the end joint of the human forefinger as the receptive point "one electrode was applied by means of a piece of cotton, moistened in normal saline, and placed on the receptive area, the second being on a different finger. After adjusting the intensity and frequency of stimulus (this could be done by means of an instrument invented by Dr. Bose the sensimeter) the receptive point was made the kathode, the electromotive force employed being moderate. The resulting sensation was distinctly painful and continuous. By reversing the current, the receptive point was made the anode, and the resulting sensation was not only positive or soothing, but also strikingly discontinuous."

Again, we have to consider the effects induced by variation of conductivity. The two waves, positive and negative, are not of the same velocity; consequently if its conductivity is in any way diminished, the complex sensation will be found to be analysed. Numerous cases of paralysis are known in which the loss of conductivity being very great, the patient could handle burning coal without pain.

After this, he has taken up the question of memory, considering it as an after effect of stimulus. The results of all these important investigations will be published in the form of a book in a very short time. It is impossible to do justice to such a difficult subject in a brief article. We leave to our readers the task of looking carefully and closely into the process Dr. Bose has adopted to establish his theory and to judge for themselves the value of his work.

JAGADANANDA ROY.

MUSALMAN REPRESENTATION IN LEGISLATIVE COUNCILS

THERE are grave misgivings in certain quarters as to the desirability and advisability of some special provision for Musalman representation on the Imperial and the Provincial Legislative Councils as proposed in the recent resolution of the Government of India. There are people who think, and let us concede they think honestly, that any special provision for a section of the Indian community would be detrimental to the national interests inasmuch as they assume that the possibility of co-operation between the thus privileged and the non-privileged sections would be gone. There may be some reason to think so. But if we calmly think over the whole situation we should also find that there is no possibility of a want of co-operation in those matters in which the interests are common, and fortunately almost all the civic and political interests of the Indians, be they Hindus, Musalmans or Christians, are identical. But admittedly the Indian Mohamedans who form an important community are backward in modern education. It is, therefore, not possible for them just at this time and under the present circumstances to go hand in hand with their advanced brethren of the Hindu community, unless there is some ulterior force that may propel them in their march of life and thus gradually make them equal to their advanced compatriots. Any special provision meant to facilitate the onward movement of the Mohamedan community is the "ulterior force" without which the Musalmans will have to merge themselves into an overwhelming majority and hold a permanently subordinate position, losing all distinction as an important community. Naturally the probable loss of communal importance and individuality is very distasteful to every thinking follower of the Islamic faith.

To non-Moslems the very idea of some special provision for the Mussalmans may appear illegitimate. They may argue that Nature does not admit of any such thing and may, therefore, deprecate the idea on the principle of the "survival of the fittest." They are, I am afraid, mistaken. Just as the observance of the principles of Free Trade is detrimental to the interests of the country where the

industries are in their infancy and cannot, therefore, stand foreign competition and just as the building of a tariff wall against foreign imports is necessary for the protection of the infant industries of that country, as is at present necessary in India, so some sort of special provision is indispensable to protect an educationally backward community from being obliterated under the sway of an advanced one.* The idea of self-preservation is instinctive, and it would be deplorable if this idea were deprecated. There is nothing illegitimate in this simple and at the same time noble aspiration.

It may be argued that there is no diversity of interests between one Indian and another. In the majority of cases this is, of course, true. No doubt, politically and economically we are Indians first and Hindus or Mahomedans next, and it would be unfortunate if we lost sight of this patent fact. But it must at the same time be recognised that in spite of the identity of our civic and political interests there are other things between ourselves (Moslems and non-Moslems) in which there is more or less divergence of interests, or there are things which are of interest to one community and of no interest to others. Between the members of the same religious community even some interests of one section are in conflict with those of another. A living example is that of the landlords and the tenants. The Bengal Tenancy Act had to be passed with due caution in order to safeguard the different interests of these two classes. I do not think anybody will come forward and say that the very fact that they are Indians makes all their interests identical. Then as to things that are of special interest to one community and of no interest to any other, I desire to quote from my personal knowledge an instance to show why the representation of special interests is necessary. At the last Calcutta Congress when the *Wakf* resolution was being moved, one Madras delegate asked another of the same province, both of whom were

* "It is against the tendency that has become manifest in most other countries, and it is certainly an open question whether the bracing air of competition would not be a healthier atmosphere for the now rapidly awakening Mahomedan community, than the hot house culture that the Government seems so anxious to introduce."—*The Indian Daily News*.

of course Hindus, as to what the resolution was about. The latter replied, "It does not concern us, it concerns the Mohamedans only, and we need not pay any attention to it." Nobody, of course, bears any grudge against the gentleman for speaking out his mind, for man is more or less selfish, and it is scarcely possible for the average man to stretch his eye-sight beyond the range of self-interest. Incidents like this, though trifling, emphasise the necessity for the representation of special interests.

Under these circumstances it is quite proper and legitimate that there should be some provision for the representation of special interests on the Legislative Councils, and accordingly the proposal of the Government of India for such representation is appreciated by the entire Mohamedan community. But, however much the principle is liked and appreciated by the Mussalmans, they, at least a section of the community, doubt the sincerity of the Government in so suddenly recognising their just claim and special interests when the political atmosphere is so tempestuous. It may be a mere dodge played with a view to dissuade the community from joining the popular cause. If it be so and if it produce the desired effect, then it must be considered as mischievous. But it cannot be productive of any mischief if we, Mussalmans, are not carried away by the idea that the Government is overflowing in kindness for us, and that we should not, therefore, do anything in furtherance of our national cause that may be

detestable to our alien masters, whose racial interests and ours are quite conflicting. It is hoped, however, that this dodge if it be any dodge at all, will not deter us from making common cause with our advanced fellow-countrymen for the regeneration of our common motherland.

As regards the methods which the Government proposes to adopt for election or selection of representative men, I have not much to say. In my humble opinion the elective system should be introduced as largely as possible, and sycophancy should not be a passport to those august bodies.

One word more I desire to say in this connection, although that would not be, I am afraid, exactly relevant to the subject I have taken up. In the course of the lengthy despatch the Government repeatedly says that in all the Legislative Councils the official majority must be maintained. In that case the proposed reforms are a mere sham. What is the use of the expansion of the Councils when the people's voice will be invariably drowned in that of the alien bureaucracy? The forward members of the Mussalman community are unable to be reconciled to any reforms short of self-government or a popular majority in the Legislative Councils and a substantial share in the Viceregal Executive Council. What they appreciate in the whole resolution is only the principle that important minorities should have proper representation on the Councils and the proposals for the discussion of the Budget; and nothing else.

MUJIBUR RAHMAN.

THE STORY OF HIRA AND LAL

IN a certain city, there lived a poor grass-cutter, who used to eke out a poor livelihood by daily bringing grass from the jungle, and selling it in the city for an anna or two. One day, as usual, he rose early in the morning, and went out of the town to cut grass. When he had cut a sufficient quantity to form a bundle of ten seers or so, behold, he found that he had forgotten behind the rope with which he used to bind it. The grief of the poor grass-cutter might well be imagined, for he was to lose all the labour of the day. As he was in deep despondency, his eye fell on something like a rope glittering in the sun a few paces from him. He went to see, what

it was, and when he came near it, he found that it was the carcase of a dead snake. So he was very glad to find the dead snake where with to bind the grass. So with the utmost eagerness, he picked it up, when lo, it was no more a dead snake, but a sparkling ruby, or Lal, of the greatest value. The poor labourer was at first somewhat astonished, and frightened by this sudden metamorphosis, but soon overcoming the new feeling, he carefully tied the ruby in his *pagri* or turban, and returned home, when it was about dusk. Thinking that such a beautiful thing (for he assured the poor-fellow did not know the value of the gem,) was fittest for the king, he went next

morning to the palace, and presented it to the Raja. The king was very well pleased to get such a precious jewel, and paid him handsomely for it, so that the poor grass-cutter had no more necessity to cut grass for the remainder of his life.

The king taking the ruby, went into the *zenana* and gave it to her beloved Rani. As soon as the queen took it up to admire its brilliancy how pleasantly was she surprised, when she found that it was no longer a ruby, but a very sweet baby just born! As the queen had no children of her own, she began to tend the little baby with the greatest care and affection. And since it was a ruby, which was changed into a child, she called it by the name of Lal. As Lal began to grow in age and beauty, he exhibited all the signs of royalty and greatness. When he was of eight years of age, his father sent him to a school in which the princes and the princesses of the realm were taught. In that school there also read a very beautiful princess called Hira (or diamond). Lal and Hira soon became very intimate, and began to love each other, before they were very long together. Years passed and their childish love grew stronger and stronger. At last the king, the father of Lal, heard about it, so he at once ordered him, at the risk of his displeasure, to cut off all connection with Hira. In the meantime Hira, having finished her education, was soon going to be married to a very powerful Raja, who was old, one-eyed, and stooped in his gait. When the news of the approaching nuptials of Hira reached Lal, he became almost frantic with grief and disappointment. So one night he stole out of the palace, saddled a very swift horse, and rode to the kingdom of Hira's father. When Lal reached the city, it was the day when the marriage was fixed to be solemnised. The bride Hira came out of the palace accompanied by a long procession of gaily dressed persons, who marched with lights and drums through the well-decorated streets. Lal had posted himself at a conspicuous part of the street, and, as soon as the procession reached the palace, Hira caught sight of him, and was very much pleased and knew her deliverance was nigh. As the marriage procession proceeded, Lal found an opportunity to whisper something in the ear of Hira. When the procession had reached a certain part of the city, and the people were absorbed in witnessing the brilliant illumination and fireworks, or hearing the ravishing odes of the nautch-girls, Hira slipped away unperceived, and joined Lal. At once she put off her female

dress, and put on a male dress which Lal had with him, and which was of the same cut and colour as the one which he was wearing. When thus dressed no one could tell that Hira belonged to another sex, so completely did the dress fit her; and as she was of the same appearance and height, the two seemed like twin brothers. Then Hira and Lal riding on two horses went out of the city and rode with the greatest speed possible. On and on they rode, and the hoofs of the spirited steeds gave out flashes of fire, and the woods began to ring with the clatter of their hoofs: but on and on they rode till the sun went down and the stars appeared in the sky.

When it was dark and they had ridden sufficiently far from the city to elude all pursuit, they took their lodgings in a poor hut by the road side. There was an old woman living in that hut who bade the travellers welcome. Now the hut belonged to two very powerful robbers, the husband and the son of the old woman, who had not yet returned from their nightly work, and the poor lovers had no idea of the danger to which they were to be exposed. Hira, being rather fatigued, laid herself down to rest, and the maid-servant of the old woman began to rub and press her legs and feet to induce sleep. As Hira was half-dozing and half-awake, she felt a drop of water fall on her leg, and on looking up saw that the maid-servant was weeping. Hira asked her the reason of her sorrow, on which the maid-servant wept more and more, and at last whispered out: "The house, in which you have taken shelter, belongs to two very cruel robbers; they are out now on robbing, and will soon return and murder you both." On hearing this Hira at once jumped up, went to Lal and told him all about the house. Soon they bade adieu to the treacherous old woman, and riding on their horses rode forth in the dark. The hag made all efforts and excuses to stop them, now telling them about the darkness of the night, the lateness of the hour, and then enlarging upon the dangers of the road. But the lovers did not listen to her. So when she found that they would not return, she ran after them crying: "Two fat birds are flying away, two fat birds are flying away." Her husband and son, who were just returning from their depredations heard her cry and understanding the signal, at once gave chase to the fleeing lovers. Lal, seeing that two men were pursuing them discharged an arrow, which pierced the heart of the robber's son, and he fell down dead. On seeing this the father returned home vowing to wreak vengeance on Lal. In the

meantime Lal and Hira reached a *serai* where they stopped for the night. When it was day, they found an old man sitting outside, who offered himself to be their groom. Lal took him under his employment, and when the morning had advanced, they rode forth on their journey accompanied by the groom. When they had reached a lonely spot, the groom suddenly gave Lal a strong blow, and cut off his head. After killing him, he went to Hira, and raised his sword to knock off her head too. But she pleaded very hard for her life, saying that she was not a man as she appeared from her dress, but was a woman, and that she was willing to marry him, if he spared her life. The groom was no other than the dead robber's father, and after some hesitation, he accepted the offer, and both began to return towards the hut. When they had ridden a few minutes, Hira looked up towards the sky, and laughed loudly. This irritated the old robber who was of a morose temper and he sharply said, "Close thy teeth thou slut, why art thou laughing so?" But Hira, pointing to the sky said: "Look up, look up, what a beautiful kite!" As soon as the robber turned his face up towards the direction pointed out by her, she drew out her sword, and in the twinkling of an eye cut off the robber's head, and, spitting on it, rode back to the place where was lying her dead lover. When she reached that place, she raised a loud cry of lamentation over the dead body of Lal, and all the passers-by who passed by that road began to pity her. As luck would have it, there passed by that road the divinities Shiva and Parvati, and seeing Hira weep so piteously, the latter asked Shiva, "Why is this girl weeping?" God Shiva replied, "*Devi*, if thou want to hear the reasons of every weeping maid, then thy heart would almost be broken by the tales of human misery. *Devi*, forbear to ask any question." But Parvati was moved by Hira's lamentations, and would not stir a step forward till she had forced him to tell her the reason of Hira's grief, and to cure it. On being thus pressed Shiva told her of the death of Lal, and approaching Hira, he took the dismembered pieces of Lal's body and joining the head to the trunk glued them together with the blood taken out of his own divine veins; for the blood of the divinity being *Amrita*, Lal at once revived, and the happiness and gratitude of Hira knew no bounds. She fell flat on the ground before the deities and worshipped them. When she had arisen, the deities had vanished.

Then Hira and Lal, riding on their steeds,

went forward. After travelling for many days they reached a very large and populous city, and took their lodgings in an inn, where Lal leaving Hira behind went out to make some purchases. He entered a large street, and at every shop made some purchase or other, and, giving the price, told the shopkeepers to keep the things in their shops as he would take them away on his return. So he went on from one shop to another and at every shop where he made any purchases advanced the money and went forward. At last he came to the end of the street where there was a betel-seller's shop. He went to the betel-seller, who was a sorceress, and asked for some betels. She said: "Come up, sweet lord, I will give as many as you like." Lal, who did not know her character, went with her, where the wicked sorceress enchanted him into the form of a goat.

Here when Hira saw that he did not return, she went out in search of him. She as usual was dressed in the male attire. When she entered the same street in which Lal had made purchases, and when she passed by the shops, the merchants mistaking her for Lal, offered her the things purchased by him. She answered she would take them on her return. As she went on, every shop-keeper offered her something, or other, and she made the same reply. When she reached the shop of the betel-seller, that wicked sorceress told her nothing. Hira at once made a shrewd guess at the truth, that her Lal was there. So she went to the betel-seller, and asked for some betels. The sorceress replied: "Come up sweet lord, I will give you as many as you like." "I am not so foolish as the other," said Hira, and went away. As she was passing by a certain street, she saw that an old woman was cooking some sweetmeats, and was weeping and weeping all the while. Hira went up to her and asked: "Mother why are you cooking these sweetmeats, and why are you weeping?" The woman said:—"What do you ask, my child? It is a very sorrowful tale. The king of the city has a daughter to whom every night a human victim is offered. To-day it is the turn of my son to be sacrificed. These sweetmeats are for him and I weep for him." Hira said: "Do not weep, good mother! I will go instead of thy son to the terrible princess. Give me these sweet things to eat my fill." The old woman was but too glad to find such a willing substitute, and gave Hira all the food prepared. When Hira had eaten to her satisfaction, she rose and went to the palace. She was soon conducted

by the royal officers to the chamber of the princess. Hira, being in male attire, passed for a young gallant and was treated by the princess with all the show of love and kindness with which she treated her victims. When Hira had taken some refreshment, a priest was ushered in, who joined the two princesses in the nuptial tie. Then Hira and the princess retired to a private chamber. There a sudden change came over the princess who had appeared a moment before so meek and loving. She was foaming at the mouth, tearing her hair, and frightful to behold. Her eyes shot forth burning flashes, and shone like two live coals. She rolled on the ground, and writhed and blasphemed. At last her rage was somewhat slackened, and the princess fell into a deep swoon. While she lay thus insensible, her left thigh burst open, and a terrible black snake of the deadliest species issued out of it. As soon as the creature had completely come out of the thigh it darted towards Hira with a fearful hiss and great fury. Its forked tongue was frightful to behold. But Hira, though frightened, did not lose her presence of mind, and as the reptile approached to bite her, she cut off the snake's head with a blow of her sharp-edged sword. Hira remained all the night with the insensible princess and by ministrations brought her to her senses. Soon the news reached the king that the snake, who had possessed his daughter so long, had been killed by a valiant youth, called Hira. The king was mighty well-pleased with this, and calling up Hira asked her what reward she would have. Hira asked in return half an hour's sovereignty over the city. The king gladly laid down his sceptre and crown, and placing Hira on the throne commanded all his officers to obey strictly whatever Hira ordered.

When she ascended the thorne, the first thing she did was to send a crier into the city, who loudly proclaimed: "Let it be known to all that the king has ordered all citizens, male or female, young or old, to go before His Majesty with all their cattle, beasts, and birds immediately." All rushed towards the palace, taking with them every living creature which they possessed, and when they assembled before the king, and their names were read out, it appeared that the betel-seller was not amongst them. Officers at once ran to the house of the betel-seller and brought her bound, with her goat and laid her before Hira. As soon as the goat saw Hira, it ran towards her, and began to frisk and jump around her. Hira knew at once that it was Lal and asked the sorceress to

sell it. The sorceress said: "Most puissant king, I have kept this goat for sacrificing to mother *Kali* in the coming new-moon day. It being a religious vow, your majesty's most humble slave cannot sell the goat." Hearing this Hira cried out: "Officers, bind that infernal sorceress, and let her be burned at a slow fire." Soon the officers of justice caught hold of her, and carried her to the place of execution and put her to death. Hira took possession of the goat, and by certain *mantras*, for she knew white magic, restored Lal to his human form, and acknowledged him before the whole assembly as her beloved husband: and putting off her male dress assumed the garb of her sex and went into the *zenana*.

The princess was very much mortified at finding that Hira was no man. But she soon overcame her disappointment, and was married to Lal. Thus Lal began to live there and passed his days pleasantly in the love and company of his two wives.

One day the princess asked Hira: "Dear sister, tell me what is the caste of our beloved husband Lal, for, though we know that he is the adopted son of a Raja, still some mystery hangs about his birth. As thou art his beloved, so pray ask him this question." Hira said: "What is the use of this knowledge to us? Are we not happy in his love, and are we not basking in the sun-shine of his face? What more do we require?" But the princess would not listen to all this, but insisted upon knowing the caste of her husband, and obliged Hira to promise solemnly that she would question Lal about this. So Hira, going up to Lal, asked him what was his caste. Lal was very much grieved at this, and sorrowfully said: "Dear Hira, do not ask me this; you shall regret having asked it." But Hira was bent upon knowing the truth. So Lal took her to a river, and coming to its edge, he said: "Do you still wish to know my caste?" Hira replied:—"Yes." Then Lal entered the water up to his knees and repeated:—"Are you still determined to know my caste?" Hira said: "Yes, my lord." Then Lal proceeded deeper into the stream till it reached to his neck, and again asked:—"Do you still wish to learn what is my caste? It is not yet too late." But Hira answered as before:—"Yes, I do." Then Lal entered deeper into the water, till his whole body was submerged and only a tuft of the hair of his head remained on the surface to mark the place where he was standing, and he asked from under the water, "Hira, are you still bent upon knowing my caste? Forbear; still there is time, or you

'will ruin the whole of your life.' And the voice of Lal, from under the stream, sounded hollow and strange as if he had already become the denizen of another world. But Hira's resolution did not waver, and she answered :—"I do." No sooner had the words been uttered than even the tuft of hair disappeared, and behold, in the place where a moment before Lal was seen and heard standing, there floated

a large black snake. It remained visible for a few seconds, and then suddenly vanished. Hira waited and waited for the re-appearance of Lal, but no Lal did she see again, and loud and piercing was the cry which she gave forth when she realized the extent of her misfortunes, and cursed and wept for the remainder of her life the folly of her impetuous curiosity.

SHAIKE CHILLI.

THE PROPOSED ADVISORY COUNCILS

NEARLY seventy-five years ago the Parliament of Great Britain admitted the claims of India to that measure of political liberty to which its own people under its own constitution and traditions were entitled. It was declared by the Act of 1833 that there was to be no ruling caste in India. In those days British statesmen were actuated by the highest ideals in their conception of Britain's mission in India. The memorable words of Macaulay are inscribed in indelible characters on the hearts of the people, and will never be effaced off the pages of their history. The British rulers of India claim that they rule India on principles of the highest wisdom and benevolence; they have introduced into India order and peace, just laws, a system of liberal education, facilities of communication; freedom of the press and of public criticism. They boast that under their rule the Indian people enjoy more liberty than most of the nations on the face of the world. Their rule has made them desire all the privileges of full citizens, and the people themselves have no doubt that they are capable of exercising them to their best advantage.

"To have found a people sunk in the lowest depths of misery and superstition, to have so ruled them as to have made them desirous and capable of all the privileges of citizens would indeed be a title to glory—all our own."

So said Macaulay. Sir John Molcolm said :—

"We are not warranted by the history of India or by the history of any nation in the world, in reckoning on the possibility of preserving an Empire of such a magnitude by a system which excludes, as our rule does, the natives from every station of high rank and honourable ambition."

Other contemporaries of Macaulay, like Lord Lansdowne, entertained the same ideal of

Britain's duty in India. Even in later years, British statesmen and administrators admitted the impossibility of a despotic form of Government being the permanent character of the political relation between the two countries. Sir William Hunter, for instance, said :—

"I cannot believe that a people numbering one-sixth of the whole inhabitants of the globe and whose aspirations have been nourished from their earliest youth on the strong food of English liberty can be permanently denied a voice in the government of their country. I do not believe that races into whom we have instilled the maxim of "no taxation without representation" as the fundamental right of a people can be permanently excluded from a share in the management of their finances."

Such were the ideals and principles that swayed the British statesmen's conception of the destiny which India was to fulfil under the benevolent dominion of their country. In fact during all the years that they were engaged in strengthening the foundation of their rule, in consolidating its supremacy and perfecting the machinery of government, British statesmen did not hesitate to admit that England's duty in India was, and its claim for supremacy rested in its continuous endeavour to educate and train the people so as to enable them to govern themselves. In the year 1833 and during the many years that followed, at a time when the Indian people were in their educational and political infancy, when they did not and could not know the real nature of their political condition nor its future developments, when they had not uttered a word to complain of their disabilities or to demand any rights or change of policy, the British statesmen, of their own instinct of freedom and justice, and from their sense of duty to the millions of their Indian fellow-subjects, declared before God and man

that the policy of their rule in India would be a policy of righteousness and justice and of the advancement of humanity. When that "noble" clause in the Act of 1833 declared that "no native of India of the said territories nor any natural born subject of his majesty resident therein, shall, by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent or any of them, be disabled from holding any place, office or employment under the said company," it did not refer merely to the employment of Indians in various administrative offices, but also referred to positions which would enable Indians to exercise a share in the direction of the affairs of their country. The mere employment of a few Indians of distinction in the higher appointments of the public service would not bring about the social and political elevation of a great community. With reference to this very enactment, the Marquis of Lansdowne commented as follows on its true scope and object :—

"He was sure that their Lordships would feel, as he indeed felt, that their only justification before God and Providence for the great and unprecedented dominion that they exercised in India was in the happiness which they communicated to the subjects under their rule and in proving to the world at large, and to the inhabitants of Hindustan, that the inheritance of Akbar (the wisest and most beneficent of Muhamedan princes) had not fallen into unworthy or degenerate hands.....He was confident that the strength of the government would be increased by the happiness of the people over whom it presided, and by the attachment of those nations to it."

Such happiness and such attachment are not possible by a few well paid and responsible offices being conferred on Indians, but can be secured only by the expansion of popular liberties and by the elevation of the bulk of the people.

These noble sentiments lasted even after the Mutiny. The Queen's Proclamation reaffirmed them and enunciated principles of administration in harmony with them. But as the task of consolidating the Empire reached completion, a change came over them and latterly sentiments and principles different from those above referred to have become common. In no utterances of British statesmen and in none of the State documents of later times do we come across words indicating the ideals and conceptions which distinguished them in the first half of the 19th Century. So long as the political future of India was in a nebulous state, a matter more or less of sentimental speculation, British statesmen were full of benevolence and philanthropy regarding India's destiny under British rule. But as the nebulous state has disappeared

and the outlines of India's future become more and more tangible and definite, a different attitude has become manifest. So long ago as 1818 the Marquis of Hastings wrote in his private journal that "a time *not very remote* will arrive when England will, on sound principles of policy, wish to relinquish the domination which she has gradually and unintentionally assumed over this country, and from which *she cannot at present recede.*" The italics are mine. He added :—

"In that hour, it would be the proudest boast and most delightful reflection that she had used her sovereignty towards enlightening her temporary subjects, so as to enable the native communities to walk alone in the path of justice and to maintain with probity towards their benefactors that commercial intercourse in which we should then find a solid interest."

The statesmen of the more early times were not afraid of India acquiring Swaraj or autonomy, but regarded as a sufficient compensation for all her benevolent and noble service to India in the regeneration and elevation of her people, the benefits she would derive from the free and friendly commercial intercourse between these two countries. What a contrast between these statesmen and Mr. Morley who declared in Parliament that as far as his imagination could pierce into the future the Government of India would be personal and absolute and that if at any time the Government of India were transferred to Indians, that huge machinery would break to pieces in their hands within a week! Has British statesmanship deteriorated within these 50 years? Is it no longer capable of high ideals of disinterested, benevolent and far-seeing effort, which distinguished the authors of the Act of 1833 and their contemporaries? Or has the exploitation of India's wealth been so successful as to have whetted the greed of the British nation and made it incapable of foregoing immediate gain in view to a much larger and more honourable gain in the future? India has now become so thoroughly impoverished that Britain's trade with her is not one-tenth as paying as it might be. If the Indian people were to buy one pound sterling per head instead of 2 sh. 6 d. as Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji has pointed out repeatedly, Great Britain would accumulate many millions more of Indian money than she does now, and India too, if she governs herself, free from that colossal material and moral drain she is subject to in consequence of her subjection to an absentee foreign government, would sell more of her manufactures and agricultural produce as well as buy more from Great Britain and other countries. We cannot but think that the successful competition of

America, Germany and other countries and their gradual ousting of England from the chief markets of the world, has demoralised her statesmen and politicians, who no longer dare contemplate a time when England will relinquish her political domination and be content with that "solid interest," as the Marquis of Hastings said, which she would find then in her commercial intercourse with this country. To have educated and trained the people so as to make them fit for Swaraj and to have voluntarily and freely granted it would be the highest pride and boast of England, said Hastings and Macaulay. But if she does not do so, if, in spite of the fitness of the people for a large measure of self-government and in spite of their unanimous and strong demand for it, England refuses to move and resorts to clumsy devices to keep them from that noble consummation, and if, ultimately circumstances should so transpire as to make England grant to coercion what she has refused to statesmanship, the commercial intercourse between England and India would be anything but free or friendly.

That the present move of the Government is a clumsy device to deprive the Indian people of their legitimate rights there can be little doubt. The Government of India since the talk of reform came into vogue, have repeatedly emphasised the fact that the matter was taken up by them of their own initiative and that it was only their proposals that Mr. Morley approved in his Budget speech in the House of Commons. When these proposals were submitted to Mr. Morley, Lord Minto and he had been in office only for a few weeks, and the public may now be curious to know what induced Lord Minto to take up a matter of this moment so soon after he was installed. It could not have been a keen desire on the part of his bureaucratic councillors to enlarge the constitution of the Government and transfer to the people a part of their monopoly; and Lord Curzon had declared a few days before Lord Minto assumed his office that it was not in the field of political reform that the salvation of India should be sought. What could have induced Lord Minto to initiate a line of action so opposed to the expressed declaration of his predecessor? It is true that the present unrest had commenced when Lord Minto arrived. He did not succeed, as Mr. Morley said, to a haven of peace. Could it be then that Lord Minto and his advisers were moved by a desire to allay the unrest by constitutional reforms? This is, however, not likely; because the unrest, in the opinion of the

officials, is the work of a section of the educated classes, whom the proposed reforms, far from conciliating, are calculated to render more captious and discontented. Judging from the tenor of the observations throughout the Resolution regarding the educated classes, Government's attitude towards these classes is not one of sympathy or confidence; on the other hand Mr. Morley and Lord Minto seem to share fully in the Anglo-Indian aversion to them and regard them as a dangerous element in society. In their opinion the soundest solution of the problem is to be found in supplying the requisite counterpoise to their excessive influence by creating an additional electorate recruited from the landed and monied classes. Thus it seems to be safe to assume that the chief object in view in initiating the present changes is to counteract the excessive influence of the educated classes, the lawyers, the schoolmasters and other professional men.

In fact, the whole spirit of the proposals is in consonance with the spirit of some of the most important measures of Lord Curzon, who in his University reform and in the partition of Bengal was actuated by his antipathy to the Babus. Antipathy to the Babus has produced a corresponding sympathy with the non-Babu classes, for the landed aristocracy, for the smaller landholders and for the mercantile and trading communities. The Government of India are satisfied that no scheme of "Constitutional reform" would meet the real requirements of the present time which did not make adequate provision for the representation of these various classes. These latter as well as the Babu class will be represented in the councils, but it is carefully provided that this enlarged representation carries with it no corresponding enlarged power of direct control over the decisions of Government. No surrender or making over of the paramount British power in India, no diminution in the absolute authority of the Executive Government, is contemplated, no approach whatever to the principle of "no taxation without representation" is to be made. The representation is to be nominal and accompanied by no corresponding power vested in the representatives. The proposals now made, it is observed,

"represent a considerable advance in the direction of bringing all classes of the people into closer relations with the Government and its officers, and of increasing the opportunities of making known their feelings and wishes in respect of the administrative and legislative questions. The classes which will be

enabled under the present scheme, to take a more effective part in shaping the action of the Government may reasonably look forward as the necessary outcome of the measures now in contemplation, to a larger share in the actual work of administration and more extensive employment in the higher offices of the State. Besides enlarging the bounds of representation another object is aimed at, namely, more reliable means of communication between the rulers and the ruled, a free and close consultation between the Government and the people."

The expansion of the Legislative Councils, it is said, will secure a larger public share in the actual work of the administration, and the Advisory Councils of Notables will supply the desired means of "confidential and intimate consultation" with the people. We shall see below how far these two measures are calculated to realise their respective objects.

That the Imperial Advisory Council and its Provincial counterparts will produce the effect attributed to them is a dream. It is surprising how Lord Minto and his Advisors could have come to entertain such a notion. It is said that these advisory councils would be in accordance with the best traditions of the Oriental polity. These have always recognised that the sovereign, however absolute, should make it his business to consult competent advisors and should exercise his rule in accordance with what after such consultation he deems to be the best mind of the people. But who were the competent advisers of the oriental sovereign? They certainly were not the ruling chiefs and territorial magnates in remote parts of the country. Oriental sovereigns used to employ special officers as spies on provincial rulers and also reporters of public opinion. But whatever may be the traditions of oriental polity the idea of the British Government exploring the traditions of oriental polity for materials to shape political institutions in the twentieth century, is, to say the least, grotesque. The British Indian polity has neither been founded nor shaped on oriental principles or models and why in this particular instance, these should be pressed into service, we do not see. It is the principles and models of the modern times rather than those of mediæval India that inspire and guide the British rulers of India, and none of these warrant the responsible rulers setting aside the direct representatives of the different sections of the people and investing ruling chiefs and territorial magnates with the privilege of representing all classes, including the labouring and industrial classes. Say the Government of India:—

"What appears to be needed, is an Imperial Advisory Council of sufficient size and weight to represent the views of the hereditary leaders of the people both in British India and in the principal Native States to be consulted by the Governor-General either individually or collectively or by means of Committees appointed from among their number on questions of sufficient moment and call for their advice and to be used by him not only to draw out opinion on measures in contemplation, but also what is hardly of less importance as an agency for the diffusion of correct information upon the acts, intentions and objects of Government."

It would also serve, the Government believe, as a means of free and close consultation between Government and the people. Vain delusion! Neither the Imperial Advisory Council nor the corresponding Provincial bodies will do any such thing. How do the Government make out that the ruling chiefs and territorial magnates are the leaders of the people or they will serve as a means of confidential and intimate consultation between the Government and the people? How can they be supposed to know more of the people, of any class of them, of the toiling millions, than the classes that now voice forth public opinion in the press, on the platform, and in the Councils of Government? Have "notables" like the Maharaja of Bobbili, or of Cooch Behar more opportunities of mixing with the people and getting into contact with their mind and heart? Will the man in the street, the coolie in the market or the ryot at his plough, speak more freely and with greater confidence to them than they will do to the educated men of the middle class whom they recognise amidst themselves, whom they are familiar with, whom they know to be in sympathy with them and to be working for them? Do the class of notables that Lord Minto has in view ever take an interest in public affairs, move with the people to know their wants and wishes, and study public questions? Have they ever worked for the people, shown sympathy with them or upheld their interests against official encroachment? Their ambition is to win official favour and add titles to their names. Can Lord Minto or any official honestly say that in the Councils of Government it is from the nominated notables that the best advice is obtained? When Lord Lamington recently acknowledged the valuable service rendered by the non-official members of his Council, when successive Viceroys and provincial Governors did the same, they did not refer to the notables but to men like Mehta and Gokhale. Their loyalty prevents them—they are not ashamed to say—from taking part in

political movements. But have they taken part in other public movements, those for social or industrial or religious reform? Have they done anything to encourage our arts or literature? Do they endow public charities as their ancestors used to do? To court the company and good-will of the European official, to enjoy the flattery of favourites, and to revel in the pleasures of the Zenana—this is their ambition in life. The aristocracy of India were never in her history a hereditary estate of the realm, and on the advent of the British they were ignored and the educated classes were preferred as a medium of touch with the people so far as such touch was desired. Are the "notables," the aristocracy, the titled men and the title-hunting men—are these recognized in other countries as the best exponents of public opinion? Are they so recognized in England? If they were, why should the House of Commons be in constant friction with the House of Lords which it wants either to mend or end? Mr. Morley would be the last man to regard a Duke or a Lord as the best exponent of the working man's grievances. Why should he do so in regard to India? Surely, he has one conscience for England and another for this country.

These councils will be a similar failure as an agency for the diffusion of correct information upon the acts, intentions and objects of Government. They will fail because they have no touch with the people, more especially with those classes among whom it is Government's particular concern to see correct information diffused. We cannot imagine a single means by which the ruling chiefs and territorial magnates will be able to communicate to the masses the knowledge of which they may be in possession. Will they disclose it at their Durbars, will they address public meetings or write in the papers? Most of them do not even know their own subjects or tenants; they do not acquaint themselves with the condition of their estates; and have hardly any knowledge of the various questions engaging the public mind from time to time. According to the Resolution the consultation is to be confidential and the proceedings of the Councils are not to be published. Will the members of the Council in their individual capacity have the privilege of divulging the purport and the conclusions of these confidential and private consultations? Or, if they gave out to such persons as they might come into contact with the general impressions they might receive from confidential communications with

the Governor-General or with the Secretaries of Government, such a course would be practically useless; because the public forms its judgment of the policy and motives of the Government with reference to particular measures.

The Advisory Councils will have no legal footing and no place in the regular constitution of Government. Their existence will be due entirely to the will and pleasure of the Governor-General. They will or will not be consulted as he may choose; the opinions they may offer individually or in a committee or at a meeting, will not be published but will remain confidential. Unless the Government choose to publish the opinions, the public will have no means of knowing them. Under such circumstances, how do the Government propose to save the councils or their individual members from vague public criticism or from misrepresentation? Nor is an incitement provided for them to study public questions. The sort of questions on which their opinions will be asked is not defined, and they may not be consulted at all from year's end to year's end or for years together. A Viceroy like Lord Curzon who had no regard for the opinion of others, may not think it worth his while or may deem it inconvenient to consult them. Ordinarily, no advice gratuitously offered or supported by no pressure behind, generally receives regard. A body, with no legislative recognition, vested with no formal powers of any sort and empowered to deal with only such subjects as may be specifically referred to them by the Viceroy, will suffer from want of nourishment and is bound to die eventually of inanition. Ruling chiefs and territorial magnates, possessing more than average ability and knowledge will consider their distinction as Imperial Councilors as a sham and mockery, while others with less than average ability and knowledge will shed little light on questions of importance and command no confidence. It is unintelligible how the institution of a body like this could have been thought of as a serious measure of reform, and how so much importance should be attached to it.

There are two courses open to the Government if they really want the co-operation of the aristocratic classes in the Government of the country. The Ruling Chiefs and territorial magnates, and other notables, may be given direct representation in the Expanded Legislative Councils, so that all classes of people may take a joint part in legislation; or they may be constituted into a separate branch of the

Legislature with functions similar to those of the ordinary councils. The utility of such a second chamber will be almost the same as that of the House of Lords. It will represent the more conservative element of the public and act as a counterpoise to the more progressive tendencies of those now represented in the Legislative Councils as constituted at present. The former course would be better than the latter. The undiminished authority of the executive furnish all the necessary safeguards against the effects of deliberations of an ultra radical or revolutionary nature, and so long as that is so, no second and conservative chamber is needed. No council whose constitution contains no guarantee for full debate and publicity, can be of use for any purpose of a free and constitutional form of Government.

For its own purpose, the Indian bureaucracy magnifies the political importance of the Indian Aristocracy. The Indian Aristocracy is not a national institution, a political power in the State as the British Aristocracy has been for centuries. The latter have always taken an active and leading part in public duties. Even when the Barons were the only political power in the State, they felt their vocation as a national corporation to defend the rights and guard the freedom of the nation in the general interests of the public. The English nobility have always taken an active and leading part in public duties. Their very education is permeated with the spirit of political freedom and personal independence. Party politics, their work as justices of the peace, their share in elections, in the county administration and in juries, their voluntary societies and contributions for public purposes—all these forms of activity, keep them in touch with the life of the people and train them in the duties of self-government and patriotic services. A constant supply of new and really aristocratic forces saved the English aristocracy from the danger of stagnation and incapacity. The ablest and most gifted men in the nation can look forward to raising themselves and their families by their public service to the sunny heights of political life. Looked at as a whole, the characteristics of the English aristocracy have enabled them to perpetuate their important position in the constitution. It alone has preserved its existence almost undisputed and continues to occupy a useful and brilliant place in the constitution, while in every continental country the aristocracy have either entirely disappeared, or maintain only a struggling and precarious existence.*

What a contrast between the English aristocracy and the so-called aristocracy of India! Neither in ancient times nor in modern days has the aristocracy of India been the pioneers or initiators of great changes. No social, moral or religious reform can be traced to the public spirit of this class. The class that corresponds to the aristocracy of Western countries consisted of the local chiefs who owed military allegiance to a common suzerain and who were absolute rulers within their own estates. They did not form a constitutional part, or organised estate in the realm. They have left behind them no traditions of social or political effort that aimed at common good, at the redress of common grievances, resistance to political oppression, or any results calculated to fit their modern representatives to lead a united people aspiring for political regeneration under modern conditions. Nor have they had, since the establishment of British supremacy the same opportunities and the same training that have enabled the educated middle classes to evolve a sense of nationality and to nurse its maturity and ultimate fruition. Four main classes are distinguished in the constitution of the modern state. The class which exercises public authority, with a superior position over all other classes is at the head of the State; there is then the aristocratic class, which occupies a middle position between the governing class and the nation at large. The "third estate" is the class of educated citizens in town and country, the middle class proper; the fourth estate is the people including the lower class of citizens; the great mass of the working classes. Against this natural division, the Government of India would ignore the third estate and put the aristocracy in juxtaposition with the industrial and agricultural classes. Though the educated middle classes are distinct from the working classes who make out their livelihood by their muscle rather than by their brain, as well as from the aristocracy, still they are a more fluid section of the people than the aristocracy; the margin between the educated classes and the classes below them is less marked and more changeable than that between the same and the aristocracy. The Government of India's attempt to exploit the so-called aristocracy to put down the growing influence of the educated middle classes and indirectly to perpetuate the ascendancy of an alien class is opposed to the whole spirit of the modern civilisation. If the end of a well organised

* Theory of State by Bluntschli.

and efficient State is to promote the happiness of the people, it is the people that must be inspired with fresh hopes and braced by fresh activities.

"To produce a state of things in which the physical advantages of civilised life can exist in a high degree, the stimulus of increasing comforts and constantly elevated desires must have been felt by the millions; since it is not in the power of a few individuals to create that wide demand for useful and ingenious applications, which alone can lead to great and rapid improvements, unless backed by that arising from the speedy diffusion of the same advantages among the mass of mankind."*

But the Government of India have always been afraid of a troublesome bourgeoisie forcing

their exceedingly slow pace of progress, almost amounting to stagnation. But it has come to stay and will not allow itself to be shunted into a position of impotence or helplessness. Are the Government sure that the aristocracy, the mercantile and trading classes, even the Mahomedans themselves, will not one day see the essential unity of the interests of the various divisions and make common cause against an alien bureaucracy which has no special attachment to one or another of these divisions, but is only playing the Imperial game of divide and rule?

G. SUBRAMANLA IYER.

LIFE OF SHIVAJI

(From the Persian.†)

§ 47.—Shivaji's contest with the Abyssinians.

Rairi (=Raigarh) at first belonged to the Nizamshahi Kokan. Then Shah Jahan conquered it and gave it to Adil Shah in exchange for some Bijapur territory that was annexed. An Afghan named Fatih Khan governed the district of Kokan for Bijapur, his seat being the fort Danda Rajpur, which stands half on land and half in water. The strong fort of Janjira stood on an island in the ocean, at gunshot distance from Danda Rajpur. When the enemy invaded the district, the *faujdar* of the place took refuge in Janjira.

Shiva, after making Rairi—40 miles from Danda Rajpur,—his seat and abode, quickly seized seven other forts, large and small, in the neighbourhood, and set his heart on taking Danda Rajpur. Fatih Khan, in fear of Shiva's power, evacuated it and fled to the Janjira island. Shiva, wishing to capture the last-named place too, pressed Fatih Khan very hard. The Khan wanted to surrender the fort to the enemy after receiving promise of life and safe-conduct. But he had three Abyssinian slaves,—Siddi Sambal, Siddi Yaqut, and Siddi Khairiyat, each of whom had 10 armed Abyssinian slaves brought up by themselves. The Abyssinians had control of the administration of the island and much of the work and stores of the place. These three men, on learning of Fatih Khan's intention to

yield the fort to Shiva, took counsel among themselves, saying, "If the fort of Janjira falls into infidel hands, God knows what would happen to us. It is better to arrest and confine Fatih Khan and make Siddi Sambal the chief and governor of the district."

So, in the fourteenth year of the reign of Aurangzib (1671, A. D.) the Abyssinians fell unexpectedly upon Fatih Khan, put him in chains, and reported the matter to Adil Shah. They also wrote to Khan Jahan Eahadur, the [Mughal] viceroy of the Deccan, begging to be taken into the Imperial service and asking for reinforcement from Surat by sea.

Khan Jahan sent them a gracious answer, proposing [to the Emperor] the rank of a commander of 400 troopers for Siddi Sambal, that of 300 troopers for Siddi Yaqut, and that of 200 horse for Siddi Khairiyat, and presenting them with robes of honour, Rs. 5,000 in cash as help, and a fertile *jagir* near the port of Surat. Thus strengthened and exalted, Siddi Sambal set about to put down Shiva's turbulence. He repaired the ships of the fort which were out of trim, and collected new ships for cruising at sea. One night he made a raid on the [Maratha] ships at Danda Rajpur and seized them with 200 sailors and marines, the essential requisites of voyages.

One hundred of these were Marathas newly appointed by Shiva. They were flung into the

* Sir John Herschell.

† When not otherwise stated, the translation is from the *Tarikh-i-Shivaji*.

sea with stones tied to their feet. From that day bitter enmity raged between the Abyssinians and Shiva. After building 40 or 50 ships of war and strengthening his new coast forts, Colaba and Khanderi, he planned to conquer the Abyssinians and capture the fort of Janjira. Many naval fights took place between them, in which the Abyssinians were generally victorious, till Siddi Sambal rose to the rank of a commander of 900 horse [in the Mughal service] and died, naming Siddi Yaqut as his successor and urging the other Abyssinians to obey him quietly. Yaqut, who was distinguished among his tribe for bravery, care for the ryots, capacity, and turning, busied himself more than formerly in collecting ships stored with war materials, adding towers and battlements to the forts, and cruising at sea. He used to remain day and night clad in armour, and repeatedly seized the enemy's ships at sea, cut off the heads of many Marathas, and sent them to Surat. It was his constant wish to recover Danda Rajpur from Shiva's hands. Tying rockets to trees he fired them at night towards Danda Rajpur. Similarly, Shiva employed all devices to capture Janjira, and promised one *maund* of gold and other rewards [in case of success] to his generals, who were masters of the art of taking forts.

At the *Holi*, when Shiva was staying 6 miles from Rairi, turning the night into morning in planning the capture of Janjira, one night, the infidels being intoxicated and besotted with the celebration of the *Holi* in the fort of Danda Rajpur,—Siddi Yaqut sent Siddi Khairiyat by land with 400 or 500 men, siege-materials, ladders, and nooses, while he himself arrived at the foot of the fort by sea with 40 ships full of war-materials. According to their pre-concerted plan, Siddi Khairiyat first sounded the cry of assault from the land side and the infidels assembled in full force to defend it. Then Siddi Yaqut with a party of brave men very quickly entered the fort [by escalade] by means of the ladders and nooses brought from the ships to the foot of the fort and raised the cry of battle. Some of his men were drowned and some slain by the enemy. Just then, some of the garrison with their chief having come to open the magazine for distributing powder, a fire dropped from their hands into the gunpowder, causing an explosion which carried off the men, their chief, and the roof. Ten or twelve men of Siddi Yaqut's band also perished. Then Yaqut, whose word of cheering was *khassu*, shouted forth,

"*Khassu! khassu!* My heroes, be composed. I am alive and safe." They exerted themselves in slaying and binding the infidels. By this time, Siddi Khairiyat, too, entered the fort by escalade.

When staying in this district for some time I (*i. e.*, Khafi Khan) often heard from the men of the place and Yaqut Khan also, that when the roof of the magazine flew off with the officers and men, Shiva, who was 40 miles away, started from his sleep, said to his companions that some calamity had befallen Danda Rajpur, and sent swift couriers to bring the news.

At this time Shiva's army and household troops (*fauj-i-khanagi*) had gone to plunder the district of Surat, so he could not go to the aid of the *qiladars* of the 7 Nizamshahi forts, situated within 8 or 10 miles of Danda Rajpur, which he had captured and which Siddi Yaqut, seizing the present opportunity, had attacked. As the triumph of the Abyssinians in that quarter had been noised abroad, the commandants of 6 of the forts after resisting for 2 or 3 days cried quarters, surrendered their forts, and so saved themselves. The *qiladar* of one fort, however, held out for a week in the hope of being relieved by Shiva. But the trenches of the Abyssinians came nearer and nearer, and their discharge of rockets and other siege operations made things too hot for him. So, he begged for safety and gave up his fort; but Siddi Yaqut, violating his own promise of safety, made slaves and converted to Islam all the boys and handsome women among the 700 persons who issued from the fort, released the old and ugly women, and massacred the remaining men. From that day such terror was struck in the hearts of Shiva and other infidels that they deemed it enough to guard Rairi and did not think of taking any fort [near Danda Rajpur] (*Khafi Khan*, ii. 223—228.)

§ 48.—Maratha Account of Shiva's Naval Activity.

Shiva despatched Daria Sarang (=Admiral of the Sea) and Daulat Khan to the fleet (*armad*) and build *ghurabs* and *gallivets* (two classes of war-vessels). When all the preparations were complete, he embarked in the *ghurabs* and captured Hasnur (? or Barcelore). Thence he disembarked at Gokarn, a very holy place, to which he made a pilgrimage. Summoning Lakhia Sawant of Kandal, who administered this place on behalf of the Nizam-shahi, he settled on him a monthly salary of 300 *hun* and took him into his own service. The Abyssinian, Yusuf Khan, in his

excess of pride and desire to cause a tumult, came to a pass and barred the road. But when Shiva arrived there, Yusuf, unable to make a stand, fled in awe of his power.

By Shiva's command Shyamraj Panth and Baji Ghula went to Rajpur, saw Yusuf Khan and Pairad Khan (? = Yaqut Khan and Khairiyat Khan), and asked them to give up Janjira for a vast amount of money and any *jagir* that they liked. They declined the proposal and imprisoned Shyamraj and Baji, who secured their release after solemnly giving their parole, returned to Shivaji and told him, "You should not covet the island [of Janjira]. We have pledged our faith [to this effect] to gain our release." The Maharajah replied, "Go back now and bring them to the right path." They replied, "Our going again is not at all proper." As Shiva pressed them very hard, Shyamraj Panth, fearing his displeasure, resigned his service and took to a life of retirement. Shivaji sent Nilu Panth, a *mansabdar*, to Yusuf Khan with his proposal. But as his design did not succeed [thus], he deputed Dariya Sarang, Daulat Khan and Mabaji Bhatkar, (? = Minaik Bhandari) with the fleet. They besieged [Janjira] from all four sides,—the fleet from the sea, and the others from the land. But as the foundations of this fort had been laid at an auspicious moment, it was not captured even once. Nilu Panth tried his utmost; but at length after strengthening his trenches, he came to visit Shivaji and secured the punishment of the men of the district who had shown slackness in exerting themselves [in the siege.] Pairad Khan, seizing the opportunity of the absence of the besieging officers, came to the king of Bijapur, reported the case, and returned to his own fort with materials of defence. Shivaji appointed Venkaji Datu, a great warrior, with 4,000 cavalry and 2,000 *armad* (? = marines) to go to Rajpur, bar the path of Pairad Khan, and prevent him from throwing the reinforcements into the fort. Venkaji tried his best, but the Khan moved by the pass of Birwari, Tala, and Gossala and entered the fort. Venkaji Datukar entrenched on a mound near the fort and halted. Fatih Khan, the Abyssinian, ordered the garrison of Janjira to confront Venkaji and wrest the hillock, which lay in the path of their supplies. Their force being small, they hesitated and decided to make night attacks and cut off the supplies [of Venkaji]. Fatih Khan disapproved of this foolish plan, appointed the Abyssinian Ambar also, and urged him [to attack]. They advanced valiantly to the encounter. Feats of heroism

were done by both sides. At last the Siddis were vanquished and driven back into their fort. Moro Panth *peshwa*, hearing of the battle, came to Datu's help, and urged the men of the *armad* (marines) to press the siege. The *giladar* Yaqut Khan,* on his side, got ready, and strengthened his fort, and built a wall round it which he named the *Peta-durg*. Mounting guns on the wall he began to cannonade [the Maratha position]. Siddi Sandarus came from Surat by sea to aid him, and tried to enter the fort, but the besiegers opposed and prevented him. Venkaji having won over with soothing words the men posted by the Siddis on another hillock near the fort, induced them to vacate it, and it too passed into Shiva's possession. Dariya Sarang with the marines besieged [and took] the *Bakjali*, a strong place in the path of the ingress and egress of the garrison, and commanding the fort. Mounting guns on it, he began to discharge them, which caused the gate of the fort to be closed, and obstructed the path of going and coming of the garrison. On all four sides of the fort trenches and batteries were set up, and all its environs occupied [by the Marathas.] The ryots were reassured and made to carry on cultivation.

§ 49.—Shivaji's view of the Importance of Forts.

The forts of Malwan, Ratnagiri, Suvarndurg, and others in Shiva's possession, were strengthened and fortified. Aoji Parth was posted with a strong force in the fastnesses of Mahipatgarh and Khelnah. Shiva himself visited these two forts, and urged the building of houses and the repair of the walls and towers, saying, "Never neglect the repair of walls, the strengthening of gates and towers. Always keep the stores, munitions, and provisions of the forts ready." Nilu Panth and Moro Panth replied, "Vast sums have been spent in fortification. Forts beyond numbering have come into our possession. To spend money [on them] now is useless." Shivaji answered, "You are very wise and prudent, and I have [often] admired your excellent suggestions. But what should I consider as the reason of this strange advice? It looks like a fraudulent [counsel] against the dictates of reason. When ryots raise mounds of earth and wood to scare away birds and beasts, they are really made for guarding their crops. Similarly, forts are for the protection of the land and the people. Just as ships and boats are

* The text has *Daulat Khan*. But that was the name of one of Shivaji's naval officers.

strengthened with nails of iron, so by means of forts and redoubts (*garh*) the kingdom is strengthened and the ryots safeguarded. I have an enemy like the Emperor Aurangzib. If, God forbid it! he decides on [active] hostility and spends his whole life in warfare [with me], the conquest of these forts would be beyond his power. In fact, forts are the defenders and guardians of the kingdom and the royal power." From that time forward he laid down the rule that in the larger forts enough munitions and grain should be stored to last for 12 years, and in the smaller forts for 2 years, and that reliable men, whose words could be depended on, should be posted to the forts and kept contented and attached (to their master) by all means, so that they might not hesitate to sacrifice their lives in time of need.

Moro Panth and Nilu Panth were abashed on hearing these words, returned to their places, and eloquently praised the Maharajah's wisdom and policy. Shiva built a fort at every place which he found strong and beautiful in situation, and put in it trustworthy and brave men. Mud-forts were demolished, and stronger ones founded instead. On the strong and beautiful hillock named Khanderi, he urged his masons to build a fort and palace, and they did so in a short time. (*Tarikh-i-Shivaji*, 31, b—32, b.)

§ 50.—Capture of Salhir.

Shiva, hearing at this time that Siddi Sandarus had defeated the besieging army, said, "Unless I go in person, this exploit will not be achieved." But as it was the rainy season he had to wait. He planned that no obstacle should be left in the path from Kalian to Bhimri. So he sent Moro Panth towards Kohun. As the district was very jungly, he appointed 20,000 pioneers and hatchet-men to clear a road. The fort of Jawari was taken and Vikram Shah, the zemindar of the place, made prisoner.

Malhar* Rao Miran, *nailk* of Wari, a chief of the place, turned highway robber after the capture of Vikram Shah and began to oppress the people. Moro Panth attacked and took Mohangarh, the refuge of this disturber of peace. The zemindar, Vikram Shah, was executed in punishment of his wicked deeds; his son fled with the help of Malhar Rao Miran of Wari. After defeating and capturing the Rajah of Ramnagar, who was hostile, [Moro Panth] annexed the whole country.

* In the Persian MS. the word may also be read as *Dhar*.

Shivaji himself set out for Salhir and Malhir two strong forts, and besieged them. Bahlo Khan, the *faujdar* of the place, with a powerful army, fought heroically, but at last fled unable to resist. His camp and army were plundered. He himself with a few men escaped. The victorious Shiva marched to Prabalgarh. Abaji Panth and Annaji Datt were appointed to tour and inspect the forts.

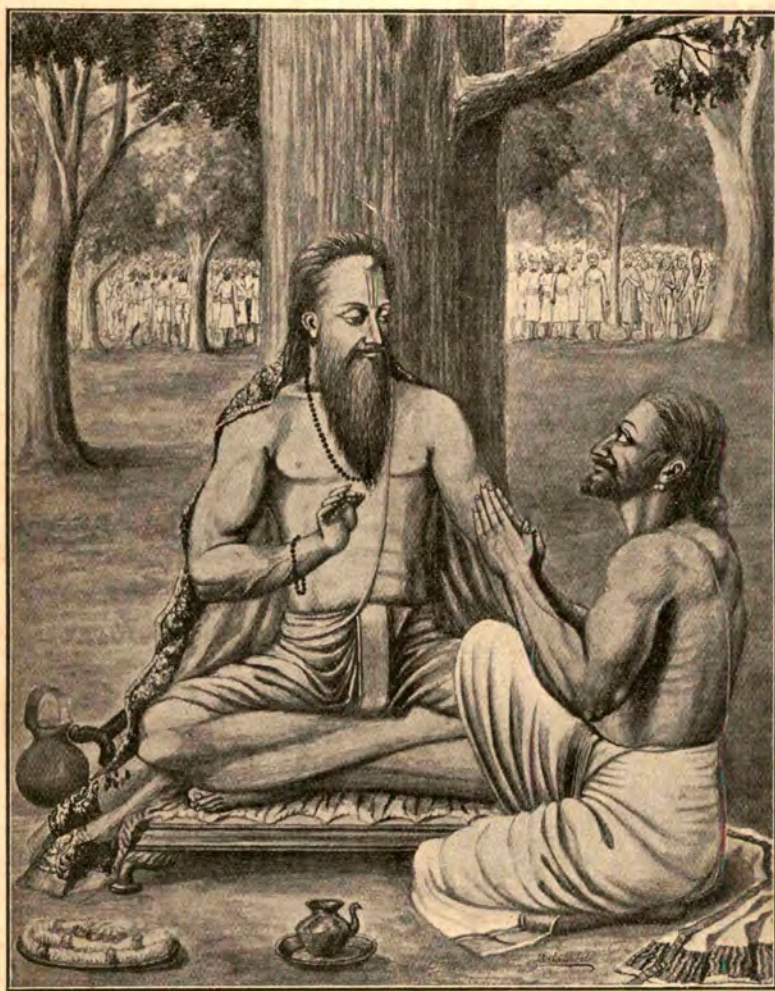
Their orders were to visit and inspect every fort, and to report to Shiva the strength of its fortifications and store of materials and food. (*Tarikh-i-Shivaji*, 32, b—33, a).

Syed Nur Ali, a renowned warrior, was the commandant of Salhir, a famous fort in Baglana, 12 miles from Malhir. In the 17th year of Aurangzib's reign (1673 A.D.) during Khan Jahan Bahadur's viceroyalty of the Deccan, the family and relatives of the commandant were coming from Aurangabad when the enemy who were roaming round the fort fell upon them unawares. Some brave attendants of the women were slain fighting and then the Marathas plundered the family and took them prisoner. Coming with the women and a large force to the foot of the fort, they sent to the *qiladar* the message that unless he evacuated the fort quickly, his women would be utterly dishonoured. The *qiladar* offered a large ransom, but in vain. Then he considered that if he sallied out of the fort, rushed on the enemy's swords and spears, and got slain, the fort would be lost at the same and even greater dishonour would be done to his captive family. As there was no hope of rescue, he preferred the saving of his family honour to the retention of the Emperor's favour and *mansab*, begged for quarters, and vacated the fort to the enemy.

In short, from Surat to Aurangabad and Burhanpur, all the land was subjected to the plunder and ravage of the Marathas; the roads of caravans became closed. Strengthened by their possession of Salhir, the enemy took two or three other forts (viz. Nahaba and others) in Baglana. At the urgent order of the Emperor, Dilir Khan went with a veteran army and a large park of artillery to besiege Salhir. In the assault many Afghan and Imperial troops were slain, but the siege dragged on and many men died of the badness of the climate. So the Emperor ordered the siege to be raised. (*Khafi Khan* ii, 24, 249).

§ 51.—Conquest and Piety.

Shiva marched towards the Karnata collecting *khandani* or *chanth* from every



SAINT RAMDAS TEACHING HIS DISCIPLE SIVAJI.

*By SRIMANT BALA SAHEB of the family of
the Pant Pratinidhi of Oundh.*

*By the courtesy of MR. P. V. MAWJEE,
the owner of the printing.*

place that he passed through, and then arrived in the country of Narkand. Parsuji Bhonsla, Hambir Rao Mohitay, Santaji Jhagtab, Man Singh Mawri, and other great generals accompanied him and received suitable presents. Hassan Khan, the chief of Gaugaon (=Sampatgaon), did not offer submission, in spite of the largeness of Shiva's force. He was attacked and for one week there was a hot fight, which ended in his defeat. He was too fat to ride anything except an elephant, and so he could not escape, but was caught. Bahir Rao, one of the highest officers of Shiva, was slain after a gallant struggle.

Shiva asked Hassan Khan to ransom himself by surrendering the fort of Kopal, but he declined. The Maharajah besieged and took the fort by sheer force. Then, in consideration of Hassan Khan being a good warrior, he released him, but the Khan, a man of a delicate sense of honour, took his disgrace to heart and swallowed poison.

As the Maharajah's fortune was in the ascendant, Siddi Halal and Jadav Rao, disgracing their own selves, appeared with their hands tied together.* The bazar or *pettah* of Rajpur was seized, but the fort was not captured as the Bijapur king had reinforced it. Putting off its conquest to a suitable time and deputing his men to besiege it, Shiva himself set out in another direction.

When he came to the pass of Rajapur, he heard that the devout God-knowing and enlightened hermit Baba Yaqut lived in the neighbourhood. Shiva went with eagerness to see him. On reaching his presence, he thought that he ought to beg for something. That knower of hearts rose from his seat and went elsewhere; Shiva followed him. After going a few steps he returned to his abode and saw Shiva. Pulling out a white hair from his moustache the saint gave it to Shiva, who entrusted it to Govind Vishwanath to put into a case as an amulet. As fate had intended it otherwise, the hair fell from the hand and was lost. The Maharajah, on hearing of it, dismissed Govind Vishwanath from the post of *potadar*. Deeming the loss of the hair an evil omen, he said, "Rajpur will be captured after much exertion." Leaving that place he went to see Ramdas Swami, a devotee who communed with God. Shiva thought within himself, "If he gives me any holy object, it will be a sure [sign] that Rajpur will be conquered [by me]." But when he arrived there, Ramdas gave him nothing, and the Maharaja grew very anxious. Ramdas, the searcher of hearts, divining the

Maharajah's disappointment, said, "After much exertion the fort you are thinking of will be captured."

At the same place he visited another saint Parmanand. Shiva said to that pure soul, "If through your blessing the fort of Rajpur is captured, I shall bestow on your Holiness one village for every fort I hold." The saint replied, "Grant [me] villages in the provinces of Haidarabad, Berar, Khandesh, Baglana, Malwah, and Guzerat." The civil officers present there thought within themselves, "Most of these places are not in Shivaji's possession. His Holiness's demand for villages in these parts is due to his indifference." The Maharajah, however, took it as a blessing and said, "All these provinces are [now] bestowed on me! Through your blessing they will be annexed by me." And it was done in a short time.

Marching away from that place in great joy he came to Mahara, the governor of which, Daud Khan, interviewed him and said, "Now that the Maharajah has ascended the throne, he ought to repose in one place. His whole kingdom is being regulated and administered in the best possible way." Shiva replied, "No kingdom can be preserved long without constant touring and attention. For watching over the peasantry, strengthening the forts, and putting down oppressors, it is necessary [for the ruler] to tour in his kingdom."†

Thence he returned to Raigarh. [Meantime] Moro Panth and Nilu Panth had quarrelled with one another and pulled in different ways. Shiva, in order to extinguish the hostility, gave away Moro Panth's daughter in marriage to Nilu Panth's son, and so reconciled them. Kanhoji Rao Sirkay, one of the chief companions of the Maharajah, demanded cesses (*rasum*) from all the villages under Raigarh. Krishnaji Saoji, the *desmukh* or *chaudhuri*, refused payment. Shiva in order to keep the ryots contented, did not permit force [to be used against them]. The world was filled with the praise of his kindness to the ryots. (*Tarikh-i-Shivaji*, 33, a—34, b.)

§ 52.—Expedition to Tanjore Planned.

Raghunath Narayan, *majmuadar*, spoke to Venkaji, the brother of Shivaji and king of

† This has a remarkable coincidence with Aurangzib: *view*, who said, "An Emperor should never allow himself to be overcome by love of ease and fondness for leisure, as this bad habit is the worst of all the causes of the ruin of kingdoms and downfall of States. He should be touring to the best of his power. Verses:—

It is bad for a king and water [alike] to remain stationary;
The water grows stagnant and the king loses control of his affairs."

* The text is obscure here. Did they surrender to Shiva?

(Irvine MS. No. 152, p. 8 a.)

Tanjore, in praise of Shiva's bravery, liberality, conquest of forts, and accession to the throne. Venkaji replied, "We have been nourished on the salt of the Emperor from of old. It does not become us to aspire to kingship." Raghunath Narayan left him in disgust and set off for Benares. When he arrived near Panhala, his intention of retiring to Benares was learnt from his speech and reported to Shivaji, who wrote to him urging him to visit him and not to depart without an interview. Raghunath came with his followers. Shiva advanced and met him. After observing the usual etiquette of society, Shiva asked him, "What feats have been performed and what bravery shown by you and [your master] my brother Venkaji? Shahji, before his death, bestowed [on Venkaji] a kingdom worth 5 lacs of *hun*. You have been free agents. But what places have you acquired by bravery? What feats have you achieved? You have not been able even to conquer a weak State like the Karnatak! You cannot expel Khawas Khan, who has been living in opposition to you in Jinji! Our father left me a *jagir* of only 4 lacs of *hun*, and now by the grace of the Cause of Causes I hold a territory yielding 50 or 60 lacs of *hun* a year, [besides] realising 80 lacs of *hun* as *khandani* or *chanth*. I have 40,000 horses in my stables; and 40,000 cavalry and two lacs of Mawali infantry are in my service ready to oppose my enemies, in addition to marines (*armad*) and other tribes beyond count. With my sword have I seized 300 forts and towers. As for the forts founded by me, who can count them? Through God's grace the praise of the good name of [my] great [ancestors] has been spread abroad. In future I hope for still greater success. What feats have *you* performed?" Raghunath

Narayan humbly replied, "It is the servant's office to make suggestions to his master, but sanction is in the hands of the latter. If servants neglect or fail to carry out their orders or to sacrifice their lives, they deserve punishment. You yourself are an illustration of it. Your bravery and intelligence are beyond the power of description. Every civilian or soldier glorified by your august service tries his utmost to carry out your orders, while you recognise their merits, and cherish every one according to his condition and deserts by means of promotion and *jagir*. Therefore is it that your fame for bravery and liberality has risen above the highest heaven. But whatever I suggested to my master, he called idle talk and I was nick-named "the futile minister." It is a waste of time to live in a court where the words of well-wishers are not heeded. Hence I am going to Benares, to meditate on God and earn bliss in both the worlds."

Shivaji admitted the truth of this speech. The Brahman continued, "With your Majesty's leave I shall state the real facts. May calamity overwhelm all your enemies! If you march against the kingdom of Tanjore (of which the revenue is 40* lacs of *hun*) and Diwalwal (which yields 12 lacs of *hun*) and some other *mahals* near it, your men can easily and quickly conquer them. Nor is it very difficult to impose *khandani* on the kingdom of Karnatak."

On hearing these words, the Maharajah was delighted, and kept the Brahman with himself after honouring him and granting him an allowance from the treasury for horses, elephants, and other things. (*Tarikh-i-Shivaji*, 34, b—35 b.)

JADUNATH SARKAR.

NOTES

Feeding and Sanitary Supervision.

The London correspondent of the "Birmingham Post" hears that Mr. Morley is considering a scheme which, it is hoped, may have not only the effect of reducing the mortality from plague in India, but of improving supervision and sanitary arrangements of infected districts in the dependency. If carried out, the scheme will involve large additions being made to the Indian Medical Department; and it is probable that in this event applications for service will be invited from members of the medical profession, both in the United Kingdom and the Colonies—India.

If we go to the very root of the matter, we cannot but arrive at the conclusion that the ultimate cause of plague is the poverty of the people. They starve or are ill-fed, because they are poor; they are ignorant of sanitary rules and cannot follow them even when they know them, because they are poor. So the real remedies for plague are the improvement of the material condition of the people and universal education. Hence when we hear

* So in the Persian text. 40 may be a mistake for 4.

the work of electing or nominating the members of the advisory councils be left to this body.

The reconstitution of the Legislative Councils.

Legislative Councils, we suppose, mean councils for making laws; that, at least, is presumed to be their main function. It is, therefore, only proper that those who understand law best, that is to say, the lawyers, should be excluded from these bodies as much as practicable. On the other hand, those who are not lawyers should be welcomed into the Council Chambers. This is good logic for India. For here we find that though the proceedings of the Councils are conducted in English, those members who do not know a word of that language are among the most honoured and the most weighty.

Government considers 36 per cent. of lawyers an unduly large proportion in a body meant for making laws! We think a preponderance of Sappers and Miners would not be objected to.

The proposals for the reconstitution of the legislative councils are obviously meant to introduce a larger element of the landed classes and of the Musalmans and to exclude the educated classes as far as possible, for the latter are "our enemies."

As the *Statesman* says:—

"Their object appears to be in the main to modify concessions previously granted, and in the light of what Government are pleased to regard as the teaching of experience, they amount, in fact, to a cautious step, not forwards but backwards."

The landed classes are wanted, for they are the "natural leaders" of the people! In England, however, these "natural leaders" constituting the House of Lords are treated with the greatest contempt and hostility by the party to which Mr. Morley belongs. There the Lords must be mended or ended. Here men of the same class are the "natural leaders." We used to read in our school books that natural laws are uniform in their operation everywhere. But it seems that what is natural in India is unnatural or monstrous in England. But if Government wants really to act according to the constitution of *Hindu* society at any rate and seek the advice of its natural leaders, it should bear in mind that that society is neither aristocratic, nor plutocratic, but *theocratic*; and, therefore, the Brahmans alone among Hindus should help in making laws now, as they were undoubtedly the legislators of Hindu India in the past.

We desire that all classes of the community

should have their interests safeguarded. But we believe the political interests of all Indians irrespective of creed, race or caste, are the same. Therefore, no representation by creeds, castes or races is required. If any law affecting only a particular class has to be made, Government has ample powers to nominate temporary additional members belonging to that class. In England, the home of representative Government, the Catholics, a minority, did not have a number of seats in parliament assigned them when they were "emancipated." In the same country the labouring classes are making themselves feared not by having a specified number of seats in the House of Commons reserved for them, but by the power of their growing intelligence and capacity for organisation. In India, too, the bracing atmosphere of competition is the best for all minorities, Musalmans or other. Mill, the authority on representative Government, wants that the interests of minorities should be safeguarded. But when he speaks of minorities, he takes into consideration only the *political* opinions of the people, not caring what their creed may be. That the political interests of different sects in India are different is a novel idea. All over the world the secularisation of politics has been one of the conspicuous features of the modern age. In India, too, one of the indirect beneficial results of British domination had hitherto been the slow growth of a feeling of greater solidarity among the various religious sects and communities dwelling therein. For sometime past, however, the forces of division and disruption have been vigorously set in motion; and the proposals of class, creed and caste representation are only an embodiment of the same policy, which as Government will find to its cost some day, is fraught with great danger. It will require all the tolerance, patience, and loving patriotism that we possess to counteract the mischievous effect of such a policy. For not content with treating the political interests of Hindus and Musalmans as distinct and opposed to each other, Government thinks that different Hindu castes and classes must have different political interests and, therefore, separate representation! For this theory, that the educated Indian, no matter to what caste he belongs, represents nobody but the small section to which he belongs, a theory which we repudiate in its entirety. But we,

* There are and have been cultured men in what are called the lower castes; e. g., the late Babu Kristo Das Pal, and his son, Babu Radhacharan Pal, and the late Dr. Mahendra Lal Sircar, belonging to the cultivator caste. Should they be taken as representatives of particular classes, or of the entire community?

the educated classes, will certainly turn class or caste representation to our advantage. The franchise will make the mass of the people take interest and part in politics in increasing measure, and we are sure to succeed in making them join our camp.

Supposing different classes should form different electorates; why should they be restricted to the election of only members of their own caste or class? If a rule were made that a blacksmith should be represented in legal or revenue transactions only by a pleader of the blacksmith caste, would it be a reasonable rule? So, we think if Government insists upon class representation, the electorates should be left to choose whomsoever they like. If in some particular year, a cultivator elector should think a trader candidate alone possessed the same political views as himself or was the best man to represent and advocate his interests, and such a hypothetical case is bound to occur almost at every election, why should the cultivator be bound to vote in favour of an inferior cultivator candidate? If a Hindu thought a Musalman candidate the best or *vice versa*, and such cases have happened, why should their choice be limited to their co-religionists? Of course Government may lay down reasonable educational or property qualifications for candidates.

There is one thing very peculiar about the provision made for the representation of the Musalman minority, whom, we may say incidentally, we do not in the least grudge any advantage that they may derive from the proposed changes. It is this. It is proposed that

A special Mahomedan electorate might be constituted, consisting of the following classes: (a) all who pay land revenue in excess of a certain amount. The figure need not be the same in each province, but should, in all cases, be sufficiently low to embrace the great body of substantial landholders, (b) All payers of income tax. This would comprise the trading and professional classes, with incomes exceeding Rs. 1,000 a year. (c) All registered graduates of an Indian University of more than, say, five years' standing.

Now, there is nowhere any proposal made that (a) non-Musalman paying "land-revenue in excess of a certain amount", (b) all non-Musalman payers of income-tax, and (c) all non-Musalman registered graduates of an Indian University of a certain standing, should have the franchise. We can understand a rule that the individuals forming a minority should have the same rights as those forming the majority. But we do not understand by what spiritual, moral, or political principles, the individuals

forming the minority are to have privileges which are denied to those, who form the majority. If a Musalman *graduate*, as such, of a certain standing should have the franchise, to elect Musalman representatives, why should not a Hindu, Christian or Parsi graduate of the same standing, have the franchise to elect non-Musalman representatives? If Musalman payers of income tax are to have the franchise, on what principle can it be denied to non-Musalman who pay the same tax?

We should like to ask one further question. Why should seats be *reserved* for the Musalman minority alone? Why not *reserve* seats for the nine millions of aborigines, the oldest children of the soil? Why not *reserve* seats for the Parsis, the most go-ahead community in India, which has furnished more captains of industry and princely donors to good causes than any other? For the Sikhs, the most loyal and martial of India's sons, who "saved" the British Indian Empire in 1857, and have since shed their blood in many a battle in and outside India? There are many other such communities. All these are *smaller* minorities, and, therefore, require protection much more than the Musalmans. At the same time they, too, have "political and historical importance." The Parsis, the Sikhs and various other communities have already formulated their demands.

There is one other curious feature of the Government proposals which we must not omit to notice. Considering the whole of India, the Musalmans are a minority, and, therefore, they may be considered entitled to special representation in the all-India or Imperial or Vice-regal Council. But in the two Provinces of the Panjab, and East Bengal and Assam, Musalmans constitute the majority and Hindus the minority. Therefore, if Government wants to follow a just principle, it should *reserve* some seats in the two Provincial Councils of the Punjab and East Bengal and Assam, for the Hindu minorities to safeguard their interests. Will Government do it?

In conclusion, we venture to make a suggestion. It is that all the seats to be given to Musalmans should be filled by election.

Decentralisation.

The King has approved the appointment of a Royal Commission to enquire into the relations now existing, for financial and administrative purposes, between the Supreme Government and the various provincial Governments in India, and between the provincial Governments and the authorities subordinate to them, and to report whether, by measures of decentralisation or otherwise, those relations can be

simplified and improved and the system of government better adapted to meet the requirements and promote the welfare of the different provinces, and, without impairing its strength and unity, to bring the executive power into closer touch with local conditions.—INDIA.

As there is to be no question of the introduction of an element of popular control over finance or administration, we are not much interested in or expect much good from the proposed shuffle of the administrative cards. Rather we may expect a sting from the tail of the terms of reference, which we have italicised above. "To bring the executive power into closer touch with local conditions" is only an euphemism for making the magistrate the autocrat of his district. No man is good or wise or capable enough to be an autocrat. Personal rule cannot be preferred to the reign of law. It is sure to degenerate into tyranny. But the rage is now all for autocracy from top to bottom, and the public should be prepared for an extra dose of it. In his paper in *Blackwood's Magazine* on "Disaffection in India," Sir E. F. Law says:—

"The official is too often a stranger to the people, who, if they knew and trusted him, would, with the fullest good-will, accept his rule as autocrat."

We shall see. Alas for that "if"!

The Success of Repression.

Officials and non-officials, European and Indian, are all agreed that there is discontent, some would say "unrest," in India. Opinions differ as to the causes and remedies. One view is that it is all the work of the agitator in the character of the journalist or the orator: repress him and it will be all-right. But the question is, if the people are quite happy and prosperous, if they have no grievances, why should they bring trouble upon themselves by listening to the alleged falsehoods of the agitator? The only way to kill discontent is to remove the matter of discontent, to redress grievances and satisfy popular aspirations, civil and military.

Repression is no remedy. It only drives the disease under the surface. It may seem at first sight that repression has succeeded in the Panjab. But the question is, what is the meaning of success,—the mere sullen silence of the people, or their contentment at heart? In Bengal repression has not met with even the apparent success that is presumed in the Panjab. There speakers and writers are speaking and writing just as they did before; or rather more boldly, and there is more unrest than ever. Of course, we do not know what effect an additional dose of the official remedy

may produce there. It all depends on the stage of political evolution at which the people of Bengal have arrived.

Is there rowdyism among our students?

Some students have been punished and others arrested in Bengal and Madras for assault and other criminal offences; and the cry has been raised that they are hooligans and worse. We emphatically repudiate the calumny. There are black sheep among them just as there are among Western students. But as a body they are far less turbulent and unruly than students in the West. They are characterised more by a deficiency than a superfluity of animal spirits. The real position is this. The people of India are still as peace-loving and unaggressive as before. But there has been a growing sense of self-respect among them; and they are, therefore, less disposed than before to take every insult and assault at the hands of Europeans and policemen lying down. Youth is more ardent and bold than maturity. Hence the natural tendency to hit back when you are hit is more perceptible among our young men than among older persons. As a rule, they are not the aggressors. Some of the other charges against them, false for the most part, are due to their zeal for Swadeshi. For the distinction between honest and dishonest Swadeshi is a distinction without a difference. And as Shakespeare's Fluellen perceived an occult similarity between Henry V of England and Alexander the Great, because one was born at Monmouth and the other at Lacedon, both beginning with the same letter "M"; so most officials seem to believe that there exists a mysterious connection between Swadeshim and sedition, as both the words begin with the same letter and emit a serpent-like hiss!

Students and public movements.

"Where there is *bande mataram* there is victory. So the Brajamohan Institution has stood first at the Entrance in the New Province and second in the whole University. It has also obtained three senior scholarships at the First Arts and one Honour at the B. A. The number of passes at the F. A. and Entrance are exceptionally high."

In August last we read in the papers the above telegram from Barisal. It is well-known that Barisal has been the centre of the Swadeshi-boycott movement. Nowhere has it been so successful as there, and students, teachers and professors have taken part in it. They have done most admirable famine

relief work, too. So, according to the official theory, Barisal students ought to have fared the worst in the University examinations. But the very reverse has been the case. What is the reason? Students, teachers and professors who are *really* patriotic, as they are at Barisal, far from neglecting their proper duties, discharge them more zealously than others, and at the same time do their duty to their country. Patriotism of a genuine character is characterised by a more rigorous self-discipline than can be produced by a thousand Risley circulars or the still-born babies of those circulars godfathered by Messrs. Jennings & Co., *un-Ltd.*

The Hague Conference.

The Christian Register of Boston says:—

What constitutes one's own country? What gives to the inhabitants of any land the right to say: "This is our country. We own it. We live in it. We have the right to govern it. No one from the outside has any authority over us or can justly establish any right as a paramount in our country." That there is a line which by common consent of certain strong nations is drawn between those who own their own country and those who do not is manifest. But, if the Congress at The Hague dared to tackle the question, nothing would throw more light upon the problem of governing the world than the frank declaration as to what nations are to be independent and self-governing and what nations and tribes are not; and, if not, why not? There is not a ruler in the world who would venture to state in plain terms, such as President Theodore or Emperor William often use, the law or the custom which is accepted as binding in the international relations of the strong governments.

Wanted Swadeshi Paper Mills.

Real Swadeshi paper mills are sure to be a success, if managed with tolerable business capacity. We, therefore, gladly publish the following:—

An investigation has been conducted, under the orders of the Government of India, by Mr. R. W. Sindall, F. C. S., into the conditions under which paper and paper pulp might be manufactured in Burma. Mr. Sindall's report has been published and contains a full account of his experiments and observations. The Government of Burma is now prepared to entertain applications from persons desirous of establishing manufactories for the conversion of bamboos, etc., into paper pulp or of paper mills. With a view to encouraging a new industry, the following concessions will be granted and agreements will be concluded for a period of 21 years of which the main terms will be as follows:—

(1) No royalty will be charged on bamboos cut and utilized for the manufacture of pulp or paper within the said period of 21 years, or if charged on bamboos cut by contractors and supplied to the paper mill it will be refunded to the owners of the mill. (2) No royalty will be charged for seven years, and thereafter

the royalty charged will be Re. 1 per ton of air-dry unbleached pulp or such other rate as may be subsequently decided. (3) If necessary, areas for exclusive cutting of bamboos and suitable fibrous plants will be reserved for paper mills. (4) Suitable sites for the erection of a factory, if available, on Government land will be granted rent-free for a period of 21 years subject to such restrictions as may be found necessary. (5) The free use of all roads to and from such a factory will be guaranteed.

On the other hand the Company or other party to the agreement will be bound as follows:—(1) to build a factory within two years from the date of the concession and to keep the same working at least 120 days in each year; (2) to produce after the first seven years an annual output of 10,000 tons, and after 14 years, an output of 24,000 tons of paper stock per year; (3) to render monthly statements showing the output of the mill each month; (4) to allow a full inspection of all books by the Local Government.

The agreement will be considered null and void if operations are not commenced as provided for in the terms of the concession.

Copies of the report of Mr. Sindall on the manufacture of Paper and Paper Pulp in Burma can be purchased from the Superintendent, Government Printing, Burma.

The organisation of industry.

It may perhaps be pointed out that what we need as a people is even more the organisation of industry than industry itself. Many of our finest products have perished for want of lines of communication between workman and patron. To-day, the man who wants a piece of carving in wood or stone, though he knows his motherland to be prolific of the thing he desires, has no idea precisely where to look, and is driven back on *bideshi* machine-wrought ugliness, for very lack of time and energy to waste in fruitless search. The same is true of a hundred things. A Calcutta woman wants a Madras *sari* of white and gold. Where is she to go for it? The thing is perhaps being woven, by Madrasi craftsmen, near her own threshold. But how is she to know? She abandons the desire, and contents herself with a substitute. We know that wonderful pottery is produced at Neemuch, near Chittorgarh, in Rajputana, that certain forms are obtainable at Mirzapore, near Benares, that old Indian dyes may still be found at Jeypore and in some of the Native States. *But unless we take a railway journey to those places, we cannot avail ourselves of any of them.* And a railway journey, from one end of India to the other, to buy a piece of green cotton valued at a couple of annas, may seem unreasonable.

What is the remedy for this? We have never loved advertisement, as a feature of

modern industrial development. Yet advertisement of some sort and to some extent, if we are really to establish *Swadeshi*, there will have to be. Perhaps the best of all would be an agency taken up by some better-class family, in each place, for the answering, at a certain low and fixed fee, of all enquiries and the prosecuting of all orders, in connection with local crafts and trades. This agency would have to advertise itself and would have, moreover, to prove itself both trustworthy and intelligent. A point of professional honour would be that it should never transmute itself into a shop, as then the interests of unrepresented crafts and craftsmen would be sure to suffer. Such agents, moreover, might well be possessed of a missionary spirit, realising the great influence and opportunity in their hands, to foster antique and precious trades. But they should not confine themselves to the old indigenous industries alone. The new also require the same organisation and assistance, and must have it, if they are not to perish. The very ink with which I write at this moment (an ink whose like I have never seen in any country) is a new product of the *Swadeshi* movement, manufactured in a Calcutta lane. But when I want more, I have the greatest difficulty in obtaining it. The shops are plentifully supplied with a rival kind, which I do not consider comparable in quality. My servants cannot find the obscure address at which this is made. The post-office plays havoc with my letters on the subject. At last I am driven to beg the help of friends living near the manufactory, and they insist on paying for the ink. Obviously, this process cannot be repeated indefinitely. It is inevitable that some day I shall abandon the unequal struggle, and lose this particular ink, to my undying regret (for I like it so much, that I would take it with me on an Arctic Expedition!), and also prove to the makers of it, a warm friend gone. Now this series of events is typical of a hundred or a thousand other products.

When will the higher classes learn that the organisation of industries is, under modern conditions, as necessary as those industries themselves, and that this is for them to supply? No one living in an Indian city can find a carpenter, a locksmith, a builder, without difficulty. Why cannot we learn a lesson from the great European firms, in this respect? Is there any likelihood that a boy made to specialise in the habit of giving information about local labour and procuring

it at the shortest notice, would earn less at the task than at the starvation-crankships which are at present his sole outlook?

There are fortunes to be made in the organisation of Indian industries, and these fortunes will rob no one, but be as useful to the humble workman as to the organiser himself.

The Asiatic Abroad.

In British Columbia and elsewhere there have been serious trouble and rioting on account of the persence of Chinese, Japanese and Hindu labourers, who undersell the Whites in the labor market. Therefore the demand is that the Asiatics must be deported. The Chinese and the Hindus might have been dealt with more easily, but the Japanese are a rather hard nut to crack. However, the world must understand that the Whites are entitled to go and settle wherever they like and exploit whatever "coloured" country they like, but non-Whites must not "poach" anywhere in the preserves of the Whites. The white races of the world profess to follow the religion of Christ, which enjoins universal brotherhood, but in practice they follow the teaching of the Sage of King Olaf—

"Force rules the world;
Has ruled it,
Will rule it.
Meekness is weakness.
Force is triumphant."

Mr. Templeman, Dominion Minister of Inland Revenue, speaking in Victoria, strongly advanced admitting to Canada only immigrants likely, by assimilation and intermarriage, to assist to build up a homogeneous population.—Reuter.

So it must be gospel truth that the early white immigrants and colonisers and their successors were love-sick swains who went to America, Africa and Australia to marry Red Indian, Negro and Maori maidens "to build up a homogeneous population!"

Japan and Korea.

Indian readers cannot watch too closely the accounts which come from the unfortunate Empire of Korea, of the Japanese and their treatment of that country. It is well-known how the Emperor of Korea has been compelled to abdicate and how the Japanese Resident-General in that country is now practically the Emperor. It is well-known, too, how the Korean delegation could get no hearing at the Hague Conference. The delegation say: "The Japanese are behaving in Korea like savages. They are permitting all kinds of barbarities against property and against the people, especially the women."

What we see here is no friendly suzerainty, no chivalrous protection of the rights of a neighbour against foreign aggression, but on the contrary, an invasion and spoliation so cruel, so cold, so pitiless, that it is more like brigandage than anything that we remember even in the blood-curdling annals of imperialism. Japan is behaving to a sister people, not many years ago her superior in prestige, as Spain behaved in Mexico, almost as Belgium the other day, in the Valley of the Congo. Greater were the mercy of the wolf for the kid, greater the clemency of a tigress with starving cubs. Which things are a parable, for we see here the heart that Japan has, for Asiatic countries.

A New Enterprise.

The catalogue of Scientific Apparatus by Mr. B. M. Mukherji of the Thomason College, Eorooke, is a new departure in the field of scientific activity, which will not fail to enlist the admiration of connoisseurs of scientific apparatus in India. India has been famous from time immemorial for the manual dexterity and manipulative skill of her artisans, but, as such skill was divorced from intellectual ability, it could only bring forth works of an inferior type. It is a pleasure, therefore, to observe signs of great manipulative skill in close association with mental powers of a high order in the various apparatus described in the catalogue under review. So far as we are aware, this is the first time that glass apparatus requiring such skill and finish, have been manufactured and offered for sale in India. The enormous difficulties, Mr. Mukherji has had to encounter, will be evident from the fact that he taught himself the difficult art of glass-blowing with only the meagre help he might have derived from books, which are far from being perfect. In order to learn the art as thoroughly as he has done, it must have cost him years of hard unrelenting labour.

The apparatus mentioned in the catalogue will meet a great want of research workers in this country. Most of the imported glass apparatus of this nature are costly and being extremely fragile, are in many cases broken in transit. This is a source of great annoyance and loss of valuable time. Moreover, it takes months to obtain a new apparatus from Europe and research workers have often to come to a stand-still or to postpone their work indefinitely for want of a suitable means of obtaining their apparatus locally. We have reasons to believe that training in glass-blowing will, for the above reasons, form a part of the curri-

culum of the Indian Institute of Research. Credit is, therefore, due to Mr. Mukherji for having anticipated a crying want of the times and scientists in India will welcome the manufacture of such classes of apparatus in this country.

A special feature of the catalogue is the various modifications introduced in the apparatus which, we have reasons to think, will be found to be very useful. Some of the apparatus, moreover, are new designs by Mr. Mukherji, and, being very simple and cheap, ought to find a good market. The Mercury Still may be specially mentioned. It has been spoken of by no less an authority than Professor James Walker of Dundee as "very good and simple." It ought to prove a boon to all laboratories, where gas is available. Mr. Mukherji ought to introduce a Still to work with spirit lamps.

As Mr. Mukherji is the only worker in the field of table glass-blowing in India, it would be a great gain if he could train a few pupils in this delicate and difficult art, and create a band of young men to work with him and in the various laboratories in India. Of course, pioneer work of this kind is extremely uphill work and will need much support and encouragement. The Government of Sir John Hewett is, however, keenly anxious for technical education and industrial development, and we trust that the capable and intelligent young artist who has shown such promise, will meet with requisite help and patronage.

There is a vast amount of glass apparatus imported from Germany and Austria every year. It will be a great gain if this important industry could be developed in this country. The Government may, in these cases, well utilize indigenous talents.

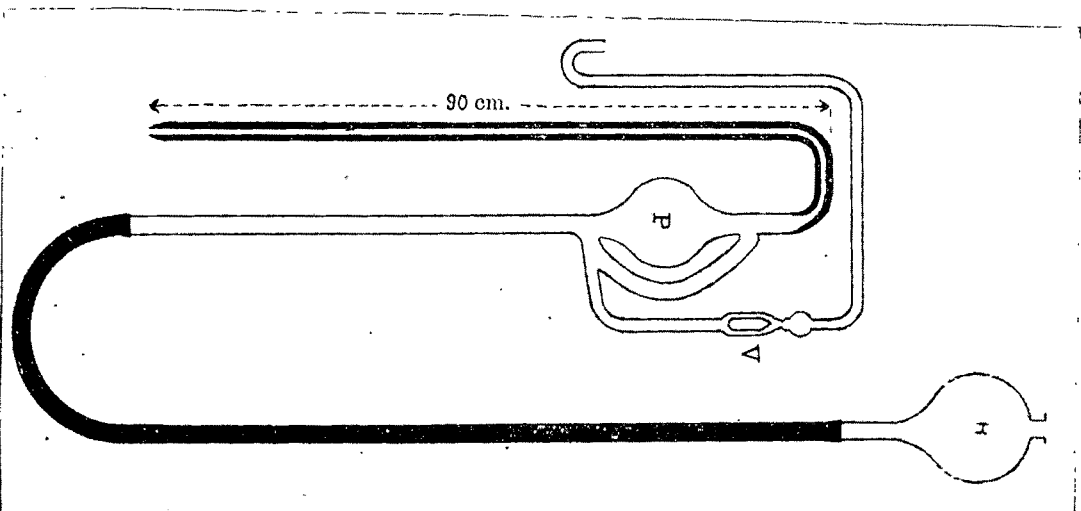
P. C. RAY,

D. Sc., Prof., Presidency College.

An Anecdote.

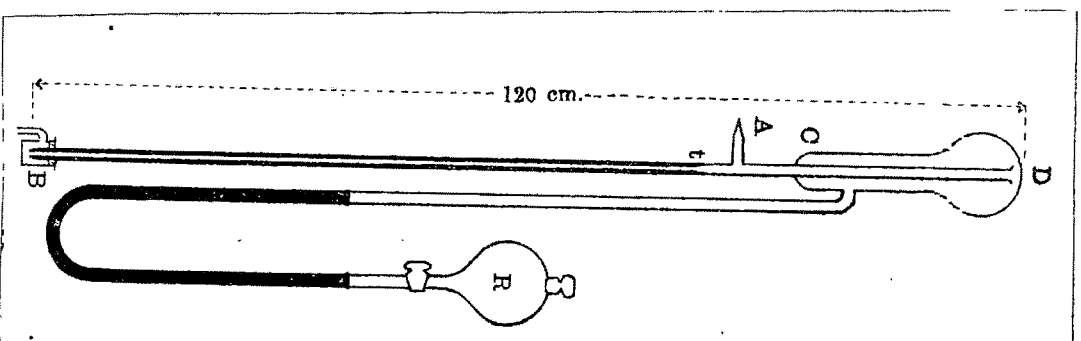
When the young prince Naushirwan succeeded to the throne of his fathers, he summoned all the learned men of his kingdom, and said to them, "I have been taught that sovereigns would commit fewer errors if they were enlightened by the example of the past. Therefore I wish to study the annals of mankind. I order you to compose a universal history and to neglect nothing to make it complete."

The learned men promised to satisfy the desire of the prince, and withdrawing at once



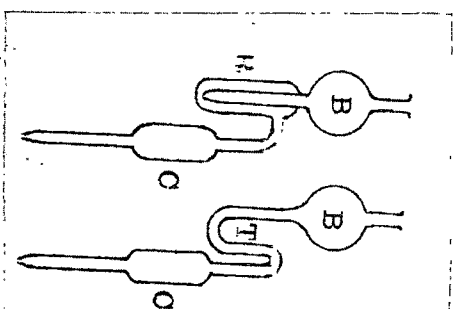
TOPTIC PUMP.

Very well done—Dr. J. W. Leather.



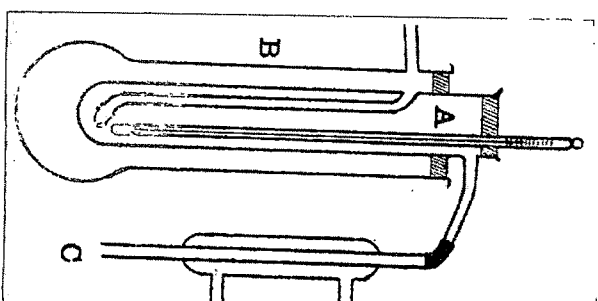
MEKER'S MERCURY STILL.

Very good and simple. Best known w. h.



MEKER'S SAFETY PIPETTES.

From *Chemical News*. 31st March 1904.



MOLECULAR WEIGHT APPARATUS.

Well made—worked excellently

set to work. At the end of thirty years, they presented themselves before the king, followed by a caravan of twelve camels, each bearing five hundred volumes.

The dean, after prostrating himself on the steps of the throne, spoke thus:—

“Sire, the academicians of your kingdom, have the honour to place at your feet, the universal history that they have composed according to the orders of your majesty. It comprises six thousand volumes and contains all that we have been able to collect concerning the manners of peoples and the vicissitudes of empires. We have inserted the ancient chronicles which have, by good fortune, been preserved, and we have illustrated them with abundant notes on geography, chronology and diplomacy. The prolegomena alone are a camel’s load and the paralipomena are with difficulty carried by another camel.”

The king answered:

“Gentlemen, I am very much obliged to you for the trouble you have taken. But I am very much occupied with the cares of government. Moreover, I have grown old while you were working. I have passed by ten years the middle of the road of life, and even supposing that I die full of days, I cannot reasonably hope to have the time to read so long a history. It will be deposited in the archives of the kingdom. Be so good as to make for me an abridgement better proportioned to the shortness of human existence.”

The academicians of Persia worked for another twenty years. Then they brought to the king fifteen hundred volumes on three camels.

“Sire,” said the dean, with a voice weakened by toil and by age, “here is our new work. We believe we have omitted nothing essential.”

“That may be,” answered the king, “but I shall not read it. I am old; long enterprises are not suitable to my age. Abridge once more, and do not delay.”

There was so little delay, that at the end of ten years they returned with a single camel carrying five hundred volumes.

“I flatter myself,” said the dean, “that I have been concise.”

“Not yet concise enough,” answered the king. “I am at the end of my life. Abridge, if you wish me to know, before I die, the history of mankind.”

The dean appeared again before the palace at the end of five years. Walking with crutches, he held by the bridle a little ass which carried a big book on its back.

“Be quick,” said an officer, “the king is dying.” In fact the king was on his death-bed. He turned a feeble glance towards the dean and his big book and said with a sigh:—

“I shall die then, without knowing the history of men.”

“Sire,” answered the dean, almost as near death as himself, “I will sum it for you in three words, *they were born, they suffered, they died.*”

It was in this way that the king of Persia learnt universal history at the moment of passing from this world to the next.

The Death-Bed of Dasaratha.

The simple pathos of this picture will be best appreciated by those who have seen the original. Through the open window-space, we see the night, with its stars. It is the hour of darkness, relieved only by the lamp behind the bed, suspended by what looks like a fine gold thread. Dasaratha lies dying, in the room of Kausalya. The pain and yearning in his face, and the gesture of thought, so suggestive of listening for a returning footstep, tell their own tale. The Queen has been fanning her husband,—no queen but a wife. But suddenly, overcome by the thought of her own loneliness, and Dasaratha’s grief, she has thrown the fan aside, and her head is bowed on her arms, in mingled sorrow and prayers. Soon the soul of the aged king will go forth amidst the open spaces of the universe, and she will be left without husband or son. Pain, pain, pain. But a pain that touches us the deeper because it is so wonderfully restrained in expression. We know that henceforth for Kausalya the night-winds will mean of this hour. We know that her life will know years of loneliness, that her widowhood will be a thing most sacred and beautiful. Yet there is no vulgar abandonment of grief, here. All is quiet, all is hushed, all is controlled. No one who holds in his hand the original sketch in water-colours can help speaking in a whisper. The spell cast by the intensity of the drawing is too great.

This sketch is the work of a student, one of the students of the Calcutta Art School. Mr. Abanindro Nath Tagore can no longer be said to represent his own school of painting by himself. He has succeeded in creating a following. The pupils of the Art School have begun to produce original work of true value. It may be said that Modern Indian Art—at once genuinely Indian and genuinely Modern—is born at last. The Indian mind is at work in this field of human endeavour.

It is always easy to be wise after the event, but one feels that the outstanding characteristics of these new drawings might perhaps have been foreseen. The first thing that strikes the beholder is *their meditative power*. Each picture seems to have been thought of, in a great silence. This is another way of saying that the Indian Artist has a unique power of portraying self-restraint. This quality pervades the picture before us. It is equally distinctive of the exquisite "Surya" of another student, to be reproduced in another issue of this paper. In "The Telling of the news of Kurukshetra to Dhritarashtra," it would appear, from accounts given, that the same quality is found,—the suggestion of intensity controlled.

Another quality for which these pictures are remarkable is that of simple splendour and refinement. The furnishings of a king's bed-chamber, here, are a couch, a lamp, a carpet, and a fan! The reproduction, too, cannot bring out, as the emphasis of colour enables the original to do, the supreme decorative value of the touches of gold on couch, fan and *sari*, the bracelet on the Queen's arm, or the exquisitely-beautiful lamp, hanging low, behind the screen afforded by the bed. The window of massive stone left empty, adds another touch of magnificence. Where did these boys learn such dignity, such almost sublimity, of household furnishing? The tiling of the floor, in the black and white print, is too prominent, as is also the pattern of the carpet. But these faults do not exist in the original.

Those who care for the birth of a great new art in India, worthy of her past, and fit to become one of the springs of her future, may pray, with trembling joy, for the work now being done, and the beginnings now being shown, in the Calcutta Art School, under Mr.

A. N. Tagore. Nor must we forget that Mr. E. B. Havell is due the credit of having foreseen these possibilities, and having laboured to make the appointments that have proved so fruitful.

N.

Saint Ramdas and Sivaji.

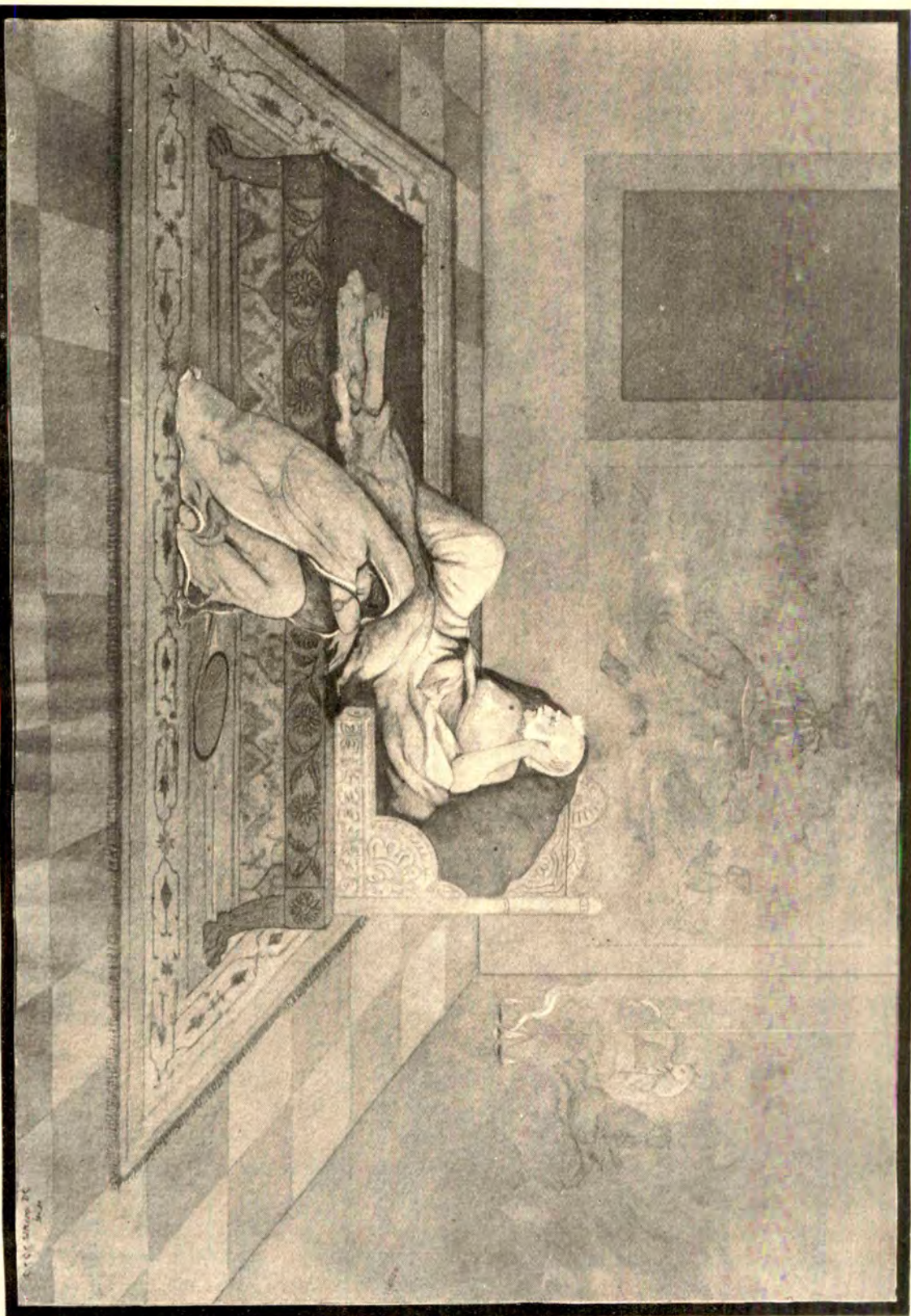
Saint Ramdas was the guru or spiritual preceptor of Sivaji. It is said that once in the course of his peregrinations Ramdas arrived at Satara, where Sivaji was also putting up. When begging alms, Ramdas came to the door of a householder and stood there saying "*Jay Raghupati*." Sivaji, who was living next door, recognising the sound of his Master's voice, ordered his principal officer to write an order to the effect that he gave to Ramdas all his territories and other property. He then fell prostrate at his feet and gave him that paper as alms. The saint said "We do not appease our hunger with paper but with food," and asked a bystander to read the paper. Learning its contents he smilingly asked, "Well, Siva, what will you do now?" Siva said, "I shall serve your feet with your other disciples." It is said that at his Master's orders, Siva donned the Sannyasi garb and begged alms from door to door. Pleased with his obedience, Ramdas ordered him again to attend to his regal duties. Shiva said; "How can I take back what I have once given away? Kshatriyas do not behave thus." Ramdas said: "Kshatriyas should perform the duties of their order." When Sivaji would not even then take back his kingdom, Ramdas ordered him to govern it as his servant. Sivaji agreed, and henceforth the ochre coloured cloth of Sannyasins became the national flag of the Marathas. This explains the two pictures by Srimant Balasaheb reproduced in this number.

GUIDE TO INDIAN HISTORICAL LITERATURE

I.—THE SIKHS AND RANJIT SINGH.

BELOW I give a critical bibliography of the historical and descriptive works bearing on the Punjab from the rise of the Sikhs to the British annexation. Of the immense number of travels and lives of the British officers who visited Lahore during this period or fought in the Sikh wars in an

early part of their career, I may have left out a few but none I trust of any importance. For all practical purposes the list is a complete one. I have divided the books according to their subjects, but there is no more useful classification, *viz.*, original histories and compilations. The student of history rightly values the former, instead of receiving his information second hands from the latter. The war of 1845 ga



THE DEATH-BED OF DASARATHA.

a sudden impetus to the making of books on the Punjab, and many of the works issued from 1845 to 1848 (especially the controversial ones) were of a catch-penny character.

Then, again, the reports of different travellers on the country and court of Ranjit Singh and of the actors in the military drama on the Sutlej vary in value according to their different powers of observation and literary expression. I have specially marked with stars the more valuable of these. But the historian of manners, the lover of the picturesque, the historical novelist in search of graphic touches, can pick up useful points from nearly all of them. The general reader should make a start with Thorburn's *Punjab in Peace and War*, Lepel Griffin's *Ranjit Singh*, and Cunningham's *History*.

I cannot say anything of Nos. 3, 6, 12, and 33, as I have neither examined nor read any criticism of them.

SIKH RELIGION.

*1. Trümp—*Adi Granth*. [The standard authority.]

***2. M. Macauliffe—*Life of Guru Teg Bahadur* (Lahore, 1903). [Author engaged on a much more elaborate work on the sacred writings of the Sikhs and their Authors.]

HISTORY OF THE SIKHS.

3. Sir J. Malcolm—*Sketch of the Sikhs*, 1812. (Reprinted from the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XI.)

For a valuable account of the Sikh religious tenets and the Gurus see T. P. Hughes's *Dictionary of Islam*, 2nd ed., (W. H. Allen, 1895), pp. 583-594.

***4. H. T. Prinsep—*Origin of the Sikh Power in the Punjab and Political Life of Muha-Raja Runjeet Singh*, (Military Orphan Press, Calcutta, 1834.) Based upon the report of Cap. W. Murray, Political Agent at Umbala. [Invaluable as the source of many later compilations. The information collected was the best then available.]

***5. J. D. Cunningham—*History of the Sikhs*, 2nd edition (J. Murray, 1853.) This edition should be preferred to the first, as it contains the author's last notes and a fearless exposure of the British policy by the deceased author's brother. This work is simply invaluable. [There is also a cheap reprint by the Bangabashi Press, Calcutta.]

6. C. Wade.—*Our Relations with the Punjab*. (1823.)

*7. W. L. McGregor.—*History of the Sikhs*, 2 vols. (Madden, 1846) [Quotes largely a good official report. Is original and valuable on the war, which the author saw as an army doctor.]

***8. W. G. Osborne.—*The Court and Camp of Ranjit Singh*, with an Introductory Sketch of the Rise of the Sikh State, (Colburn, 1840) [A very graphic picture by an able observer.]

9. Lieut.-Col. Steinbach—*The Punjab* (Smith Elder, 1845.) [Was in the Sikh service. Book too brief to be of any use.]

*10. G. C. Smyth.—*History of the Rangoon Family of Lahore* with some account of the Jummoo Rajas, the Seik soldiers and their Sirdars, (Thacker, 1847.) [Valuable in some details. Unequal in character. Requires careful use in the controversial portions.]

*11. [Sir H. Lawrence].—*Some passages in the Life of an Adventurer in the Punjab*. (First edition, Delhi 1842. Second ed., in 2 vols. London, 1846.) A novel, with very valuable notes, describing the administration, court, and officialdom of the Punjab under Ranjit Singh. Of great use to the historian.

12. [Anonymous].—*History of the Feroz and the Rise of the Sikhs*, 2 vols. (1846.) This work is founded on No. 4.

13. J. W. Kaye.—*Life and Correspondence of Charles Lord Metcalfe*, 2 vols. (1854) Metcalfe went to Ranjit Singh as British envoy in 1803. [The second edition is abridged in its earlier part.] *The Papers of Metcalfe*, edited by Kaye, may contain references to this embassy, but I have not examined it.

14. G. Forster.—*Journey from Bengal to England through Northern India, Kashmir, Afghanistan, &c.*, 1783-84, 2 vols. (1796), early description of the country and people.

15. Lepel Griffin—*The Rajas of the Feroz*, 1870.

16. Ditto —*The Chiefs of the Punjab* [The standard authority on the lesser chiefs of the Punjab].

*17. W. Irvine—*The Later Mughals*, in the Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. [Greatest authority on the successors of Aurangzib. Accurately puts and critically examines all the information available from Persian and European books and MSS. on the subject.]

BOOKS OF TRAVEL DESCRIBING RANJIT SINGH.

*18. Victor Jacquemont.—*Letters from India*, translated from the French. (Churton, 1831, 2 vols. [There is another edition in 2 vols.] The author was a young but devoted French scientist with very fresh powers of observation and a pleasant style.

*19. Sir A. Burnes—*Travels into Bokhara, &c.*, new edition, 3 vols. (Murray, 1839.) [A great traveller, diplomat, and writer. Long regarded as an authority on these parts.]

20. Mohan Lal.—*Journal of a Tour through the Punjab, Afghanistan, &c.*, in the company of Lieut. Burnes. (Baptist Mission Press, 1834.) Another edition was published in England in 1846. [One of the first products of English education in India. The author's English is curious but not incorrect.]

21. Moorcroft and Trebeck.—*Travels in the Himalayan Provinces*, the Punjab, Ladakh, Kashmir, &c. 1819-25, edited by H. H. Wilson, 2 vols.

22. C. Masson.—*Narrative of Journeys in Baluchistan, Afghanistan and the Punjab*, 1826-33, 3 vols. (Bentley, 1842.)

*23. E. Fane.—*Five Years in India*. 335-39, 2 vols. (1842) Aide-de-camp to Lord Auckland; accompanied him to the Court of Ranjit Singh.

***24. E. Eden.—*Up the Country*, (Bentley 1867) supplemented by *Letters from India*, 2 vols. (1872.)

The sister of Lord Auckland; visited Ranjit in the company of the Governor-General. Vivid and detailed descriptions by a practised writer and shrewd observer.

25. C. J. French.—*Journal of a Tour in Upper Hindustan, 1838-39.* (Agra, 1854). [A clerk in the *entourage* of Auckland]

26. Shahamat Ali.—*The Sikhs and Afghans* immediately before and after the death of Ranjit Singh. (Murray, 1847). [Mohan Lal's school-fellow. Writes admirably correct English].

*27. C. Hügel.—*Travels in Kashmir and the Panjab*, translated from the German by Major Jervis. (Petheram, 1845). [Valuable observations of a great German scientist].

28. G. T. Vigne.—*Ghuzni, Kabul, and Afghanistan*, (1840). [A delightful book of travel].

*29. Honigberger.—(*Thirty-five Years in the East*, 2 Vols. (1852), Court Physician at Lahore. There is also a reprint by the Bangabashi Press, Calcutta. [Valuable as coming from one in close touch with the Sikh Court].

30. Von Orlich.—*Travels in India, Sindh, and the Punjab, 1842-43*, translated from the German, 2 Vols. 1845. [Un-English eyes turned on the Sikhs.]

31. W. Barr.—*Journal of a March from Delhi to Peshawar* . . . with the Mission of Sir C. M. Wade, (1844). [Was a keen observer and excellent writer. Descriptions and style admirable.]

*32. Alex. Gardner.—*Soldier and Traveller*, Col. of Artillery in the service of Ranjit Singh, edited by Pearse. (1898). Also gives the history of the First Sikh War. [Valuable, as coming from one behind the scenes.]

THE SIKH WARS: HISTORIES:

33. Gen. Caulfield.—*The Punjab and the Indian Army*, (1846).

*34. J. Coley.—*Journal of the Sutlej Campaign of 1845-46* (Smith Elder, 1856). [Graphic account by an army doctor.]

*35. Malleeson.—*Decisive Battles of India*. [The best-written account of the war, by an expert writer and soldier, free from bias, and fearless in seeking the truth.]

36. Gough and Innes.—*The Sikhs and Our Sikh Wars*, (1897). [A modern compilation.]

37. C. N. Hardinge.—*Recollections of India, the Punjab, and Kashmir*, 26 lithographic views. (1847). [A good pictorial illustration—helps us to visualise the scenes.]

38. Sir H. Hardinge.—*Despatches on the Sikh War*. [Formal official reports, not always expressing the truth.]

*39. Subaltern.—*Leaves from the Journal of a*, during the Punjab Campaign, reprinted from the "Times" (Edinburgh, 1849). [Very graphic account by an eye-witness.]

*40. J. H. Lawrence-Archer.—*Commentaries on the Punjab Campaign, 1848-49.* (Allen, 1878), [A critical study of the greatest value. Excellent plans of battles.]

*41. E. J. Thackwell.—*Narrative of the Second Sikh War* (Bentley, 1851). [Valuable account by an actor in the war, the son of Gen. Thackwell.]

42. Parliamentary Papers—*Papers relating to the Punjab, 1847-49*, (1849) [Official versions. Scornfully rejected by Malleeson as suppressing and distorting the truth.]

*43. H. B. Edwardes.—*A Year on the Punjab Frontier in 1848-49*, 2 Vols. (Bentley, 1851) [Very valuable, especially for the siege of Multan.]

*44. Sir H. Lawrence.—*Essays contributed to the Calcutta Review*. [Reprinted in one volume, 1859.] The earlier volumes of the *Calcutta Review* (which was started in May, 1844) are a store-house of information.

BIOGRAPHIES OF ACTORS IN THE SIKH WARS:

*45. Sir H. Smith.—*Autobiography*, 2 vols. (1901) [The victor of Aliwal.]

*46. W. W. W. Humbly.—*Journal of a Cavalry Officer* including the Sikh Campaign of 1845-46 (Longman, 1854.) [A graphic and scholarly writer. Admirable description of India.]

*47. Major G. Broadfoot.—*The Career of*, (Murray, 1888.) [Contains a long contemporary account of the Sikh War and its diplomacy by a very capable officer.]

*48. Sir H. Lawrence, *Life of*, by Edwards and Merivale, 3rd ed. in 1 vol. (Smith Elder, 1873) [of great value, especially on the political side.]

49. Sir G. Lawrence.—*Forty-three Years in India*, (1874.) [Throws interesting side-lights on the Sikhs and the Second Sikh War.]

50. Col. A. Mountain.—*Memoirs and Letters of*, edited by his widow, 2nd ed. (Longman, 1857). Died in battle, 1849. Useful history.]

*51. Rait.—*Life of Hugh, Viscount Gough*, 2 vols. (1903). [Clearly proves how Gough was overborne by Dalhousie even in military matters.]

*52. W. S. R. Hodson.—*Twelve Years of a Soldier's Life in India*, edited by his brother, 2nd ed., (Parker, 1859). [Interesting in every part, especially the Mutiny.]

53. N. W. Bancroft.—*From Recruit to Staff Sergeant*, with sketches of the Sutlej Campaign (Calcutta, T. S. Smith, 1885) [A most vivid sketch of the common soldier's life and realistic picture of the war.]

54. Sir H. Havelock.—*Memoirs of*, by J. C. Marshman. (Longman, 1860), several editions.

55. Lord Clyde.—*Life of*, by Shadwell, 2 vols. (Blackwood, 1881) [Detailed account of General Colin Campbell's experiences in the 2nd Sikh War.]

56. Reynell Taylor.—*A biography of*, by E. G. Parry, (Kegan Paul, 1888) [contains little of any value.]

57. General Kenyon.—*Autobiography of*, edited by Lloyd. (1880.)

58. Lee-Warner.—*Life of Dalhousie*, 2 vols. (Mac-Millan, 1905).

*59. Mrs. Colin Mackenzie.—*Life in the Mission, the Camp, and the Zenana*. 2nd ed., 2 vols. (Bentley,

1854) [The lady's husband was an officer engaged in the war. She was very active and a facile descriptive writer. Many graphic touches.]

60. Lieutenant-Colonel P. R. Innes.—*History of the Bengal European Regiment* (S. Marshall, 1885) [An useful work, especially as giving information from the regimental history.]

61. Captain E. Buckle.—*Memoir of the Services of the Bengal Artillery*, edited by Kaye. (1852) [Of the same class as No. 60.]

* 62 Sir H. Durand—*Life of*, by his son, 2 vols. (1883).

63. Hugo James—*A Volunteer's Scramble through Scinde, the Punjab, &c.*, 2 vols. (1854.)

64. L. Bowring—*Eastern Experiences* (1871) [contains, among other things, 'the Panjab before Annexation' and 'the Sikh Invasion of the Cis-Satlaj country'.]

MODERN COMPILATIONS.

*** 65. S. S. Thorburn.—*The Punjab in Peace and War* (Blackwood, 1904) [A very interesting book, marked by great literary skill and a wonderfully lucid style. Should be read by all.]

*** 66. Sir L. Griffin.—*Ranjit Singh* (Rulers of India Series. 1892). [A well written monograph by a first-rate authority.]

67. Syad Muhammad Latif.—*History of the Panjab* (Calcutta, 1891.) [A mere paste and scissors work without literary charm or historical criticism. A ponderous and wearisome compilation.]

68. Gen. Gordon—*The Sikhs*, [a readable short work with no pretension to originality.]

JADULATH SARKAR.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

ENGLISH.

Lectures on Shakespeare (Stapford A. Brooke and A. C. Bradley).

It is a great pity that none of our men of letters in India have written anything that may be deemed imperishable about the world's most eminent dramatic genius. So far as I am aware there is not a single work of criticism on Shakespeare in any of our vernaculars, which deserves to be seriously read and pondered over. All the Indian authors of repute have been notoriously remiss in this respect. Even in Bengali literature which has shewn marvellous expansion during the last fifty years, and has been pronounced to possess mighty potentialities of further development, there has not been made any notable attempt at writing an estimate of the great bard. If you searched amidst the cataract of books that are poured out every year in Bengal for an illuminating study of any play of Shakespeare, if you tried to find any work dealing in the right psychological way with the men and women marshalled forth before our admiring gaze by his magic wand, why, you would be hopelessly engaged in a losing game. While in Europe and America critics are constantly endeavouring to read the mind and art of Shakespeare, to grasp the inner secret which makes him in the confused struggle and distracted hurly-burly of modern life a fountain light of all our day, a master light of all our seeing, Indian students have remained lapped in sheepish quiescence.

The literary graduate who wins the Premchand Roychand Scholarship is supposed to exhaust all that appertains to Shakespeare and his period, and to know through translation all that has been written and thought about the poet in foreign languages. None in India is, therefore, better equipped to interpret

Shakespeare's noble dramatic ventriloquism in an enthusiastic and inspired strain. Yet no member of that far-shining host has deemed it fit to devote his pen to the subject. What is still more deplorable, there is no sonnet, ode or elegiac verse to Shakespeare's memory.* He has had ardent homage paid to him in every civilized country in the West. Why is it then that in India, where, embodying as he does the finest spirit of English Literature, Shakespeare has done most to revolutionise our thought and mould our lives on a lovelier pattern, there should be such a dearth of passionate worship of his name, such an aggravating lack of written appreciation, such an object want of permanent form of reverence? We are not a haggard, spent-out, decadent people—we have something of the energy of the Elizabethan times, mighty heart-throbs and quickened "brain-pakings,"—there is a fiery rush and a stormy upheaval visible on all sides—new horizons have lifted, new vistas have opened, new aspirations have come—our voices, morally speaking, have taken a higher range—we have shaken off to a certain extent the auspicious yoke of old custom, the dominance of ancient ties—there is a new joy and a new splendour everywhere. Yet the most golden-mouthed inventor of harmonies that any age has known, goes without a laurel wreath from us! The only adequate explanation would seem to lie in the fact that the lordliest intellects of India are to-day plunged in the meltem of political activity, and have neither the leisure nor the inclination for placid literary pursuits. They are spending their energies in more obstreperous channels and are silent about a Shakespeare-draft when all jealousies would be quenched, all bitterness would be

* A reverent attitude like that of Swinburne towards the world's greatest poet is a thing quite unknown in India.

removed, when the links of sympathy would be vastly strengthened, and love and mutual trust ensured beyond the furthest reach of doubt. Let Shakespeare be the rallying-sign and bond not only of Saxon brotherhood, but of all people who speak the tongue that he spake!

The lectures by Rev. Stopford Brooke are on ten plays of Shakespeare: *Midsummer Night's Dream*, *Romeo and Juliet*, the two *Richards*, *Merchant of Venice*, *As You Like It*, *Macbeth*, *Coriolanus*, *Winter's Tale* and *The Tempest*: those by Dr. A. C. Bradley are only on the four tragedies: *Hamlet*, *Othello*, *Lear* and *Macbeth*.

Stopford Brooke is here more colloquial, more free, more chatty than in his books on Tennyson and Browning. In some parts he is certainly eloquent, but there are none of those flights of imagination, none of those kindling phrases which we meet with in his former works. We have short, bright, sunny expressions scattered in profusion, but there are very few passages of sustained beauty. He has of course something new to say—he has not unpacked his heart with merely repeating platitudinous common-places and stale catch-words of criticism. He has made novel features emerge from the character he has touched upon, and has described with ineffable felicity the salient points in them. But his supreme skill lies in drawing our attention to a special aspect of some of the female folk of Shakespeare, namely, to the golden atmosphere of love and womanhood which the great poet has, with inimitable art, poured around them. No other Shakespearean critic has brought this out with such clearness, insight and perfection. He takes a peculiar pleasure in dwelling upon the psychological moment when the lovers meet and changing eyes thrill with sweet emotion. When the soul races along, it is very difficult for a girl of Juliet's impetuous temper or Miranda's unsophisticated nature, or of Portia's love-laden fancy, to keep within the limits which the traditions of civilized society have prescribed for the other sex, but this is what Stopford Brooke says of the daughter of the house of the Capulets, of the child reared amidst powers and influences of sorcery, of the Mistress of the magic palace at Belmont. This of Juliet:—

"It is night, and only the light of stars, when Romeo slips over the wall. There lies the orchard, and there the balcony where Juliet stands. . . . She is equally passionate; but of course Shakespeare with his exquisite tenderness for women has saved her innocence from too great unreserve. She speaks to the night her love, unaware of her listener, and when she knows he has heard her confession, she delays her yielding with an array of questions, seeking to recover her maiden reserve. When she yields, her speech is perfect in its womanhood."

This of Miranda when she is surprised in a moment into the passion of love and in wonder with it:—

"Will the artist keep her natural? Will she be womanly without lowering the type of fine womanhood? Will he also represent, in all her ways, the logical result of the circumstances which precede her meeting with Ferdinand?" "An affirmative answers all these questions. The delicacy of Shakespeare's touch bears him with divine ease through this maze of difficulty. Miranda is at all points in harmony with herself and her situation. . . . She lives in a preternatural air, yet belongs heart and soul to common humanity;

she loves with a complete self-surrender, yet guards her modesty, the reserve of her sex, and her moral dignity."

And this of Portia whose suitors arrived from the four corners of the world:—

"Portia is the Muse of Wisdom and of Love. . . . But her wisdom is above all, the wisdom of fine womanhood. Underneath her distinct type, and unaffected by her wealth and rank, the instincts natural to pure womanhood direct her speech and action. . . . The love she so frankly confesses to Bassanio does not lessen, but increases his reverence for her. It is the giving of love, not the giving up of personality. In the yielding she retains her dignity and her distinctiveness."

If the indulgent reader did not feel surfeited with these long extracts and could pardon us for harking back to Stopford Brooke's Tennyson, we would fain quote the passage in connection with the sweetest picture which the Laureate drew in *Elaine of the Idyll*; when she blows the accepted conventionalities to the moon and blazes forth into the following confession before Sir Lancelot:—

"No, no," she cried, "I care not to be wife,
But to be with you still, to see your face,
To serve you, and to follow you thro' the world."

"She rises," says the critic, "to the very verge of innocent maidenliness in passionate love, but she does not go over the verge, and to be on the verge and not pass beyond it is the very peak of innocent girlhood when seized by overmastering love. It was as difficult to represent Elaine as to represent Juliet; and Tennyson has succeeded well where Shakespeare has succeeded beautifully."

When we pass on to the Lectures of Dr. Bradley, we are on a different level of criticism. The style is grave, dignified, and full of imperial stateliness throughout. This is of course in keeping with the author's main aim, since the subject is Shakespeare's tragic art. There are sentences in the book which have a touch of "phantasy and flame." It is lighted up with a glowing appreciation. And though the analysis of the principal characters is much too detailed for the patience of the general reader, these studies are written from a most sympathetic standpoint, and are beyond doubt very invigorating. It is an original work and not a pale replica of what others have said before. Dr. Bradley's interpretation of *Othello* is the best and most luminous—it is like "a watch with a dial-plate of transparent crystal shewing the subtle mechanism within." He kindles into an ecstasy of admiration as he goes on to treat of his character. Here and there he has been betrayed into an extravagant praise, but it would be difficult to challenge any of his statements as entirely wrong.

"Othello is, in one sense of the word, by far the most romantic figure among Shakespeare's heroes; and he is so partly from the strange life of war and adventure which he has lived from childhood. He does not belong to our world, and he seems to enter it we know not whence—almost as if from wonderland. There is something mysterious in his descent from men of royal liege; in his wanderings, in vast deserts and among marvellous peoples; in his tales of magic handkerchiefs and prophetic sibyls. . . . And he is not merely a romantic figure; his own nature is romantic. He has not indeed the meditative or speculative imagination of Hamlet; but in the strictest sense of the word he is more poetic than Hamlet. Indeed, if one recalls Othello's most famous speeches—and if one places side by side with these speeches an equal number by any other hero, one will not doubt that Othello is the greatest poet of all."

This savours a trifle of exuberance. Magniloquent expressions charged even with intense feeling do not

constitute poetry. Grand words mated with grand deeds are in a sense poetical, but the function of all fine poetry is to awaken suggestions urging the mind along strange starry tracks of thought. The language of *Othello*, *Lear*, *Macbeth*, is informed with imagination, and in moments of intense passion rises to sublime heights, but the soliloquies of *Hamlet* stand apart.* And there could not be a more convincing testimony than the fact that round *Hamlet* has accumulated a mass of literature second only in interest to that devoted to "Him whose bleeding feet have trod the nailed cross." It is idle, therefore, to maintain that the Moore of Venice is more poetic than the Prince of Denmark.

A critic† in reviewing Dr. Bradley's lectures has remarked that it might have seemed improbable that in these late days there was room for more interpretation of Shakespeare. He apparently forgot that each age would find new aspects and new meanings in his dramatic works. "A good reader," says Emerson, "can in a sort of way, nestle into Plato's brain and think from thence; but not into Shakespeare's. We are still out-of-doors." Or as Matthew Arnold writes:—

Others abide our question. Thou art free.
We ask and ask—Thou smilest and art still
Out-topping knowledge.

That is to say the last word will be said, the final stage of criticism will be reached regarding the loftiest intellects of Hellas and of Rome, regarding Homer, Virgil, Dante, Goethe, but in Shakespeare the "latest generation of men will find new elucidations of their own human being." (Carlyle).

HIRA LAL CHATTERJI.

The Cloud-Messenger or the Exile's Message, being a translation into English verse of Kalidasa's "Meghadutam," with introduction and notes, by S. C. Sarkar, M. A., Calcutta, 1906.

The Fall of Meghnad, being a metrical translation of Michael Madhusudan Dutta's "Meghnadbadh Kavya," by Umesh Chandra Sen, Calcutta, 1907.

I have always been of opinion that a translation in verse of a poem in one language into another language is a mistake. Professor Goldwin Smith has spoken of the translation into English verse of Homer as one of the polar expeditions of literature. The reason is apparent,—only a great master can produce a *replica* of another. And then the metrical systems are different, the idioms are different, the very connotations of words are different. If a poet undertakes the translation, he may produce a fine poem, but it would not be Homer; if he is not a poet, he had better adopt the safer, if more commonplace, medium of prose. I can conceive of fine poems being written on the basis of poems in a different language, but, as it is, I prefer

* Voltaire called the piece rude and barbarous. Anybody with a true sense of poetry would sacrifice all the plays that Voltaire ever wrote, his eight and twenty tragedies and half-score of comedies for the soliloquy in *Hamlet*. (Voltaire by John Morley).

† Quoted in the Press Opinions at the end.

Andrew Lang's prose rendering of Homer to the various metrical versions which have been executed or attempted since Chapman's time.

But where you do not pretend to have made contributions to the English literature properly so called, I do not doubt a metrical translation may be of considerable value. First of all, poetry attracts people sooner than prose, and, next, if the translation is faithful and accurate, it may serve to introduce people to the riches of an unknown tongue. Good literature is always worth reading and re-reading even in translation.

Now Kalidasa's *Meghadutam* does not stand in need of an introduction. He is one of the very greatest bards of which our country can boast, and his erotic lyric, "The Cloud-Messenger," is in expression and thought nectarine throughout. Bengali is closely allied to Sanskrit, and there are several Bengali versions of the *Meghadutam*, but none is quite satisfactory. If I could get the original, I would not read any of them. English, on the other hand, is very far indeed from Sanskrit, and the difficulty of Mr. Sarkar's self-imposed task can be easily imagined. The translators of Wilson and Griffith's school produced mellifluous couplets, which ran very smoothly but often ran far away from the text. Mr. Sarkar on the other hand, has kept close to his original, so close indeed that College students may even use his book as a 'key,' and the result is that the joints of his Pegasus sometimes show signs of stiffness. There is e.g., not much poetry in lines like these:

"He offered it some new-blown hill-jasmines."
"The saying, that in absence love doth wane
Is non-sense?"

Some expressions also here and there jar, e.g., "brisk-eyed dame" on p. 36 and "lasses" or "lasses" in several places where 'maidens' or even 'wavelets' would have been better. But the translation is readable throughout and conveys the sense of the original admirably. As a fair specimen of Mr. Sarkar's manner I will quote the translation of one of the best-known stanzas:—

"In *Syama* plant I find thy body matched;
In the gaze of wild gazelle, I meet thy glance.
In th' Moon thy face reflects! The peacock's tail
Remind me of thy hair; and on the streams,
The tiny wavelets, match thy dancing brows!
But, nowhere, love, I meet thine image full."

(Will not the third line run better as "The Moon thy face reflects," &c.? The reader will remember Poe's

The moon never beams without bringing me dreams
Of my beautiful Annabel Lee,
And the stars never rise but I see the bright ones
Of my beautiful Annabel Lee.)

Michael Madhusudan Dutt is not so well-known, but if there is any poet in Bengal—and Bengal has produced some true poets during the last fifty years and more—whose blank verse has a roll and an majesty which are almost Miltonic, that is he. It is, therefore, fitting that the epic *Meghnadbadh Kavya* should have been rendered into English blank verse. There are false quantities and faulty lines in Mr. Sen's work,

occasional expressions which might perhaps be altered for the better—to give one instance, he speaks of Pramila several times as “the beauty” where ‘the fair one,’ in my judgment, would have been more appropriate,—but this translation is a wonderful piece of work. It is literal, sometimes even too literal, and it is a sustained effort of over 230 pages maintained at a very fair level throughout. As a sample I quote the translation of a famous passage:—

“Alone in grief immers’d in *asok* wood,
Weeps the Desire of Raghav, in a room
Obscure, in silent tears. In joyful sports
Engag’d, quitting the lady, roam afar
The dreadful Rakshas dames, as if, quitting
The lifeless hind, the tigress fearless roams
In distant woods. Her pensive face, alas!
Was like a diamond in the darksome womb
Of mine, where Phœbus’ darts can never reach,
Or, as of Ramā with her *bimba*-lips
Eneath the waters. Moans the wind afar
At intervals, as one, when weeping, sighs.
The leaves in sorrow murmuring move; the birds
On branches silent sit. At foot of trees
In heaps the flowers lie, as if the trees
Have cut of grief thrown all adornments off!
The streams with wailings of tumultuous waves
Towards the ocean bend their far off course,
As if to tell the monarch of the seas
This tale of woe. Within that forest deep
The moonbeams never make their way. Does e’er
In turbid waters lotus bloom? and yet
That wondrous beauty has the wood illum’d.”

Both the gentlemen whose works I am reviewing are graduates of the much-abused University of Calcutta. They are both in the Bengal Provincial Civil Service, one in the executive and the other in the judicial branch. So remarkable is the mastery over a foreign tongue which they display that one feels tempted to ask the Anglo-Indian manufacturer of “Babu English” to try his hand at verse-making in his own mother-tongue and get an impartial critic to judge whether his production can be compared with the work of these “Bengali Babus.”

It remains to add that both gentlemen have added helpful notes to explain the text. Mr. Sarkar has also prefixed an “introduction” to his translation which contains much useful information about the date of Kalidasa. The lover of good literature, I have no doubt, will appreciate the labours of Messrs. Sarkar and Sen.

SATISH CHANDRA BANERJEE.

GUJARATI.

Govardhan Smarak Anka or the Govardhanram M. Tripathi In Memoriam issue [illustrated] of the Samalchhak, (July 1907). N. M. Tripathi & Co., Bombay.

A substantial volume of nearly 225 pages, this publication is a somewhat unusual event in the history of Gujarati Literature. It reminds one of the memorials of Byron and Wordsworth, the Byroniana and the Wordsworthiana. It contains papers and articles by various well-known Gujarati writers, of both sexes, on the life and life-work of the late Mr. Govardhanram M. Tripathi. The idea of publishing such an

issue was first started by a contemporary, the *Vasanta* of Ahmedabad, and was successfully carried out. It comprised a number of thoughtful and informative articles, and it was apprehended that there was no room for another collection on the same lines. But the volume before us has dispersed all such fears, and has conclusively shown what a strong hold the late Mr. Tripathi had on the minds of the Gujaratis. The papers descend at various lengths on the biographical incidents and literary events in the life of the subject of the memoir, and they all furnish interesting, if not fascinating reading. At times, one fears there is repetition but that cannot be helped while so many are invited to write on one and the same subject. This remarkable issue will, it seems to us, till it is supplanted by the promised biography of Tripathi, stand unrivalled as a mine of information, and collection of criticisms on his work, and help to solve many knotty points, which students felt while studying him and his books.

The great popularity of Mr. Tripathi among Gujaratis is evinced by the accompanying picture called “The Setting of the Moon of the Gujarati Literature.” It is described as follows:—

“The above picture has been designed to serve as a memorial to the ever-lasting obligation under which the late Govardhanram Madhavram Tripathi has laid the Gujarati-speaking communities. It is an attempt to depict the chaste and transcendent influence which this great literary orb of Gujarat had for a long time shed on its world of thought and which influence is still continued to be shed through his writings. The Ocean in the picture is the ocean of thought which the powerful attraction of this great genius has bestirred and sped on to wash and purify the otherwise untouched shores of Gujarat. On the bosom of this ocean are shown carried in an onward course the published works of the great author, while his unpublished and unfinished works are to be seen lying on the shores awaiting the ocean to extend its arm and take them on to the flowing tide. The female figure on the shore supporting herself by the rock by her is Gujarat lost in grief and shedding burning tears over her irreparable loss. The spirit of her beloved son, however, while about to disappear, seems to cheer her up by the famous poem which his hero Sarasvatichandra has addressed to Kumud, his intended wife:—

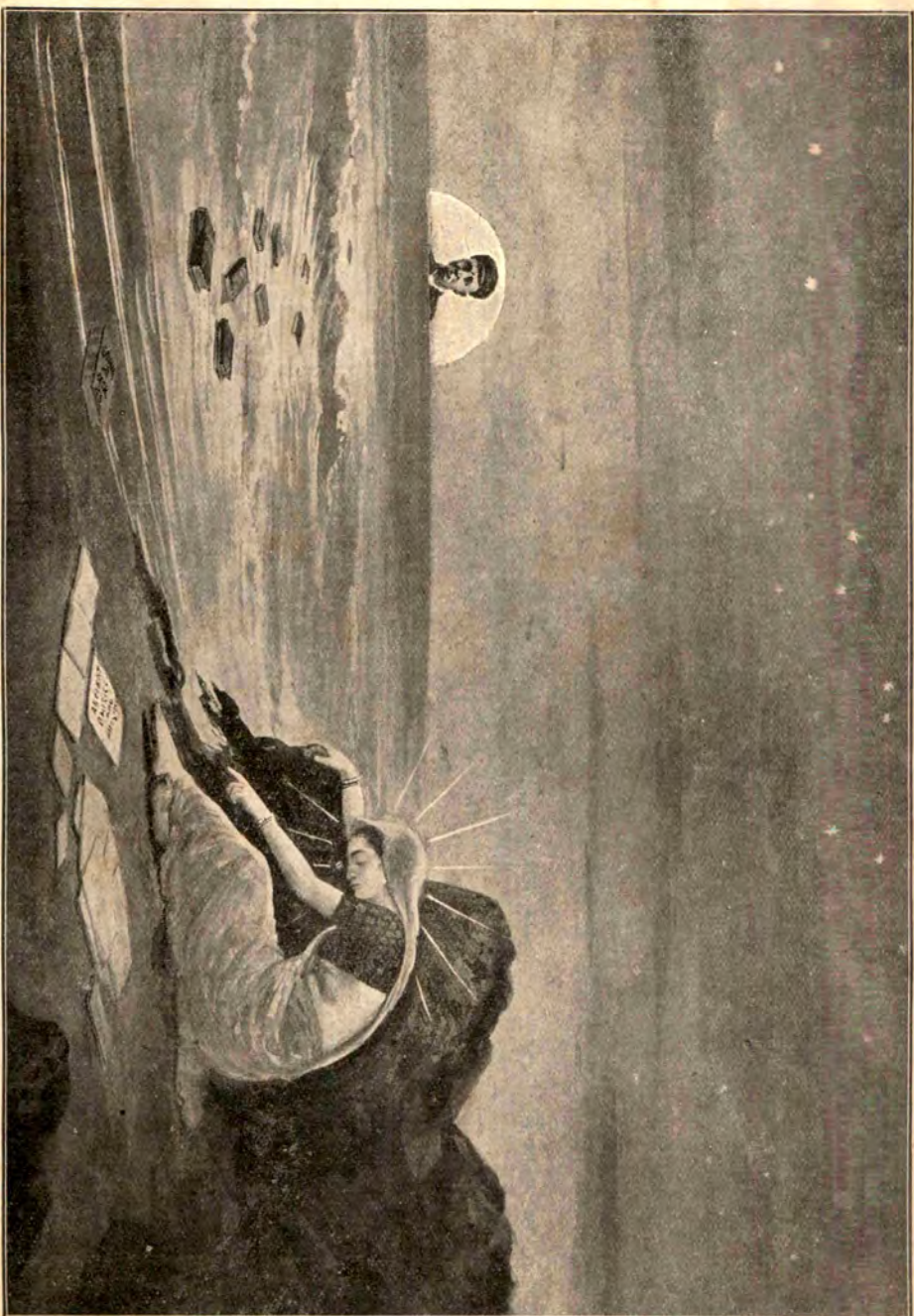
‘Oh, sweet beloved night,
Do not grieve thyself by the beloved moon disappearing,—

Take hold of the bright and pleasant rays of the day-causing sun and convert thyself into a smiling being in the shape of the glorious day.’

And the curious author wonderingly asks, ‘where is the sun’ whose rays shall thus light up the gloom and spread light in which the departed author has enjoined his beloved Gujarat to seek support.

PURSHOTAM VISHRAM MAWJEE,

J. P., M. R. A. S.”



THE SETTING OF THE MOON OF GUJARATI LITERATURE.

INDIAN PRESS, ALAHABAD.

Supplement to "The Modern Review."



DEWALI, OR THE FEAST OF LAMPS.

By Mr. Abanindranath Tagore.

By the courtesy of the Artist.

INDIAN PRESS, CALCUTTA.

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SUFISM

THE fundamental doctrine of Sufism from which all others follow is the doctrine of *tauhid*, the unity of God. Omar Khayyam writes* :—"The heart said : My desire is for the higher knowledge, teach me if thou hast the power. I said : Alif. It said : Say no more, if one is in the house a single letter is enough." The letter *Alif* with its single stroke and its numerical meaning of one, is the symbol of the One Being. Now when the Sufi insists on the oneness of God, he does not mean merely to deny the existence of other gods. He means that too, no doubt, but he means much else besides. The conception of unity strictly taken excludes all difference. Every man differs from moment to moment, his body is extended and has different parts, he possesses different qualities. But with God there is no difference either in time, space or quality.† His existence is beyond space and time.‡ The distinction between essence and qualities, *ذات* and *صفات* has no validity for Him. We

* دل گفت مرا علم لدنی هوس است
تعلیم کن اگر ترا دست رس است
گفتم که الف گفت دگر هیچ مگر
در خانه اگر کس است یک حرف بس است

† Cf. *Paradiso* xvii, 18. Il punto a cui tutti il tempi son presenti. (The Point to which all times are present) and again *Paradiso* xxx, 12. Dove s'appunta ogni ubi ed ogni quando (where every Where and every When are centred.)

‡ زمانش لا زمان باشد - مکانش لا مکان باشد

§ St Augustine's Confessions, iv, 29. It even hindered me, when imagining that whatsoever existed was comprehended in those ten categories (of Aristotle). I tried so to understand O my God, Thy wonderful and unchangeable unity as if Thou also hadst been subjected to Thine own greatness or beauty so that they should exist in Thee as their subject (as in bodies) where as Thou Thyself art Thy greatness and beauty.

speak of God's Justice and Mercy.§ But God's Justice is not distinct from God's Mercy nor is either distinct from God Himself. While the theologian must owing to the inadequacy of human language, write of God as possessing various attributes, the mystic, like S. Bernard, endeavours to contemplate Him *per essentiam*, in His pure Unity. ||

All objects except God are finite and transitory.

کل شیئی و هائک الا وجهه

(All things perish except His Glory). They change from instant to instant and perish in the very moment in which they arise. No sooner can we say of any one of them "It is" than already it is not. Thus except God nothing is. ¶ The doctrine of *tauhid* properly understood, requires us to believe that He alone really exists. As Abu Said says,** "Deny thyself and acknowledge the existence of the Truth. this is the meaning of 'There is no God but God.'" For the Sufi knows, that like all things else, he

Compare Omar Khayyam *موصوف بذات است اگر نیست صفات*

|| Cf. *Paradiso* x, 59—63.

E sì tutto il mio amore in lui (God) si misse
Che Beatrice eclisso nell' obbligo
Non le dispiacque ; ma si se ne rise
Che lo splendor degli occhi suoi ridenti
Mia mente unita in piu cose divise.

Beatrice, the reader need hardly be reminded, symbolises theology, and the passage means that theology drew Dante away from the intuition of God in His Unity, to the consideration of His different attributes.

¶ St. Augustine's Confessions, xii, 17. I viewed the other things below Thee, and perceived that they neither altogether are, nor altogether are not. They are indeed, because they are from Thee ; but are not, because they are not what Thou art. For that truly is, which remains immutably.

¶ نفی خود و اثبات وجود حق کن * این معنی است لا اله الا الله *

himself exists only in God. This is beautifully expressed by Maulana Rumi, in lines which though they are already familiar to many English readers, may be given here.

"There came a certain one and knocked at the door of his Friend. His Friend said, 'Who art thou, O faithful one.' He said: 'It is I.' He said, go, it is not yet time; in this house there is no place for that which is unripe. The unripe, except the fire of absence and separation, what can ripen, what can free from hypocrisy? That wretched man went away, and for a year in wandering, in separation from the Friend, was burnt as by the lightning flash. He was ripened and burnt, then returned, again came to the home of the Companion. His friend cried, 'Who is at the door?' That man said, 'At the door Thou also art, O Thou who ravishest the soul!' He said, 'Then, since thou art I, O I, enter in! There is no room for two Is in the house.'"

بانگ ز دیارش که بر در کیست آن * گفت بر در هم توئی اے دستاں
گفتا کنوں چوں منی اے من درآ * نیست گفتت بایش دومن را در سرا

With new knowledge, the objects of desire change. We cease to care for things for which we once cared, and care for things to which we were once indifferent. The thirsty man no longer wishes to drink the water before him when he knows it is not fresh but salt. So, too, he who knows that God is the only Reality will attach little value to many of the things after which other men strive. As it is written in the Sacred Book,

من یرد ثواب الدنیا نودته منها و من یرد ثواب الآخرة نودته منها

"Whosoever desires the reward of this world on him do we bestow it; and whosoever desires the reward of the next world on him do we bestow it." But if we ask what is the true reward of the next world, we have the explanation in the life of the Prophet. We take the account of his last moments given by Ibn Hishām. The Prophet had been ill for some days but he had rallied a little and had been to the mosque for prayers. On his return he felt tired and lay down with his head in Ayesha's lap. His strength was rapidly failing. Then Ayesha says, "I found the Prophet heavy in my lap. And I turned and looked in his face and lo! his eyes were fixed and he was gazing upwards and he was saying, 'The Companion higher than heaven' (الرفیق الاعلی من الجنة). Those were the last words he uttered.

The reward of the next world is then the Companion. It is related of S. Thomas Aquinas that when he had completed the *Summa*

* Gardener, Dante's Ten Heavens. Compare Ferid-ud-din.

گفت اے جاہل نہ آگاہ ازو * مگر تو چیزے خواہی ارزا خواد ازو

(O ignorant one, thou knowest Him not if thou askest anything. Ask Him from Himself.—Mantiq-ut-Tair).

Theologiae he heard a voice say, "Thomas, thou hast written well concerning Me, what reward wilt thou receive for thy labour?" and he answered, "Lord, no other beside Thyself."* But he who desires God only, will neither hope for what other men think to be the joys of heaven, nor fear what they dread as the pains of hell. Thus Omar Khayyam speaks of himself as "free from the hope of mercy and the fear of torment," (فارغ ز امید رحمت و بیم عذاب) and again he says:—

"In the hermitage, the school, the monastery and the church, they are in fear of hell or in search of heaven. He who has learnt the secrets of God, has sown nothing of this seed in his bosom."†

So, too, according to the *Mantiq-ut-Tair*, Rābia said, "If I look towards the two worlds or desire anything but Thee, I am an unbeliever."

گر بسوے هردو عالم بنگرم * یا بجز تو هیچ خواهم کاذم
For both in this world and in the next, the Sufi cares for nothing but the vision of God. We are told in one of the Hadith that the Prophet said:—

والدنيا حرام على اهل الآخرة والاخرة حرام على اهل الدنيا وما حرامان
على اهل الله تعالى

"This world is profane for the people of the next, and the next world is profane for the people of this, and both are profane for the people of God." The aim of Sufism may be given in the one word *Vasl*, union. Thus Abu Said says, "When union with Thee falls to my possession, I can despise the lot of those in paradise, and if without Thee they call me to the plains of paradise, the plains of paradise would be narrow for my heart."‡ Now *Vasl* may be attained even in this life. He who knows that all things are in God need not seek Him as one who is far off. He Himself has said, *نحن اقرب اليه من حبل الوريد* (We (God) are nearer to him (man) than the vein of life. In the words of our own poet,

He is closer to thee than breathing, he is nearer than hands or feet.

در صومعه و مدرسه و دیر و نکشت †

ترسده ز دروخند و جویایے بهشت

آنکس که ز اسرار خدا باخبر است

زیں تخم در اندرون دل هیچ نکشت

روزیکه مرا وصل تو در چنگ آید * از حال بهشتیان مرا ننگ آید ‡
درچے تو بصحرای بهشت خوانند * صحرای بهشت بر دلم تنگ آید

If we are not conscious of His presence, it is because the many noises of the world prevent us from hearing the whispers of the divine voice. We do not perceive Him though He is near, because our eyes are bent on other things, our souls filled with other thoughts. Such has been at all times the teaching of the saints both Christian and Mahomedan. Let us take first a passage from the writings of a Christian saint.

"We were seeking between ourselves in the presence of the truth which Thou art of what nature the eternal life of the saints would be.....We were saying, then, If to any man the tumult of the flesh were silenced; silenced the phantasies of earth, water and air; silenced, too, the poles; *yea, the very soul be silenced to herself, and go beyond herself by not thinking of herself*; silenced fancies and imaginary revelations, every tongue and every sign:.....and He alone speak. If this could be sustained, so that his life might be eternally like that one moment of knowledge which we now sighed after, were not this "Enter thou into the joy of thy Lord"?"

This was at Ostia some two hundred years before the birth of the Prophet. Passing over many centuries, we are told of a Mahomedan saint, "One day Báyezid Bustami in the fervour of his longing for God cried, O Lord when shall I be united with Thee. A voice came from heaven: Báyezid, as yet thy thy-ness is with thee. If thou desirest to reach Me, leave thyself and come."*

ندا آمد که بایزید هنوز توئی تو همراہ تست اگر میبخشوی که
بهراسی دع نفسک و تعال -

The soul can only go beyond herself by forgetting herself, we can only come to God by leaving ourselves. It is our individuality, our I-ness, that separates us from Him. We shall be conscious of Him, when we are no longer conscious of our own personality. We must cease to seek, cease to strive, and abandon ourselves, in entire self-surrender to the Divine influence. To quote Abu Said once more, "When I am in my senses I am seated in the midst of strangers; when I am out of my senses I have embraced the Friend."

We have found that the doctrine of Sufism is summed up in the word *tawhid* (unity), and the aim in the word *Vasl* (union). We must now ask what is the mode of life, the method by which this aim may be attained? We may take the answer from a Christian writer, for the saints whether Mahomedan or Christian all tell us the same thing.

*Cf. De Imitatione, Book III, Chapter lvi. "In so far as thou canst go out of thyself, so far wilt thou be able to pass over into Me." And again Chapter xxxvii, "Leave thyself, and thou shalt find Me."

"If thou must needs have peace and true union, thou must cast all else behind thee and cast thine eyes upon thyself alone. Thou wilt then make great progress if thou keepest thyself free from all temporal care. Thou wilt fail exceedingly if thou set a value upon anything temporal."

The same lesson is given in the form of a parable in the Masnavi.†

"A certain merchant had a parrot imprisoned in the cage of the world. When the merchant intended to go on a journey to Hindustan, he called to himself every servant and every maid and said, 'What shall I bring for thee? tell me quickly! Whatever each one asked, that good man promised. He said to the parrot: 'What dost thou wish as a present? What shall I bring thee from the country of Hindustan? The parrot said to him: 'When thou seest the parrots there, tell them of my lot. Give them greeting from me and tell them that there is a parrot here who is longing for you. Is it right that he should die in exile? that he should be in hard imprisonment and you in the meadow, on the tree? The merchant went on his journey and brought the greeting of the parrot to his brothers in India. Of all the parrots, one trembled and fell and died. The merchant was grieved that he had destroyed a living thing. When he had finished his business, he returned to his own country. His parrot asked him: 'What present dost thou bring for thy servant? The merchant said, 'I myself repent of my own action, for when I had told thy complaints, one of the parrots trembled and died. When the parrot heard this he himself trembled and fell and became cold. Bitterly weeping for the loss of his friend and the sharer of his secrets, the merchant opened the door of the cage. The parrot flew to a high tree. Then as the merchant gazed in bewilderment he told him the hidden meaning. He said: 'This was the counsel my brother gave me by his act, 'Abandon thy voice, for it is thy voice which has made thee a prisoner.' Farewell, O merchant. Thou hast shewed me kindness. Thou hast set me free from prison and tyranny. Farewell, O merchant, am going to my home. One day, thou, too, shalt be free as I."

The voice is here the symbol of temporal cares, of all that attaches us to this life. These must be renounced if we would be free, *azad*; if we would escape from the prison of the world and return to God who is our home. So Thomas à Kempis says,

"As long as any thing holds me back I cannot freely fly to Thee.....What can be more free, than he who desires nothing upon earth?"

and again

"Leave all and thou shalt find all; leave desire and thou shalt find rest."

But "this is not the work of a day, nor child's play." No man can by a single effort loosen all the bonds that tie him to the earth. The saints have distinguished three stages in the progress to spiritual perfection; *shariat*, *tariqat*, and *haqiqat*; the law, the way and the truth! By *shariat* (the law) is meant the duties incumbent on every sincere Muslim.

† We have only given a condensed translation of the story.

First of all is the living, not merely verbal, belief in the one God and the entire submission to His will. This is implied by the very word "Islam." The true believer is free from anxious care about the things of the world, for he knows that nothing can happen to him except by the permission of God. As it is written in the Sacred Book:—

ما اصاب من مصيبة الا باذن الله - و من يوم من باله يهت
تلقه - والله بكل شيء عليم

(Nothing can happen except by the permission of God and whoever believes in God, He will guide his heart and God knows everything).

The man who has a Friend, all-powerful and all-wise, need have no fears. This is beautifully expressed by Hafiz in one of his odes :

There came a noble Messenger from the country of the Friend. He brought an amulet for the soul, a letter of sweet scent from the Friend. Glad is the sign he gives of the beauty and glory of the Friend. Glad is the tale he tells of the honour and greatness of the Friend. I gave him my heart as a reward and now I am ashamed of the poor coin my heart that I made an offering for the Friend. And now I know that all is well ordered in the kingdom of the Friend. Why should I trust the movement of the heavens and the course of the moon ? All these revolve according to the will of the Friend :—If the enemy seeks Hafiz why need he fear ? Thanks be to God, I am not ashamed of the Friend."

The special duties prescribed by the *shariat* are:—Prayer الصلاة, Alms الصدقة, Jihād الجهاد, Fasting الصوم and Pilgrimage الحج. The believer is bound to pray five times daily. It is good if he also rises to pray at midnight, for of all prayers the night prayer is the most precious to God. Then the throne of God descends from beyond space (الامكان) to the lowest heavens. Abu Said writes, "Rise at night, for lovers tell their secrets at night. They take their flight to the door of the house of the Friend. Wherever there is a door it is closed at night, except the door of the Friend and that is opened at night."

شب خیز که عاشقان به شب راز کنند
گرد در دام دوست پرواز کنند
هر جا که درے بود به شب بر بندند
الا در دوست را که شب باز کنند

Next to Prayer comes the duty of Alms. Every true believer, however poor, must give some part of his goods for charitable purposes. Those who cannot give much, must give little but self-denial is an obligation for all. The third duty is *jihad*, a word which it is impossible to translate in English, for crusade belongs to quite a different order of ideas,

Jihad does not necessarily mean sacred war, for this is an obligation which rarely occurs. The word comes from the root ج ه د he worked vigorously, and its meaning is active exertion in God's service and the readiness to die, if need be, for His sake. The other duties are the fast of Ramazán and the Hajj or pilgrimage to Mecca, which has done so much to maintain the feeling of brotherhood among Musalmans of all nations.

By *tariqat* is meant the disposition of heart on which the five prescribed duties of the *shariat* are based, and all the actions flowing from that disposition. To take some illustrations from a modern writer. To repeat the Kalma لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله belongs to *shariat*; to think of God continually and meditate on his ninety-nine sacred names belongs to *tariqat*. To observe the fast of Ramazán belongs to *shariat*; to practise abstinence, eating and drinking only what is necessary for life, belongs to *tariqat*. To give tithes belongs to *shariat*, to aid the poor and the weary and the hungry belongs to *tariqat*.

By the Law and the Way, the seeker comes to the Truth, *Haqiqat*. He has passed beyond the world of shadows and semblances to that which is. In what words can this be described ? For all the distinctions of human speech fail. There is no "I" or "Thou", no past or future. Even for familiar experiences, language is inadequate when they are not connected with the world of surrounding objects. The sick man knows that the pain and weariness of one day are different from those of another, and yet he cannot describe the differences. Much more then is it impossible to describe the joy of the saint who has attained union with the One Real Being. He who has been in the heaven which receives most of God's glory has seen things which he knows not and cannot —nescit et nequit—tell again when he descends from thence. Knows not, because they are not retained in the memory; cannot, because even if retained, language is insufficient. In *haqiqat* the end of all desires is reached. The man has become perfect. He has passed beyond faith and unbelief, beyond good and evil. He is free from the law. He has no need of prayer, for every prayer has been granted. The reed returns to the forest from whence it was cut. A thousand shadows disappear in the brightness of the one sun.

Haqiqat has been variously sub-divided by different Sufi writers. In these attempts to describe the indescribable there is, as might be expected, no general agreement.

* کے ہر اپنجا سخن گفتی روا

We shall follow the account given by Ferid-ud-din Attar in his *Mantiq-ut-Tair*. Ferid-ud-din was a poet of the thirteenth century and as his name Attar signifies was by profession a dealer in perfumes. One day, the story runs, he saw a darwesh standing outside his shop and gazing at it with eyes full of tears. "Why are you loitering there and staring?" said Ferid-ud-din, "you would do better to go on your way." "It is easy for me to go on my way," replied the darwesh, "for I have little to carry, but if you were ordered to set out on a journey encumbered as you are with so many goods, what would you do?" The words struck Ferid-ud-din and he determined to prepare for the inevitable journey. He gave away all his possessions and entered a monastery where he attained the highest degree of spirituality. He wrote many works, but the most important are, the *Pandnámah* which contains precepts belonging to *Tariqat*, and the *Mantiq-ut-Tair* which indicates the deepest spiritual mysteries under the form of an allegory. The birds have determined to seek Simurgh their king and on their journey they must pass through seven valleys. The first is the valley of *talab*; seeking, longing. He who enters this valley must abandon all worldly possessions. When his heart is pure from all external qualities, then the light of the divine essence will shine on him. As soon as the heart perceives that light, each longing will be multiplied a hundred fold. Both worlds are forgotten. Faith and unbelief are left behind.

This is the first stage in the journey. The next is the valley of *ishq*, love; for spiritual truths are apprehended not by reason but by love. "When love comes, reason takes flight. Reason cannot abide in the madness of love."* So, too, a Christian mystic writes, "When the mind of man is rapt above itself, it transcends all bounds of human reasoning. For when elevated above itself and rapt in ecstasy, it beholds the light of the Divinity, all human reason yields."†

After love, comes *marifat*; intuition, "intellectual light full of love." The seeker has pierced the shell and reached the kernel of the world. In every atom he sees his friend. Everything is but the vision of Him. From beneath the veil a thousand secrets disclose themselves like the rising sun.

* عشق آمد در گریزد عقل زد - عقل در سودائے عشق استقاد نیست

† Richard of St. Victor quoted by Gardner.

‡ Ed io ch'al fine di tutti i desii
M'appropinquava, sì com'io dovea
L'ardor del desiderio in me finii.

The fourth valley is the valley of *istighna*; sufficiency, "joy that transcends all sweetness." The man has become like God himself *be-neyaz*; needing nothing. Every desire has been satisfied. "And † I who was drawing near to the end of all my desires, sailed, as indeed was meet, the ardour of the desire that was in me." Nothing can disturb his perfect peace. If the stars and planets were to fall from heaven it would be no more to him than if a leaf of a tree were to flutter to the ground. The destruction of body and limbs would be no more than the perishing of a blade of grass.

The next valley is *tauhid*; unity.‡ This is the stage of bareness and singleness. *Tauhid* is defined elsewhere as the purification (stripping bare) of the idea of God from everything that can be pictured in the imagination or conceived in the mind. When the mystic has reached the stage of *tauhid* his conception of God is freed from the defects due to the limitations of human intelligence and he beholds Him as the One, not the one which is the first number met with in counting but the One which transcends all limit and all number.¶

The sixth valley is *hairat*; wonder. As the man who has gazed at the sun is blinded to all other objects, so he on whose soul *tauhid* has left its imprint becomes completely lost in wonder. He knows not of his existence or non-existence, he knows nothing, and even this, that he knows nothing, he does not know.

The seventh valley is the valley of *faqr o fana*; poverty and annihilation. Beyond this, there is nothing. He who reaches this valley passes away in God and abides with God.¶ He is not and he is, but how this can be, is beyond reason to conceive. Both worlds are only reflections on the universal ocean. When the ocean moves, the reflections disappear. In this ocean he is for ever lost and for ever at rest.

Here we may note that the joy of union with God is often indicated by the symbol of intoxication with wine. This is not a symbol peculiar to Sufi writers. Thus S. Augustine says, "Would that thou mightest enter my heart and inebriate it, so that I may forget

منزل تجرید و تنزید آیدت

Tauhid means properly "making one" and *Taj-1* means "making bare" and *Tajrid* "making single."

نیست آن یک مان احد آیدتو - زان یکے کان در عدد آیدتو

چون برونست آن زهد و از عدد

فنا فی الله و بقا بالله ¶

my Ills and embrace Thee my only good."* So, too, in the fourth gospel, the first miracle by which the word made flesh, manifests his glory is the conversion of water into wine; the water of the law of Moses into the wine of the new gospel of grace and truth. Elsewhere wine is used for the One Spirit whose "plastic stress"

"Sweeps through the dull dense world compelling there

All new successions to the forms they wear."

Thus Omar writes, † "This wine which in its essence is capable of many forms, sometimes becomes an animal, sometimes a plant." The metaphor will not appear strange if we remember that in the most solemn of Christian mysteries the Divinity is received under the form of wine.

We must ask next: What is the justification of Sufism? On what foundation does the belief in Sufism rest? The answer must be: On the same foundation as any of the truths of natural science, on experience. This may be either direct personal experience or the experience of others accepted on faith. Take a simple instance. A student of medicine is told by a physician that the heart-sounds of a certain patient are abnormal. It is not a matter on which any argument is possible. He must either take the word of his physician or he must listen for himself. When his ear is sufficiently trained he, too, will hear the sounds. So it is in spiritual things. "O my soul, shut the door of thy senses, that thou mayest hear what the Lord thy God speaks within thee. Thus saith thy Beloved: I am thy salvation, thy peace and thy life; abide in Me and thou shalt find peace." The Beloved speaks thus to every human being. We need no tedious arguments to show that He is near us; we need only listen. The Sufi believes because he hears. Not because of any process of reasoning, for reason so far from being able to prove the existence of God, cannot even prove that other men are conscious beings like ourselves. The mystics have always been indifferent to metaphysical speculations, for metaphysics seeks to attain by reason that which is above reason. They know that the Divine Love will in "an instant elevate the man of humble mind to comprehend more of eternal truth than if he had studied for ten years in the schools."

* Cf. *Paradiso* xxvii, lines 4-6.

Cio ch'c vedeva mi sembrava un riso.

Dell'universo; per che mia ebbrezza.

Entrava per l'udire e per lo vis-o.

That which I saw appeared to me a smile of the universe; for my inebriation was entering through the hearing and through the sight.

آن بادۀ کہ قابلِ صورهاست بذات — گاہے حیران می شود و گاہے نبات †

If the belief in God is not founded on reason, neither is it founded on revelation, but on the contrary the belief in revelation pre-supposes the belief in God. We can only be sure that a messenger has come from the country of the Friend if we ourselves already know something of that country. The proof of Islam is the Quran. But this would be no proof to men utterly ignorant of God. The Musulman believes the Qurán to be the word of God because it agrees with the immediate revelation by God of Himself to every man who seeks Him. For God is nearer to man than any of His angels or any of His prophets. This is shown in the form of a parable by Ferid-ud-din Attar: 'Iyaz incurred the displeasure of the king Mahmud and was banished from his presence. From grief he fell ill. When the news was brought to the king he felt compassion and called a servant and said: "Hasten to Iyaz as swiftly as the lightning and tell him of my forgiveness and love. For thy life, do not rest a single hour on the journey." The messenger went like the wind to the house of Iyaz. He saw the sultan already sitting by his side. He trembled and said: "I am worthy of death, but on my oath I have made no delay. I know not how the king can have arrived here before me." Then the king said, "Thou hast travelled along the public road, but I have a secret way to him. From outside I send for news of him and yet within his house I know all that befalls him."

But if any one should say that he himself has received no direct revelation, the Sufi will reply: "There is the testimony of a long line of witnesses through many centuries to the truth of these experiences. Admit at least the possibility that these men were not all deluded or impostors and then try to verify for yourself what they have taught. Live the life they lived. "Imitate their outward actions if you cannot yet enter into their inward disposition."‡ First of all observe strictly the precepts of the Law. Then strive by daily exercises to advance in the Way. Even if all that the saints tell us were false, it will not hurt you to be faithful, honest, humble, grateful, benevolent.§ But you will learn that it is not false. You, too, will at length perceive the Light that shines for all the world. You will believe not on faith, or on demonstration, but as a man believes that which he himself has seen and heard.

‡ Pascal Pensées.

§ Pascal.

For even now, in our own times there are men who have attained the highest spiritual perfection. The long line of the saints of Islām is not ended. One of them passed away from among us only a few years ago. He had been on a pilgrimage to Ajmere and was listening to the singers in the mosque. As they uttered the words :

Said the Holy one the Faqir
In being and in nothingness
Thyself by thyself thou went free
Of thyself thou enterest into captivity,—*

he himself was released from captivity and became free once more. He was again united

گفت قدوس فقیرے در فنا و در بقا *
خود بخود آزاد بردی خود گرفتار آمدی

with Him from whom we come and to whom we shall return.

Even in this age devoted to material progress, there are many who at times feel the sadness and futility of human life. We are striving after things that bring no peace. Then in weariness we turn to see what the saints of old have taught. One of the West tells us: Leave all and thou shalt find all; and another of the East: Leave thyself and come.

The writer has to thank Shamsul Uloom Maulvi Amjad Ali for his kindness in revising this article and Munshi Abdul Ghani for assistance in the transcription and translation of passages from Persian writers.

THE PRESENT STATE OF INDIAN ART

II.—Architecture and Decorative Art.

I SHALL, for various reasons, approach this question from a Western stand-point first, presenting a series of opinions of Western artists and students of art and industry.* The fate of Indian decorative art in modern times needs no elaborate demonstration. A comparison of the manufactures of a hundred, or even fifty, years ago, as seen in the museums of Europe and India, with the productions of to-day reveals a degradation in quality of material and design which it would be practically impossible to exaggerate. I know of no more depressing aspect of present day conditions than the universal decline of taste in India, from the Raja, whose palace,

* Since writing the above, I have received a letter on the subject from Mr. Walter Crane, in which he speaks as follows of the present state of Indian art: "With regard to Western influence in the East as far as my observation goes, both in India and Ceylon, it has been most injurious. European commerce and manufactures have largely destroyed the native handicrafts, and the influence of European design have taken the spirit and character out of native art, and the introduction of European dress has a ghastly effect. The primitive picturesqueness and beauty of the common life of the people are everywhere marred by the introduction of modern inventions and appliances of cheap but doubtful value, such as the kerosine can, and corrugated iron and aniline dyes. These everywhere produce discords in a world of extraordinary beauty and romance."

"The capitalistic system has made labour very oppressive and generally slavish and unlovely and corrupt in its gross and sordid contrasts of extreme poverty and great riches, though riches generally without any accompaniment of outward splendour, the tendency being to turn cities into goods yards, and railway depot, and to grow factory chimneys instead of trees."

"To one who believes that the natural conditions of a country and

built† by the London upholsterer or imitated‡ from some European building, is furnished with vulgar superfluity and uncomfortable grandeur, to the peasant clothed in Manchester cottons of appalling hue and meaningless design. Sir George Watt remarks that "the unavoidable influence of European dominance and civilization is being felt in every direction and is operating often very injuriously on the arts and crafts of the country." The Delhi exhibition was a sufficient revelation of the extent to which the degradation has advanced. References to it appear on every page of books like Sir George Birdwood's 'Industrial Arts of India,' Sir George Watt's 'Indian Art at Delhi',

its habits and customs which result from its climate are the best for that country, such intrusions are to be deplored, and can only be counteracted by awakening the native inhabitants to a sense of the value of their own arts and a proper pride in their own history and love of their country and race."

I may also quote from a most valuable article (Art, Ethics, and Economics in Hand-loom Weaving) by Mr. E. B. Havell, appearing in 'East and West' for August, the following statement, the truth of which cannot be disputed; the italics are mine: "In India there has been during the last hundred years a continuous decline of public taste, so that at the present time the *educated Indians* probably stand behind the rest of the world in artistic understanding." On the facts there can be no doubt; in this article I have attempted to bring them home to those who habitually ignore them; and in another paper I hope to indicate in some measure their significance.

† Like one now in progress, being made by Waring and Gillow for the ruler of a small state in the Punjab, at a cost of 35 lacs.

‡ Like a well-known palace in Calcutta, a copy of Windsor palace.

and amongst the incidental references of almost every traveller and writer on Indian matters. In 1879 an address to Sir George Birdwood, signed by William Morris, Edward Burne-Jones, Monier Williams, J. E. Millais, Edwin Arnold, Walter Crane and others spoke of "the rapid deterioration that has of late befallen the great historical arts of India." They further remarked that "goods which ought to be common in the market are now becoming rare treasures for museums, or the cabinets of rich men." Let us examine a few instances of this degeneration, selected from various authorities.

"The carpets of Masulipatam were formerly among the finest produced in India, but of late years have also been corrupted by the European, chiefly English, demand for them. The English importers insisted on supplying the weavers with cheaper materials, and we now find that these carpets are invariably backed with English twine. The spell of the tradition thus broken, one innovation after another was introduced into the manufacture. The designs which of old were full of beautiful detail, and more varied than now in range and scheme of colouring, were surrounded by a delicate outline suggested as to tint by a harmonising contrast with the colours with which it was in contact. But the necessity for cheap and speedily executed carpets for the English market has led to the abandonment of this essential detail in all Indian ornamentation. Crude inharmonious masses of unmeaning form now mark the spots where formerly varied, interesting, and beautiful designs blossomed as delicately as the first flowers of spring; and these once glorious carpets of Masulipatam have sunk to a mockery and travesty of their former selves". (Sir George Birdwood, 1880).

The following quotation from Sir George Watt's 'Indian Art at Delhi' illustrates the nature of the process now taking place throughout the East:

"While examining a large series of old designs, one of the chief kinkhab manufacturers expressed amusement at the interest shown in worthless old mica sketches, long out of fashion. He explained that he possessed a book of great value from which all his most successful designs had, for some years past, been taken. On being desired to show this treasured pattern book he produced a sample book of English wall papers..... This at once explained the monstrous degeneration perceived in the Benares kinkhabs..... not in Benares only, but throughout India the fine old art designs that have been attained after centuries of evolution are being abandoned and models utterly unsuited and far inferior artistically are being substituted. The writer can confidently affirm that he found in at least 50 per cent. of the important silversmiths workshops of India, the illustrated trade catalogues of European firms and stores being employed as the pattern books upon which their silver plate was being modelled."

The same is true of Ceylon, where western influence is stronger; every jeweller uses European trade catalogues; it is now the

fashion to melt down old jewellery, the most beautiful in design and perfect in workmanship, in order to have copies made of Birmingham designs which a machine has already reproduced a thousand times! [the people want, in their own words, "improved jewellery"; but they will find it only where they will last of all turn for it, and then too late, in the workshop of the hereditary craftsman]. To take other examples; of Benares brass work—by which Indian art is typically represented to the tourist mind—only two pieces were good enough to show at the Delhi exhibition.

"All but one or two pieces were bad in design and worse in execution. They had departed from the fine old patterns that made Benares famous for its brass wares, most being poor imitations of *swami* work or of Poona copper ware. Many were in European shapes and purposes." (Sir G. Watt).

Enamelling has been called the master craft of India; of the most famous centre Sir George Watt remarks:—

"Formerly every attention was given to effect, and a background or field colour was regularly employed, most frequently a rich creamy white. Within the past few decades this has been discontinued, and complex and intricate designs substituted in which it can hardly be said there is a field colour at all. The result is distinctly inferior and may be described as garish rather than artistic. The utilitarian spirit of the times is also marked by the production of a large assortment of sleeve-links, lockets, bracelets, brooches and the like, and the decoration of the backs of pieces of jewellery, in place of enamelling, being the chief ornamentation of charms, sword-hilts, plates, etc., as in former times."

Notice particularly the degradation of the art, from its application to objects entering into the serious life of the people of the country, to trivial objects intended mainly for the passing tourist.

Taste in dyed and printed textiles has declined enormously. Perhaps the most glaring example known to me is the replacement of beautiful Indian printed cottons in Madras, by cheaper products of Manchester, having greatly degraded imitations of Indian ornament, or perfectly meaningless decoration such as rows of bicycles, or pictures of bank-notes. Some of these have been published as an object lesson, in contrast with Indian prints in the *Journal of Indian Art*, 1897. It has been well remarked that such monstrosities are an insult to European knowledge and an outrage on Indian art. Yet I have known educated Indians defend their use on the ground that Indians 'cannot be expected to keep to one pattern always,' and that 'if it is right for Europeans to admire Indian

patterns, why is it not right for Indians to make use of European forms?' In the same way, it is sometimes asked why Indians should not copy modern western, classical or any forms of architecture that may please them; with the suggestion that the European advice to build in an Indian style is merely the result of a particular fancy, and that there can be no real guiding principle in such matters. In this paper I do not propose to deal with this peculiar attitude but it will be again referred to in another article.

I have referred to dyeing. The effect of the introduction and wide use of aniline dyes on the beauty of Indian textiles is notorious; it is now almost impossible to obtain well-coloured *kinkhabs* or *sarees* anywhere; (unless made to suit the taste of some rare enlightened European!)

"The dyed textiles that are yearly pouring into India from foreign countries... have given the Indian craftsmen models in vulgarity that may take a century or more to efface."

In Benares I found that Indian ladies now prefer, and insist upon having the glaring colours which result from the use of chemical dyes. Two points may be emphasized in this connection: first, that if the West is responsible, in one way or another, for much of the degradation of Indian art, Indians themselves are almost equally so; and second, the economic aspect, which I do not mean to dwell on here, but give this hint that the imports of aniline and cheap alizarine dyes in 1903-4 were valued at 82·7 lakhs, sixteen times the value imported in 1876-7; and printed and dyed cotton goods valued at 8 crores were imported in 1903-4, as against 2·8 crores in 1876-7. These imports, says Sir George Watt, may be regarded as 'successfully contesting' the markets held for many centuries by the village dyer and the calico-printer. This is, observe, not a mere question of cheapness; but rather of bad taste; for admittedly, the object of dyeing and printing is to beautify, and good taste would suggest that if beauty cannot be purchased, it were better to avoid all ornament than to accept ugliness because it is cheap.* Bad taste, then, is responsible for a part of India's economic drain; and so in other matters—the building of palaces by English upholsterers, the purchase of gramophones and harmoniums resulting from the

prevailing lack of appreciation of Indian music by Indians; and every kind of manufacture which should appeal to the higher side of man, the present Indian blindness to Indian beauty is costing the country dear enough from the pecuniary point of view. But upon this side of the matter I shall say no more, being rather concerned with the much more serious intellectual and spiritual loss which India is sustaining by her present attitude to art.

It would be easy to multiply examples of the degeneration of Indian crafts, but as the fact is generally admitted, it will be more profitable to consider the causes of this degeneration, and the possibilities of arresting it. The causes fall into two groups, external and internal, very closely related, it is true, but for convenience considered separately. To take the external first, we have to consider chiefly the attitude of the British Government in India and in England, the influence of the general export demand, the tourist demand, and the influence of the personal example of Europeans in India. We meet first with the deliberate discouragement of Indian production where it in any way competed with English, and sometimes even where it did not. The first result of British trade with India was to open to India a new market for her textiles in particular. But when it was found possible to manufacture goods of the same character in England,

"endeavours were made, which were fatally successful, to repress Indian manufactures and to extend British manufactures. The import of Indian goods to Europe was repressed by prohibitive duties; the export of British goods to India was encouraged by almost nominal duties... In 1816-17 'India not only clothed the whole of that vast population, but exported £1,659,438 worth of goods.' Thirty years later the whole of this export had disappeared, and India imported four millions sterling of cotton goods... When Queen Victoria ascended the throne in 1837, the evil had been done. But nevertheless there was no relaxation in the policy pursued before Indian silk hand-kerchiefs had still a sale in Europe; and a high duty on manufactured silk was maintained. Parliament enquired how cotton could be grown in India for British looms, not how Indian looms could be improved. Select committees tried to find out how British manufactures could find a sale in India, not how Indian manufactures could be revived... During a century and a half the commercial policy of the British rulers of India has been determined, not by the interests of Indian manufacturers, but by those of British manufacturers. The vast quantities of manufactured goods which were exported from India by the Portuguese and Dutch, by Arab and British merchants, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, have disappeared."—(Ramesh Dutt).

The same policy has been maintained until a later period. As late as 1905, Mr. Penning-

* Also it often happens that those who are well-to-do and can best afford to pay for what is truly worth the having, are least inclined to do so. It was not without reason that Lord Curzon taunted the Indian aristocracy with their passion for Brussels carpets, Tottenham-Court-Road furniture, cheap Italian mosaics, French Oleographs, Austrian lustres, German tissues and cheap brocades.

ton reviewing the book from which I have just quoted, could say:—

"One cannot read such an indictment of England by one of her most capable Indian officials without a feeling of humiliation. . . . The quite recent story of the imposition of an excise duty on Indian goods which did not compete at all with any Lancashire goods and yet affected seriously the rival mills of India, is a disgrace to Lancashire as well as to the English Government. It is quite certain that if India had as many votes as even the single county of Lancashire, that scandalous duty would never have been imposed. When shall we get to govern us, 'men of truth, hating unjust gain.'"

Here is the result of such an attitude.

"The weavers of India were until recently, a very prosperous class, but the importation of machine-made piece-goods from Manchester has, of late, thrown many thousands of them out of employ. These dragged on a life of poverty for some years, and at last either died of semi-starvation, or were forced by necessity to become menial servants or tillers of the soil."—J. N. Bhattacharya, 'Hindu Castes and Sects.'

These disastrous results have been often enough insisted on by Indians: but from an economic point of view only, it being supposed that *if* the weavers and dyers could take to other employment, and *if* the trade in textiles could be restored to India by the establishment of flourishing mills in towns, the evil would be ended. The disaster is more serious far than that; for you might take as tribute from every weaver half his earnings and still leave to the country his technical capacity, and a greater thing still, his art knowledge, his power of applying to the productions of his loom the traditional ornament which is still a live expressive thing, embodying the hope of the past and with an ever fresh message to the future; but if you so disorganize society as to make it impossible for him to live at all by weaving, you destroy not merely the national wealth, but also the national culture.

Let us turn to the attitude of the British Government in India itself.

"For the last fifty years departmentalism has entrusted the whole construction of public works and with it the whole art interests of India to a body of engineers who have had no artistic training. . . . The monopoly of architectural art which the Indian Public Works Department has assumed, and the curse of a false classicism which it has brought with it from Europe, are the principal causes of the decay of the real art of the country. . . . Indian departmentalism consistently shuts its eyes to the fact that India still has a national art. England had one two centuries ago, and is now seriously attempting to revive it, but the national culture which was the product of centuries cannot be restored in a day. Mr. Edward S. Prior, in a monograph on the Cathedral Builders of England,* which should be a text-book for all who wish to understand Indian art, has described the process by

which the classicism of the Italian Renaissance and that peculiar product of modern times, archaeological art, have destroyed the traditional, national art of Europe, just in the same way as the national art of India is now being destroyed by departmentalism. He has shown how in every country and every epoch before the eighteenth century a national architecture was created by trained bodies of craftsmen, organised like the artisan castes of India, so that every building was a school of painting, sculpture and engineering—of art and of craft; every cathedral, church, palace, or mansion, a human document in which was written the life of the nation; every public building in its stability, durability, and beauty, a symbol of the power and dignity of the State. Then came the era of paper architects, of archaeologists and rabid commercialism. So instead of a national art which was a joyous worship of the Creator in the daily work of the people—for the cottager as well as for the king—we have now an art for 'best parlours' and 'at homes'; an art for museums and exhibitions; an art for the scholar, too absorbed in the dust-heaps of the past to concern himself with the beauty of the present; an art for the merchant, too busy with his money-bags to worship God on week-days.

"In India we have now an exactly similar process leading to exactly similar results, only carried on with greater ruthlessness and less artistic understanding, for we have in India no Christopher Wren or Inigo Jones to give us brilliant essays in archaeological architecture. India still possesses a large body of trained craftsmen who practise the art of building on similar principles and produce similar results to those of the great medieval builders of Europe. They enter no University, for Indian Universities were founded for supplying material for the official machinery, and make no provision for either art or religion. But their ancestors built the Taj, the shrines of Mount Abu, and countless other masterpieces; they constructed the Mogul palaces, public offices, irrigation works, and everything of practical utility that the art of building could provide.

"How does our departmentalism provide for these needs to-day? A certain number of young men with no training either in art or in craft, learn by heart certain formularies for calculating the maximum weight which an iron girder will bear, the smallest dimensions to which a wall can be reduced without collapsing, the cheapest-rate at which a building can be constructed so as to bring it within the annual departmental budget. When a department has settled on paper the plan of the building it wants, one of these engineers with an archaeological turn of mind puts on to it a 'Gothic' or 'Classic' front, according to departmental taste, and provides a certain scale of departmental decoration according to departmental rank and dignity. Then the hereditary Indian craftsman whose family has practised the art of building for untold centuries is brought in to learn the wisdom of the West by copying the departmental paper patterns. How bad the art becomes is, perhaps, difficult to be understood by those to whom an archaeological solecism is more offensive than an artistic eyesore; but it is easy to explain how wasteful and extravagant the system really is. To build one of the latest and perhaps the best of these archaeological structures in Calcutta, a large number of Indian caste-builders were employed. Many of them were both artists and craftsmen—they could design, build, and carve. The

* *The Portfolio*, No. 46, November, 1905.

structural design had been settled for them departmentally, so they had no concern with that. There was also a considerable amount of ornament to be carved, but that also had been designed for them in proper departmental style, which happened to be Italian Renaissance, so they were not allowed to attempt that. Other men who had been trained in the European archaeological style in Bombay were brought over to copy mechanically the paper patterns prepared for them. These men were paid two rupees a day each. Now there are at the present time in the Orissa district, not far from Calcutta, and famous for its splendid native architecture, a considerable number of masons and builders who, within the last twenty years, have designed and carried out architectural decoration comparable with that of our finest medieval building in Europe, and infinitely more beautiful than the imitation Renaissance ornament of the building I have referred to. The average earning of these men is four annas a day, or one-eighth of the wages paid for executing the departmental decoration. They and their fellow-artists all over India are constantly in want of work, for departmentalism has no need of their services. Indian art cries out for bread; we give it museums, exhibitions, and archaeology.

The departmental plea of economy will not bear a moment's careful examination. Departmental economy at best is the economy of the limited liability company which keeps up an appearance of prosperity by paying dividends out of capital; for the imitation of a dead classicism which we hold up to the natives of India as the best product of Western civilisation is sapping the foundations of Indian art in the same way as it has destroyed the national art of Europe. In so doing we recklessly use up a part of the resources of our Indian Empire, infinitely more valuable than all its gold mines or coal mines—resources which, properly utilised, might bring to the revenues of the country as much as any department of the State. Anglo-Indian architectural works are rarely even relatively economical; for the native builders under our inartistic system are rapidly losing the sentiment of good craftsmanship, which always accompanies the artistic sentiment. In the same way the decay of national sentiment in European art has produced the modern school of jerry-builders. The process of alterations, and repairs which Indian public buildings now require, is not entered against the capital account, so that does not trouble the departmental budgets. But when Macaulay's New Zealander, who in some far-off time will continue the *dilettante* propensities of our race, turns his attention from the ruins of London to the sites of great Anglo-Indian cities, he will sketch and wonder what rude barbarians left mud-heaps for memorials among the stately relics of native imperial rule.*

British influence has been adverse to Indian art in other ways. The output of cheap and inferior carpets in jails went far to destroy the trade in well-made and fairly priced carpets, a fact so well-known as to need no further mention. Of the influence of art schools I have already spoken in a previous article; by some the whole degeneration of Indian art has been attributed to the latter, and while this is a great exaggeration, there

can be no doubt that their influence has been pernicious. It is now otherwise in the case of certain art schools, particularly Lahore and Calcutta, but it is too late to arrest the harm already done, and still being done elsewhere. So also with the jails, there are many, such as Agra and Poona, where work of good quality is now done, and chemical dyes are totally avoided; but much of the evil is done, and the force of example is still seen in the case of such jails in Native States as continue to make use of chemical dyes, to the detriment of the quality of their productions (e. g., Gwalior).

One other point may be mentioned in speaking of British influence, the destruction of the authority of the indigenous trade guilds, and removal of state patronage and protection of the crafts. This may be illustrated by a quotation from 'The Valley of Kashmir,' by Walter Lawrence.

"The citizens of Srinagar have a common saying to the effect that when the taxation went, the prosperity of the city went also, and they explain this by the fact that the removal of taxation led to the breaking up of what were practically guilds sanctioned and protected by the State ... in the days of taxation the State exercised a vigorous supervision over the quality of the raw material and of the manufactured article. In the good days of the shawl-trade no spurious wool was brought in from Amritsar to be mixed with the real shawl wool of Central Asia, and woe betide the weaver who did bad work, or the silversmith who was too liberal with his alloy. There is no such supervision now-a-days." (Italics are mine.)

The guilds, and artisan castes of India have been the stronghold of the traditional skill of the handicraftsmen, and even now preserve in a forlorn way a little of their former influence. But under British rule with its individualistic character, the authority of the guilds no longer exists, and a man is free to undersell his neighbour, however inferior the materials he uses, or the ability he possesses. This position has been as injurious to the arts in India as in Europe. An essential element in the restoration of the crafts in India, must be the recognition anew of the idea of *standard* of production, as of far more importance than quantity or cheapness. The hall-marking of gold and silver in England by the Goldsmiths' company will illustrate my meaning (it is there a survival of the general recognition of the right of the crafts or mysteries to secure a certain standard of quality). But even more important than the quality of *material* is the quality of design and workmanship, equally secured by the guild system, under which no unqualified person was allowed to practice his trade or impose upon the public. The public, you see, are not, as a rule,

* Extracted from 'Indian administration,' by E. B. Havell in *Nineteenth Century* for June.

able to distinguish between good and bad material, or good and bad design; and until there is again some control of both, by those who do understand both, the real interests of the public and of the craftsmen will alike suffer, because of the opportunity for unqualified or unprincipled persons to impose upon the public with inferior productions.

A great injury has also been done to Indian art, by the withdrawal of State patronage. Under the old regime, the raja was a great patron of the arts; bodies of skilled craftsmen were always at work upon the temple, the palace, or the tomb; in the armoury or timber yard; in weaving cloths for his ladies, or making jewels for himself. It was *de rigueur* for the king to be expert in such matters. "Who but the raja and the jeweller can appraise the jewel?" runs an old saying. But under Civil Service rule what place or opportunity is there for such relations between the ruler and the craftsmen? Even in Native States, false ideas of 'economy' (which does not at all prevent waste of the sort described by Mr. Havell), have led to the dismissal of the royal craftsmen; and false ideas of taste have transferred the royal patronage from the indigenous craftsmen to the European shops of Bombay and Calcutta.

Indian kings have been great religious builders from the earliest times, spending their resources gladly on temples built to the glory of God, and hostels for the shelter of man. They were just such great builders as the earlier English kings. But now imagine the injury to English art that would have come about, if English independence had ceased in the time of Henry III, as a result of the rapacity of some nation of materialists* and agnostics—Westminster Abbey left unfinished, Gothic art no more the vehicle of the national religious sense; imagine the invaders also destroying the possibility of popular art in the other ways referred to, and you will have some picture of what has taken place in India.

But it is but fair to refer to the few efforts that have been made, directly or indirectly, by Englishmen, officially or otherwise, to save the Indian arts from extinction. We have occasional efforts to build in a country style, as in Lahore, but not more successful than XIXth century efforts in Europe to build in XIVth century wise. We have the

establishment of schools of art in India, with good intention, but, in the opinion of even most English artists, bad results; even where great and good work is done, as now in Calcutta, its continuance is at the mercy of chance selection of a Principal having knowledge and sympathy adequate to the situation. We have the publication of books and journals illustrating fine examples of Indian art; but these, valuable as they are, are really written by Englishmen for Englishmen, and are of more use to the English manufacturer than to the village craftsmen; and does the reproduction of details of architecture and jewellery (often ill-drawn by men not in the tradition) compensate in any way for the deserted workshops and forgotten knowledge of the hereditary craftsmen? Lord Curzon has done good service in securing the preservation of Indian monuments; but archæology is not art; and even his appeal to the Indian aristocracy at the Delhi exhibition seemed to them little more than the Englishman's strange fancy for Indian 'curiosities.' A certain Maharajah shortly after the utterance of that appeal had to entertain Lord Curzon; his own palace was a modern building, designed and furnished in a French style. To please the Viceroy he sent to Bombay for 20 lakhs worth of Bombay black-wood furniture, and put away the French stuff; but when Lord Curzon left, the latter all came out again! Now Bombay blackwood is but mongrel Indian at best; but the Maharajah neither knew this, nor was actuated by any deeper motive than a desire to please the Viceroy. And so it must ever be, that the best meant endeavours of outsiders can effect but little; while a little germ of love for the motherland might effect everything. It is easier to destroy than to create; it is impossible for England to build up what she has demolished; if the re-awakening is to come at all, it will be the fruit of India's recognition of her national self; but that, alas, will be in spite of England's opposition, not with England's help! I do not mean that all sympathetic and disinterested counsel is altogether thrown away; only that advice is a totally *inadequate* solution.

So much for external influence on Indian art; it has been on the whole an influence contributing to "the rapid deterioration that has of late befallen the great historical arts of India."† Let us for a time consider the

* The relation between the British Government and Indian people is purely secular—a suggestion in itself of the evil necessarily resulting from the government of one nation by another, the difference of faith making unpracticable that identification of sentiment between ruler and craftsmen which alone made possible such buildings as Westminster Abbey.

† In charging England with the responsibility for much of the deterioration of Indian art, I do not forget that a world process of the same character is everywhere at work, and that England is only for us the particular medium through which these tendencies affect us.

changes in Indian society and ideas which have from within contributed to the same result.

The internal influences are complex, and closely related to the external. Architecture is the mistress of all arts; and where architecture is neglected the lesser arts must also perish. We have seen that even Native States no longer give employment to the hereditary builders; and so blindly do individuals also imitate the example of Europeans, that it is the echo of the English suburban villa which shapes the ideal of a house in the modern Indian mind. If England has in her public buildings set before us examples of bastard Anglo-Classic and Neo-Gothic architecture, we have made haste to blindly copy the example! If Brussels carpets come from Europe, it is we who buy them in preference to the productions of Indian looms. If coloured crystal balls are made in England, it is we who buy them to 'adorn' our temples. If English dress appears unlovely and absurd on us, it is we ourselves who are responsible for the wearing of it. Nothing can possibly be more fatal to the arts than this attitude, which I must call snobbishness, or at the best, weakness, which leads us to imitate without consideration. The Art of Life is now less and less for us ruled by principle, but more and more by impulse; and so it is natural that in our attitude towards art itself we are undisciplined and unprincipled. For this we are ourselves responsible; no one has forced bad taste on individual Indians; the fact of foreign rule need not compel the Indian to acquire a foreign mind; and as long as we so carelessly contribute ourselves to the decay of art amongst us, our complaint against others for the same thing loses force. Hope lies in the National ideal, *if in the means, we do not forget the end.*

Other causes inimical to art amongst us include the poverty which makes it difficult for us to pay the necessary cost of things of worth; the commercialization of human relations; and the general complication of life (for luxury is the sworn foe of art). Even more important are the changes in religious attitude, especially the growth of materialism, and the spread of puritanical ideas in religion itself. The growth of materialism strikes at the very springs of art, which, if it is not the

expression of the highest emotion, and does not apprehend the reality beneath phenomenal appearances, becomes a merely sensuous and meaningless amusement, unworthy the consideration of serious men. The growth of puritanical ideas in religion is also inimical in art, without being at all necessarily an indication of deeper religious insight. The old religious art was devoted to the suggestion of the beauty and majesty of Divinity; the 13th century Madonna, and the South Indian bronze revealed an aspect of divinity which the isolated worshipper could not grasp alone; that is the artist's work, by insight to reveal, what is not always obvious to men of less imagination or even to himself in moods of lesser exaltation. The temples of India, and the images within them are witnesses to the reality of Indian faith; no less so is the least ornament of water-pot or earthen doorway.

But what has Swadeshi done for Indian art? Almost nothing; when a decaying industry can be used to political advantage it gives it loud support, and in this way the hand-loom industry of Bengal is receiving attention now; but the whole country from north to south is full of decaying industries and perishing hereditary skill, to save which no effort is made. Efforts are made to establish all sorts of factories for making soap, matches, cotton, nibs, biscuits and what not, while the men who can still weave, still build, still work in gold and silver, copper and wood and stone, are starving because their work is out of fashion. Swadeshi often ignores the things which India has from time immemorial made perfectly, to seek to manufacture things which it would be better to do without altogether, or to frankly buy from other nations more able to make them easily.

The Swadeshi impulse is now a too purely commercial one, too unimaginative, too solely based on an ideal of dull prosperity to greatly help the cause of Indian art.* Things are bettering as the national consciousness develops; but those who now are benefited are the enterprising promoters of small capitalist concerns—not the traditional craftsmen. What cares the South Indian village weaver whether his Zemindar buys Manchester or Bombay cotton? What avails it for Indian culture if the mean design and glaring colours

It is nevertheless certain that England will be held responsible by future generations for her influence and her attitude will be contrasted with that of Indian rulers, especially with the deeper insight of men like Akbar. In the words of the group of artists already referred to (Morris, Crane, etc, 1879) "we cannot conceive that any thoughtful person will deny the responsibility of England in the matter, or the duty which a great country owes to the arts."

* At the last Calcutta Industrial exhibition in connection with the Congress, a large part of the Swadeshi exhibits consisted of such articles. Amongst the definitely artistic work, so-called, was much so vulgar and stupid that if it had been shown in an exhibition under European control, it could only have been done as a deliberate insult.

are printed in England or in India? Nay, let us starve rather than compete with Europe on such degrading terms! Yet men must live; material necessities now more than ever control our lives; the day is far distant when work for an hour and a half will again suffice for daily bread-winning, as contemplated in the *Sandhyās*. Men must live by manufacture, agriculture, or trade, or by the practice of some profession. But for all that India is India still, and shall not even her material production be controlled by the spirit of her real self? If she is to grow wealthy, let it be by as far as possible ministering to the higher needs of men as in the past; let it be possible for the Swadeshist to buy Swadeshi manufactures because they are better, more beautiful or more enduring than the work of others. Let India supply the world again with beautiful fabrics, holding the market by sheer superiority of design and workmanship—a thing still possible if the existing traditional capacity of Indian craftsmen were rightly organized. There is a real demand in other lands for things worth making, things made well; if in England it still pays even a few groups of men to turn out linen, tapestry or carpets by hand, (for the sake of the fine quality of material, and still more for the art qualities of the accomplished work), it should still be possible for those who can work much cheaper, (and could still command the services of craftsmen possessing hereditary skill sufficient to make the fortune of any manufacturer in Europe), to find a market for their own best work. The aim must be for quality, not quantity. There is no country in the world where so much capacity for design and workmanship exists; but we are recklessly flinging this, almost our greatest treasure, to the winds, and with it all spontaneous expression in art of Indian emotion.

I have spoken of foreign trade; but what is far more important, from the art point of view, is the Indian attitude towards Indian art. For Indian art can never be great, can never mean to Indians or foreigners what it once meant, until it is again made for Indians and can count upon their sympathy and comprehension as a birth-right. An art which is primarily concerned with supplying the particular requirements of peoples entirely out of real touch with its producers, must always be

slavish and artificial. It is as evil a thing* for us to supply the American market with bales of cheap and vulgar *phulkaris* (see Mrs. Steel, *Journal of Indian Art*, Vol. 2, 1888) embroidered in offensive colours and mean designs and sloppy needlework, as it is for Manchester to send us bicycle patterned *saris*. The only true remedies that can be effectual are the regeneration of Indian taste, and the re-establishment of some standard of quality. Nearly thirty years ago Sir George Birdwood † said truly that—

“Indian native gentlemen and ladies should make it a point of culture never to wear any clothing or ornaments but of native manufacture and strictly native design, constantly purified by comparison with the best examples and the models furnished by the sculptors of Amaravati, Sanchi and Bharhut”.

Indian art can only revive and flourish if it is beloved by Indians themselves. Observe also particularly, that upon that condition only can *any* art flourish in India, for there is no possibility of Indian craftsmen so de-Indianizing themselves as to be able to understand and inspire with life an imitation of other art. It is, for example, impossible for Indians ever to dress with taste in European costume (a statement which I make advisedly); ‡ to grasp the principles governing the decoration or furnishing of a kind of house which has been suddenly copied from a foreign type, and not gradually evolved to meet their own requirements. There can be no more childish supposition than to suppose that a people can successfully reject their own culture and adopt another culture; the inevitable result of attempting to do so, is blindness to culture of any kind.

It has been impossible to write otherwise than gloomily of the present state of Indian art. But we have seen that the causes of its degeneration are clear; they are neither eternal nor unconquerable. The marvel indeed is that Indian art has retained so much of its true greatness through a thousand years of lack of freedom and of internal difference. And reason why—the great founders of Indian culture (call them *rishis* or call them men) builded well; their fabric has endured: and that which has endured shall be saved. India has been continually dynamic

† A real Swadeshist before the present movement was begun; to whom, for his advocacy of Indian art, all Indians should be grateful, in spite of his lack of sympathy with their political ideals.

‡ The occasional successful imitation of the particular fashion of about a year previous in Europe, does not alter the fact that the foreign dress on Indian wearers is never an organic and reasonable structure, as no costume could be, that is not related to the genius and requirements of the wearer.

* If anyone should doubt that the attempts to wrest the Indian market in textiles from the hands of the village printer and dyer, has had any but a grossly degrading effect on the *English* manufacture and *English* workman, let him study the specimen English prints reproduced in the *Journal of Indian Art*, Vol. VII, as examples for comparison with Indian work. For the converse result see Vol. II, p. 27, of the same *Journal*, exhibiting degenerate Indian embroidery.

wanted to make peace with the Mughals it was not good for them to stay with him. Then, sending some trustworthy ministers with an elephant and other presents to Bahadur Khan [the Mughal Viceroy], he proposed peace and begged the Khan's mediation with the Emperor for the pardon of his offences, saying that as soon as the Imperial *farman* containing reassurances would arrive, his eldest son would go to the Khan to receive it.

The Khan, forgetful of Shiva's trickery, sent his application with a [recommendatory] letter of his own to the court by *dak chowki*, by the hand of Ali Quli, a Turani *mansabdar*, who covered the distance from Bahadurgarh, (120 miles south of Aurangabad) to Hassan Abdal in the Panjab (where the Emperor was then staying), in 13 days. Aurangzib wrote in reply, "Don't be befooled by this cheat. Send Malik Bar-khurdar (who enjoys my confidence) and some trustworthy officer of yours, who knows the oaths of the Hindus, make [Shiva] take strong oaths, and report to me about his real wishes and promises." Bahadur Khan sent to Shiva his favourite Muhammad Salih and Gangaram (a Guzerati), with Malik Bar-khurdar. In the meantime that deceiver had accomplished his [intended] works and captured the fort of Parnala. The envoys interviewed him in the fort of Purandhar. Shiva treated them with every mark of hospitality and kindness on the first day, but on the second bluntly told them, "What hardships have you caused to me that I should seek to make peace with you? Go hence quickly, or you will be disgraced." These poor men returned baffled and reported the affair to Bahadur Khan, who in turn sent a report to the Emperor. [*Dilkasha*, pp. 134 and 135.]

§ 56.—Flight of Sambhaji.

Shivaji's son Sambha had displeased his father by some criminal act, and been confined in the fort of Parnala. He escaped from the fort with a small party and sent a man to Dilir Khan to say, "I have arrived near you, and Shiva's men are close on my heels. Come to my aid." The Khan quickly sent Ikhlas Khan, the leader of his vanguard, and Ghairat Khan his own nephew, and himself followed them. Twenty miles from Bahadurgarh, Sambha met Ikhlas Khan, and at the village of Karkamdevi, Dilir Khan. The Khan, considering this as a godsend, beat his drums in joy and sent a report to the Emperor. Sambha was honoured with the rank of a commander of 7,000 troopers and the title of Rajah, and presented with an elephant [on

behalf of the Emperor]. Dilir Khan, too, showed him many considerations. His dependents were left at Bahadurgarh under guard and watch. Madhaji, the son of Baji Nuk, a commander of 4,000 and relative of Shiva, said to Sambha, "Why have you come here?" Sambha informed Dilir Khan of the speech, and the Khan put Madhaji in confinement for some days.* (*Dilkasha*, pp. 153 and 160.)

§ 57.—Shiva's Piety and Charity.

Shiva laid the whole world under obligation to him by his gifts and alms. He bestowed a *lac* of *hun* on Niraji Panth and one *lac* to each of his eight ministers (*Ashta-Pradhān*.) Every one, high and low, received rewards according to his merit and desire. He did not like that any of his followers should go elsewhere to seek anything, and said, "If our followers grow rich [under us], they will be of use in the day of [our] poverty." So great was his liberality that he ordered that none should go about in need, none who came to his Presence should be disappointed, and none should beg in vain.

One day he thought that after learning [the *mantra*] from Ganga Bhat, a Brahman scholar arrived from Benares, he would enter the rank of the Brahmans and do everything in the manner of the Brahmans. When the deed got fixed in his mind, all the Brahmans in concert forbade the Bhat, and he refused to teach [the *mantra* to Shiva]. The Maharajah learning of it said, "The Brahmans are reverend men. It is not proper to appoint them [public] servants. And they, too, ought not to discharge any work except worshipping God." So, he removed all the Brahmans from their posts and appointed Prabhu [= Kayasthas] in their places. Moro Panth interceded for the Brahmans, saying, "What your Majesty has decided is [no doubt] the essence of wisdom. But the Brahmans ought not to be trusted with offices about your royal person and [other] high posts. Otherwise, loss, danger and reverse will some day take place." Shivaji replied, "The Prabhu caste deserve every confidence. See, the Abyssinians, entrusting the fort of Rajpuri to the Prabhus, carry on their wars according to the advice of the latter. And the fort stands firm even now. They have no hesitation in sacrificing their lives."†

* This episode seems to be a variant of the incident quoted from the *Tarikh-i-Shivaji* in § 42, (vide p. 280, September No. of this Review.)

† Next comes this passage, of which I can make nothing. Sambhaji Rajah dismissed his *diwan* Nila Panth and appointed a Prabhu in his place. Then marching to Bhupatgarh, he conquered it with

to the Brahmans for their maintenance till the end of time. These grants still continue.

Khawas Khan, the governor of Chandi (= Jinji) in sheer awe of the Maharajah's power and good fortune took to flight; and Jinji, Sawantgarh (= Trinamali) and Vellore came into Shiva's possession. Two forts, Sajra and Gujra, were founded here, and the existing *thanahs* and forts of the district were captured and repaired. The annexed country yielded 60 lacs of *hun*. Thus gaining peace of mind about this side, he sent back all the troops lent by Haidarabad [*Tarikh-i-Shivaji*, 37, b.]

§ 55.—Shivaji in Tanjore.

Turning towards Tanjore, Shiva summoned his brother Venkaji, the ruler of the country, met and reassured him. Then he demanded his share of their paternal property. Venkaji in suspicion fled at night, and Shivaji took possession of the kingdom of Tanjore, with a revenue of 40 lacs of *hun*. After a time, taking pity on his brother, he appointed to that kingdom Raghunath Panth, his *diwan*, and ordered him to recall Venkaji and hand the whole of Tanjore over to him. The Panth was unwilling, but Shiva soothed his mind and deputed him there, while he himself marched away to Balawari.

A woman, named Javitri, was the *patelni* or proprietress of the place. From the shelter of her fort she fought for one month. On her provisions and munitions running short, she sallied forth, demolished all the [Maratha] trenches, and dispersed and slew many of the besiegers. For one day she kept the field heroically, but at last fled vanquished, was captured, and greatly dishonoured. Sakhuji Gaikwad was the doer of [this] wicked deed. Shivaji on hearing of his acts, put out both his eyes, and thus gave him his deserts. He was imprisoned in the village of Manauli.

Raghunath Panth, who had been sent to Tanjore, took the whole kingdom under his own control and kept Venkaji out of possession. Venka reported the matter to Shiva, who wrote to the Panth urging him to give up the whole kingdom to Venka, and to act as his *diwan* as formerly, and warning him that any other design on his part was improper. The Brahman obeyed the order and made over the kingdom to Venkaji, but kept the fort of Iwal (?) in his own hands. The harsh and rough speeches [of Venkaji] in former days had not been forgotten by him, but rankled in his heart. In pride of his own military capacity he uttered taunting and insolent words. The intercession of Shivaji had only made him worse. Venkaji in sore distress

wrote to Shiva all the circumstances of his ill-temper and insolence.

Shivaji, in consideration of his brother's rights, wrote to the Panth strongly urging and laying solemn oaths on him, "There is not the least difference between Venkaji and me. You should devote all your efforts to please my dear brother in every way, and consider obedience to him as your highest duty." The Panth, on receiving the order, at once showed submission, and administered the kingdom and forts in an excellent manner. (*Tarikh-i-Shivaji*, 38.)

The *Dilkasha* writes:—Shivaji wrote to Venkaji to come and see him. The latter, like the fool that he was, had no suspicion of Shiva's trickery and deception, came from Tanjore, and met Shiva near Jinji, a dependency of Bijapur. Shiva demanded his [share of their] patrimony. As soon as he met Shiva, Venka saw how utterly helpless he was and how his only hope of escape lay in dissimulation. So, he replied, "The kingdom of Tanjore and all my property and lands are yours."

Shiva thought within himself, "He has walked into my trap of his own accord. He will agree to whatever I may say."

Then Venka returned to his quarters, and slipped out at midnight with his trusted officers, and in the seventh *prahar* (19 to 21 hours) reached Tanjore, 129 miles from Jinji, thus escaping from Shiva's hands. Shiva plundered Venka's army, and took the fort of Jinji by stratagem without a blow on the day of *sankrant* (end of a Hindu month.) Other neighbouring forts belonging to Bijapur and Haidarabad were captured by him and placed in charge of his own men. Then he sent back the Haidarabad contingent and returned [home]. (Pp. 113 and 114.)

§ 42.—(Supplement)—The Mughal Viceroy deceived.

[The *Dilkasha* makes a strange confusion of dates, placing the Tanjore expedition in the year 1671 and Shiva's attempt to befool the Mughals after it, *viz.*, in 1673-4. But we know from history that Shiva bribed Bahadur Khan (Khan Jahan Kokaltash) and held the Mughals in play *before* the Tanjore expedition.]

On the death of Ali Adil Khan, king of Bijapur, Shiva wished to appropriate his territory. He had, also, to marry Sambha to the daughter of Uttam Rao, the nephew of Jadun Rao Deccani, an officer serving in the army of Ranmast Khan, the *thanahdar* of Akulj, and to provision his forts. Therefore, he collusively dismissed Jadun Rao and Halal Khan from his service, saying that as he

two met together. The Shah said, "All your men are outside." The Maharajah replied, "Your army, too, is not present here, and we two are alone together. Do what you have in your mind; I am present, nothing is wanting." The Shah reflected in silence [for some time], and then ordered his diwans, named Madna and Adna [=Akanna], to cook food there and serve it up. Three days they spent happily together in that Dadmahal. At the delay [in Shiva's return] his generals were filled with unjust suspicions, and got ready and surrounded the palace. A tumult arose in the city, too. Shivaji hearing of it peeped out of a window, received the salutes of all, and was pleased. All his army returned [to their camp] in composure of mind.

Next day Tana Shah asked about the condition of the warriors of the Maharajah's army, who then ordered all the commanders to present themselves in full equipment. Tana Shah from the window of the Dadmahal gazed at them and was delighted. All [the commanders of] the army, such as leaders of 7,000 or 5,000 men, came before him. He remarked that the Mawalis were famous for their bravery. Shiva answered, "My best and bravest soldiers are now with Moro Panth. Only the new recruits have come with me." The Shah asked him if he had any follower brave enough to fight with an elephant. Shivaji replied, "Who has the power to face your Majesty's elephant in fight? But if you insist on seeing such a spectacle, the work is not too hard [for my men.]" He ordered Isaji Kank, a *jamadar*, to bring forward the captains of the Mawalis, and asked one of them to combat with the Shah's elephant. A *must* elephant was brought to the plain, and the Shah ordered it to charge Isaji. When they came to close quarters, Isaji played [with his sword] for 2 or 4 *gharis* like Rustam and [at last] with a stroke of his sword cut off its trunk, establishing his name for heroism. The beast turned and fled. Shiva most nobly presented him with the jewelled bracelet which he wore on his own arm. The Shah, too, gave him rewards in excess of his desire, and offered to the Maharajah jewels worth 3 lacs of *hun*. To every one, great and small, of the army presents were given according to his merit, and two elephants and three horses to the Maharajah. The Shah asked him, "Who is your Secretary?" Shivaji presented Balaji Aoji. Pleased with his charming conversation, the Shah asked for him, to remain with him and write his letters. But Shivaji replied, "I have with great difficulty and search assembled [these] talented men, and

united them [in my service] like a rosary. If a single bead is taken away the rosary will become imperfect." After such friendly and pleasant discourses, Tana Shah sent 10,000 cavalry and 10,000 foot soldiers to accompany the Maharajah. Shiva gave 3 lacs of *hun* as subsistence money to these men. (*Tarikh-i-Shivaji*, 35, b—37, b).

[The *Dilkasha* narrates]:—Shiva, professing friendliness and peace to the king of Haidarabad and making strong promises and oaths, went to see him. Madna Pandit, the king's minister (*peshkar*), with all his discretion and skill, was a mere school-boy and novice [in trickery] in comparison with Shivaji. Meeting the Sultan in a very friendly manner, Shiva assured him, "We two shall fight the Imperial army and conquer countries in concert. As this is a very serious undertaking, you should first test the fidelity of your generals and the valour of your soldiers by conquering the kingdom of Tanjore (with its forts), a dependency of *ijapur* belonging to my brother Venkaji. Then we should prepare ourselves to encounter the Mughal viceroy of the Deccan." Saying such words and winning over the minister and intimate courtiers of the king, he got from the latter a large amount of money and a vast army, and started for Tanjore. (Pp. 112—113.)

§ 54.—March on Tanjore.

From Haidarabad, Shivaji marched into the Karnatak. Arriving at the hill of Sri-shaila, he there visited Mallik-Arjun, and wished to stay at the holy spot, offer his head as a sacrifice to Mallik-Arjun, and thereby secure eternal bliss. With this view he performed *pūja* and presented priceless jewels. Then he wished to offer his own head, and looked at the sword [hanging] under his arm. Raghunath Panth and Kesho Panth, shrewdly guessing his purpose, fell at his feet and entreated him hard saying, "It is a very meritorious act to give, alms to the poor, to the miserable, and to the Brahmans, and to do good to the people. Such acts please God; but the cutting off of a limb cannot make Him happy. If this be not the case, may the punishment [of the falsehood] fall on our heads!" After a long debate he gave up his design and descended from the hill.

Then he said that he would visit all the holy places in the Karnatak. Pilgrimages were made to all of them, such as Sri Venkateshwar, Arunachal, Anandsen, Kamalā, Rudrāsha, &c.,—where he said his prayers, spent large sums in charity, and freely gave everybody whatever he asked for. Villages were granted

in the history of art* and is by virtue of her consistent idealism destined to be so again. For

"the great religious faith of the Indian people which enabled them to perform Herculean works with patience, made them cut to pieces great mountains, as though they were mere stone slabs, for building innumerable temples of wonderful designs—inspired them to adorn the great mountain caves with gorgeous paintings which last to this day as lamps of their never-decaying glory—that great religious faith, which is a force and stimulus for the development of national genius, is not yet dead in us. Where is that nation that built the towering stupas of Sanchi and did marvellous painting in the Ajanta caves? That nation neither dropped from the heavens, nor did it rise from the lower regions. They lived in India then and are living in the sacred Indian soil up to this day."

* See 'Ideals of the East', by Okakura Kakuzo, with introduction by Sister Nivedita. Murray, 1903. All interested in the relation of Indian art to Indian nationality should see this most valuable book.

So writes India's greatest living artist, whose own work, inspired by the same faith, is our best assurance that his words are true.

Great art or science is the flower of a free national life pouring its abundant energy into ever new channels, giving some new intimation to the world of a truth and beauty before unknown.

"It is not surprising that India, divorced from spontaneity by a thousand years of oppression, should have lost her place in the world of the joy and the beauty of labour."

But now we believe that India stands upon the threshold of a freedom and a unity greater than any yet realised. If this be so, we need not fear for Indian art; for the new life cannot but seek a noble self-expression. It rests with each one of us to make that fruition possible.

ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY.

LIFE OF SHIVAJI

(From the Persian.)

§ 53.—Shivaji's Visit to Haidarabad en route to Tanjore.

Shivaji marched to Panchwar, and, after assembling and preparing his army, he strengthened the tie of friendship and alliance with the king of Bijapur, whereby his mind became reassured. Moro Panth and Annaji Panth were appointed to guard and administer his kingdom [during his absence]. Gaining peace of mind with regard to every point, he started. Eeshoji Panth and Niluji Panth, *majmudars*, accompanied him.

At the village of Patigaon lived the hermit Mohanji Baba. Shiva went to visit him and ordered Moro Panth to present sweet-smelling flowers to the holy man, who had so thoroughly withdrawn his hand from taking and restrained his tongue from asking for anything that he did not even convey food into his mouth with his own hands, but others used to feed him in their devotion. He accepted the flowers. Shivaji placing seven trays of sweetmeats before the saint fed him with his own hands and thought within himself, "I am going towards the Karnatak. If that country is destined to be easily conquered, may a holy thing be presented to me [as a sign!]" As soon as the idea struck his mind, the hermit

of luminous heart took a morsel of food out of his own mouth and placed it in the Maharajah's hand, [thus] giving him the hope of being favoured. Then he cast a gracious look at Moro Panth, who presented a bunch of flowers, which the saint placed on Shivaji's head. Shiva's heart's wishes being thus strengthened, he kissed the hermit's feet and took his leave.

At this time Raghunath Panth suggested, "You should go towards Haidarabad, make an alliance with its ruler, take a large army [from him], and thus secure your rear." Shiva approved of the proposal and sending Niluji Panth to Tana Shah, the king of Haidarabad, confirmed the alliance. He himself went to see the Shah with 20,000 cavalry and 12,000 Mawali infantry. On reaching Haidarabad he presented all the *sardars*, cavalry (*bargir*), and Mawali and other troops with *torahs* and bracelets of gold, armour, and other presents, and made the whole army look splendid. When he approached to have audience with Tana Shah, the latter himself went eagerly to the palace gate and beheld the army. At the sight of the trappings and accoutrements of the commanders he was both delighted and frightened, and hesitated. Shiva boldly ascended the Dadmahal, sword in hand. The

§ 58.—Events of his Last Year.

From Panhala Shivaji marched towards Jalna-pur and conquered that place. A man named Jan Muhammad Khudawand had made his garden a halting-place for hermits (*darvishes*); many darvishes lived there. Shiva devastated and spoiled the garden when he went there,

Invisible beings visited Ranmast Khan, the Imperial officer posted at Jalna-pur, at night and told him in a dream to go and attack the rear of Shiva's army. He replied, "My force is too small to oppose his." The voice again spoke to him in his dream, "Fear not; God will help you." On waking next morning, he got ready and confronted Shiva's army; both sides engaged in battle. Sidhoji, a *mansabdar* and general of Shiva, was slain with many other men. At last Shiva's troops fled, and he himself went by way of Pairgaon to Raigarh. Balaji Aoji had gone to Sambhu Singh at Aurangabad; he now returned to Shivaji.

When Aurangzib heard of Ranmast Khan's victory, he gave him a robe of honour. The Khan repaired and strengthened the fort of Diwal.

After Shiva had satisfied his mind about the regulation of the revenue and the [general] administration, he called for the records of all the lands in his possession and inspected them.

Going to Pratapgarh he visited and worshipped Bhawani. Thence he returned to Raigarh. Prince Raja Rani was married to the daughter of Pratap Rao Gujar, the bride being renamed Sita Bai. Alms and presents beyond imagination were distributed at this marriage, his wish being to practise such liberality on the occasion as to impress the Emperor with a proper notion of his wealth and treasures. Therefore, he invited Brahmans from Delhi and gave them a thousand times the customary reward.

Daulat Khan and Dariya Sarang were engaged in building the fort of Khanderi, when Siddi Bahlol arrived from Surat by night marches. Joining Pairad Khan, the *naib* of the district, and aided by the English, he fought a great fight [with Shivaji's men]. Daulat Khan was slain after fighting heroically, the others fled vanquished, and the whole army was routed. They [=the Muslims?] came to Underi, cultivated the place,

little effort. Everyone who showed obstinacy was ruined. The legs and arms of nearly 500 men were broken and cut off. Having satisfactorily regulated this district he returned to Panhala.

When Shiva heard of it, he himself went from Raigarh to see his son, and in delight presented him with a vest studded all around with jewels, a sword, and a shield. (P. 39. a.)

and seized all the *thanahs*. But the strong fort of Khanderi was not captured [by the enemy?].

Moro Panth went to the district of Kulan and administered it most ably. The son of Vikram Shah, who had been practising highway robbery there in concert with Dhara Kuli, was captured through Moro Panth's exertions, and sent to Shivaji, who ordered him to be executed. Dhara Kuli said, "Better not slay me. The shedding of my blood will cause a calamity the remedying of which would baffle thought. If, however you are determined to execute me, don't look on my severed head, as the sight of it can do you no good." Shiva rejected his prayer and ordered his head to be cut off and hung from the gate. That very night the house caught fire and was enveloped in flame. Shiva prayed, "If all are saved through God's grace, I shall distribute 5,000 *khandis* of grain to *faqirs* and beggars." As soon as the vow was made the fire subsided, and the calamity was averted. He fulfilled his vow; 5,000 *khandis* of grain were distributed; vast numbers received the gift.

Then Shiva went to the bank of the Ganga Godavari, had himself weighed, gave away 1,000 cows [to the Brahmans], and wished that many cows should be distributed [regularly] according to custom. The wish was carried out. After distributing among the Brahmans 1,000 beads of *Rudraksha*, (the wearing of which is a great act of merit,) he put on [a rosary of it]. From that day onwards he constantly wore rosaries of that bead on the neck, the head, and the arm. Bussing himself in the remembrance of God, he did not spend a single moment in negligence [of devotion].—(*Tarikh-i-Shivaji*, 38, b. 40, c.)

§ 59.—The Death of Shivaji.

Mughal official history.—"News came [to the Emperor of Delhi] from the Deccan that on the 11th May, 1680, Shiva, after dismounting from his horse, in the excess of heat twice vomitted blood and died." (*Masir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 194.)

Khafī Khan's account.—Latterly Shiva had seldom accompanied the army that he deputed [every year] to plunder countries. In the year 1679-80, he started with a large army, first entered Khandesh and plundered the village of Dharangaon, a famous *pettah* of this province, where a vast amount of property (consisting of the precious articles and merchandise of the port of Surat) was stored.

* One *khandi* is 560 lbs. avoirdupois, or, 7 *maunds* of Bengal weight, or 20 *maunds* of Bombay weight.

Then, after looting Chopra and other *parganahs* he went towards Jalna, a populous village full of merchandise, in Balagnat.

Here the pious and godly saint Syed Jan Muhammad lived. Whenever the enemy approached the village, many of its inhabitants used to take refuge in his hermitage with their property and families, and thus escaped any injury from the infidels. This year most of the wealthy men [of the village] sought asylum there with their property in cash and kind; the followers of this infernal creature (=Shiva), getting news of it, showed no respect to the Syed, but oppressed and plundered them, piercing many with arrows. On being prohibited, they employed their tongues and hands in threatening and rebuking the Syed and his attendants. The Syed, whose prayers were very efficacious, prayed for Shiva's death. At all events, this year Shiva died near Murtazabad (=Merich). I have found the chronogram of it in the sentence *Kafir bc jahannam raft** (=the Infidel went to Hell). (ii. 270 and 271).

The *Dilkasha*.—Shiva issued from his own kingdom to plunder the imperial dominions, and utterly ravaged the *parganah* of Jalnir (=Jalna). The *darvish* Jan Muhammad, who had marvellous powers of prayer, lived here. In spite of Shiva's orders not to molest the hermit, his men oppressed the saint's attendants. It is most probable that through his curses Shiva died after some days' illness. (F. 165.)

The *Tarikh-i-Shivaji*.—At this time a wicked slanderer told Shiva's wife Soyra Bai [the mother of Raja Ram], "The Maharajah has summoned his son Sambhaji from Panhala fort, and wishes to make him his heir and to give all his kingdom and wealth to him. This matter has been repeatedly talked of and decided upon [in his council]." As fickle Fortune had planned a change and as the Maharajah's destined period of life had come to its end, the queen's heart was changed on hearing of it, and she did an act [poisoning?] which made Shivaji give up his life and set out for *Kailash-bash* or residence in the Eternal Home. Then joy ended; great and small shed tears of anguish.

Rajah Parsuji Bhonsla, Kanhoji Bhandulkar, the custodian, and the *karkuns* (officers) cremated his body near Sambhu Mahadev. Moro Panth *peshwa*, who was living in the district of Sir Trimbak *Kshetra*, and Abaji Panth who had gone out on a tour of inspec-

tion, on hearing of this calamity, came with a force of 10,000 cavalry, and by their united counsels the alms customary on the occasion of a funeral were distributed by the hand of Parsuji Rajah. Then Moro Panth went to the fort of Panchwar with 10,000 cavalry, and stayed there. (40, b. & 41, a.)

§ 60.—Character of Shivaji.

Dilkasha.—He was a virtuous man, a matchless warrior, and an expert politician, and used to keep up friendly relations with trustworthy soldiers. In campaigns, he sought every one's advice, and did what he considered most advisable and well-contrived; but so long as a design was not launched into action he informed none about it. Everywhere he built houses and forts. It was his lot to get much buried treasure. Of cunning he was a past master. There were 40,000 horses in his stables for the use of his troops, whenever they should go out on a raid. The *bargirs* (=ordinary cavalry) were mounted on his own horses. For every 10 horses there were one attendant, who used to feed them, one water-carrier and one torch-bearer. There was one commander [*Jumladar*] over every 100 troopers, one *Majmuadar* over every 1,000, and one *Sardar* (general) over every 5 or 6 thousand troopers sent in a body. He kept no troopers who rode their own horses. All the Marathas were *bargirs* on high salaries.

Wherever he sent his army, he first had their baggage and armour entered in a list and after the plunder of the country every article found in excess of the recorded things was taken by the State. He had secret spies for finding out whether any soldier had concealed anything which belonged to the State. (Pp. 165 & 166.)

Khafi Khan.—Shiva guarded the honour of the peasants of his own dominion, and abstained from every kind of wicked act except rebellion [against the Emperor] and plundering caravans. He strictly ordered his men to respect the honour of the women and families and Qurans which they might capture. Any one violating the order was punished

Shiva never attacked Aurangabad and Burhanpur—[provincial] capitals of the Empire,—though he had no hesitation in plundering *parganahs* and villages. When his captains proposed to him the plunder of these two towns, he very wisely forbade them, saying, "As soon as I plunder these two towns, the prestige of the Emperor Aurangzib will demand his coming here. In that case God alone knows to what hard straits I shall be driven by his attack!" (ii. 271 and 272.)

* The numerical values of the Arabic letters forming this sentence, when added together give 1090, which year of the Hijera corresponded to 1682 A. D.

When I passed some time with Abdur Razzak Khan Lari, in a house near the fort of Raigarh (built by Shiva), I heard from the people of the place the following account :— This tract of land, which can be fitly described as a specimen of hell, is all one piece of rock, and water becomes very scarce at the end of summer, to the great distress of the inhabitants. So, Shiva dug a small well (*baoli*) close to his palace, and by its side had a stone seat carved like a small piece of carpet with a stone bolster resting on it.* There he used to sit, and whenever the wives of the *sahukars* (traders) and other poor people came there to draw water, he

addressed them in the same terms as his own mother or sister, and gave the fruits of the season to their children. But when Sambhaji came to the throne, he used to sit on the same platform (*chabutra*) near the well. The wives of his subjects had no help but to go there for water. When, after filling their pitchers with water, they ascended the steps with one hand balancing the pitcher on the head and the other stuck akimbo and reached the seat of Sambha, that luckless dog used to outrage their modesty, detaining them for one or two *gharis*, till at last the helpless women threw down their pitchers and escaped from his hands in great disgrace. (i. 390 and 391.)

* Are these still extant? Would any Maratha reader inquire?

JADUNATH SARKAR.

THE IMPENDING FAMINE AND OUR DUTY

WE are on the verge of another famine and the next few weeks will decide whether India will have to face another of those visitations which have of late been thinning its population and causing such great misery all round. Already the outlook has assumed a very grave aspect. In most parts of the country the *kharif* harvest has nearly gone and the prospects of the *rabbi* greatly injured. Prices are fast rising everywhere and reports of people in villages having nothing to do and feeling all the miseries of hunger and starvation are already coming in from every side. Anxiety seems to be written on every face and the cry of despair is being heard everywhere. What will happen, is the question every one is asking and the situation demands anxious consideration on the part of both the Government and the people. The resources of the people are now not what they were in former famines, and if the calamity comes it will be more acutely felt than even the famine of 1900. Looking back at the history of Indian Famines during the last 150 years, we find that in the famine of 1770, one-third of the population of Bengal perished of hunger. Husbandmen not only sold their cattle and implements of husbandry, but also their sons and daughters, till no purchaser could be found even for the latter. Streets were piled up with corpses and even dogs and jackals could not feed upon them. Disease attacked the starving population, till

in nine months one-third of the population was swept off. Between that year and 1838 the only great famine was that of the Karnatak, but it did not affect the whole of India. In 1838 occurred a terrible famine in Upper India which is still remembered by the people as the *Akdal of Samvat 1894*, in which, as in Bengal, people sold their sons and daughters. In 1860-61 there was another great famine in Upper India and in 1865-66 one in Orissa, the latter claiming a fourth of the population of that Province. The famine of 1873-74 which came next was not so distressing as the one of 1877 when the mortality was about 40 per cent. from famine alone. Up to that year the efforts of Government in the matter of famine relief were not properly organized. In 1880 a Famine Commission was appointed and its recommendations have formed the basis of relief in all subsequent famines. The principle adopted was that while life should be saved, the relief afforded should not be such as to demoralize the recipient. Between that date and 1897 there was no great famine, although there were droughts and scarcities in parts of India. In the famine of 1896-1897 the population affected was 40 millions. But even this famine was beaten in its intensity by the famine of 1899-1900. Those tracts of the country which had suffered in the former famine also suffered on this occasion. It affected an area of more than $1\frac{3}{4}$ lacs of square miles and spread

distress amongst 25 millions of people. There was not only scarcity of grain but also of water and fodder. The Government spent about 10 crores of rupees in famine relief, relieved about $4\frac{1}{2}$ millions of people, and made advances to cultivators and suspended its revenue. About a crore of rupees was sent to India by foreign countries, England, Germany, America and China, all contributing to the gift. Since then the country has seldom known a good harvest, either the *kharif* or the *rabbi*. At one time it is failure of the monsoon, at another excessive rain, then hail or frost, all destroying the hopes of the agriculturist. As matters stand, these frequent failures of crops have made him look upon these calamities as visitations of Providence which have come to stay. In former times if barley, rice or maize, the staple food of the masses, sold at more than Rs. 2 a maund, forthwith went up the cry of famine. Now till barley sold at 14 or 15 seers a rupee, rice at 8 or 9, and maize at 14 or 15, the poor took it patiently. But when even these rates go up, despair is seen everywhere, and it is to the credit of the fortitude and resignation of temper of our people that they give no trouble either to their neighbours or to the authorities. Caste and race considerations and self-respect prevent many a starving peasant and artisan from soliciting charity or even accepting it when offered. In every town and village will be found men and women of the classes which have seen better days preferring death by starvation to stretching their hands for relief from strangers or even their own kinsmen. The Hindu knowing that it is past *karma* which has brought it about suffers quietly. The Mahomedan attributes it to fate (*ikismat*). The popular Hindu belief, however, is that it is due to the *Kali* age, and the Hindu *Sastras* support the belief, however unmeaning or crude it may appear to modern educated minds. There can, however, be no doubt of the fact that the physical aspect of the country has so greatly changed as to make these famines and droughts more common than before, for as shown above while there was a famine once in 15 years in former times, say 25 years ago, now there is a famine every year in one part of India or the other, and in the whole country every five or seven years. And the question arises—are the causes of these frequent famines merely physical, i.e., pressure of population upon an already exhausted soil, want of thrift in the people, denudation of forest areas and the change in the meteorological conditions of the country, or do they lie elsewhere also? If so, where?

Famine Commissions have sat more than once to advise Government about famine relief. Money has been liberally spent for the purpose. Elaborate codes have been drawn up for the prevention of famines. But the condition of the great mass of the rural population does not seem to have improved, and there is little hope of their not being the first victims of future famines. Under such circumstances the causes must be sought deeper down in the moral condition of the people.

In the *Mahabharata* in a graphic account of the coming *Kali* age given by Rishi Markandeya to king Yudhishtira, it was said that at the end of the cycle—

"When the period to complete it is short, men become generally addicted to falsehood. Brahmins take up the office of Sudras. Kshatriyas and Vaisyas also betake themselves to duties other than those reserved for them. Men become short-lived, weak in strength and energy and prowess, endowed with small might and diminutive bodies. Population dwindles away over large tracts of country. Women bring forth numerous progeny of low stature and bereft of good manners and righteous conduct. Famine ravages the land. Kine yield little milk while trees become infested with crows and other birds and yield little fruits and flowers. Persons wearing the garb of religion and filled with avarice and ignorance, receive charity and afflict the people of the earth. Brahmins falsely assuming the garb of ascetics earn wealth by trade. Afraid of taxes people become deceivers. The asylums of ascetics become full of sinful wretches ever applauding a life of dependence. The god of rain does not pour forth showers in season and seeds that are scattered on earth do not sprout forth. Merchants and traders become full of guile and sell large quantities of goods by false weights and measures. Men rob the wealth that has been deposited with them proving false to their trust. Boys are overtaken with decay in their sixteenth years and look like old men."—(*Mahabharata*, Chap., 138, *Vana Parva*).

In another place it is said:—

"Towards the end of this period men will become wedded to avarice, wrath, ignorance and lust, cherish animosities towards each other, desiring to take each other's lives. And they will till lands and dig banks of streams and sow grains there. People will be full of anxiety as regards means of living. Men and women will show little toleration towards each other. No one will trust another and people will neglect those who depend upon them. Meteors will flash through the air. Men will perform friendly offices only for the sake of gain and everybody will be in want. And people abandoning their occupations in towns and cities will wander about uttering, 'O father,' 'O son,'—*Mahabharata*, *Vana Parva*, chap. 140."

The great medical writer Charaka also speaking of the causes of destruction of towns and villages says that—

"Changes in the air, water, soil and time (seasons) of a country bring on diseases which ruin large tracts of the country. This perversity in air and the rest

has unrighteousness (*adharma*) for its root. That unrighteousness has for its root sinful acts committed before. The source of both these (unrighteousness and sinful acts) are faults of the understanding. They are as follows:—When the foremost inhabitants of the country, cities, towns and villages, transgressing righteousness set people on the path of unrighteousness their dependents and those that depend upon the latter living in the cities and provinces and those that make commerce their profession enhance that unrighteousness. Then that unrighteousness violently causes the disappearance of righteousness. Upon this the people bereft of righteousness are abandoned by the deities. Unto those persons thus bereft of righteousness having unrighteousness for their principal characteristic, the seasons become perverted, abandoned by the deities. Through this the gods do not pour rain unto them in due time or if they do, they do perversely. The air does not blow properly. The earth discovers perverse conditions, the water in rivers, canals and tanks dries up, herbs and plants abandoning their own nature become perverted. In consequence of this, towns and villages become destroyed through touch and use.”—*Charaka Samhita, Vimana Khanda, chap. 3.*

These descriptions are not mere efforts of the imagination and seem to be more or less applicable to India of to-day, and the only inference that can be suggested is that the writers had either observed those conditions in the India of those days or had in their mind's eye the future that was in store for it. That famines and droughts used to prevail in ancient times also appears from the fact that once at a time of scarcity of food, certain *rishis* quarrelled over some stalks of lotus which had been eaten by their companions and that other *rishis* ate forbidden food. In the Bhagavad Gita we are told:—

“The creator of the world having created living beings with sacrifice, told them to prosper with it, saying this shall be your milch cow. Do you cherish the gods with it and let the gods cherish you. Thus supporting each other you will get supreme felicity. Nourished by sacrifice the gods will give you objects of enjoyment. Creatures come from food, food comes from rain, rain from sacrifice, and sacrifice from religious acts, enjoined in the Vedas.”

Manu also says:—

“The libation of clarified butter thrown into the fire, goes on to the sun, from the sun is produced rain, from rain food, and from food living creatures.”

This would indicate a decay in the spirit of true religion everywhere to be the cause of all these perversities of the seasons, year after year. A low state of living due to poverty and ignorance, bad cultivation of an

exhausted soil, chronic indebtedness, want of thrift, inadequate supply of water through tanks and wells, absence of improvement in agriculture are only the apparent causes of famine. But the prime cause of all is, as Charaka says, decay of righteousness in the people, and their leaders. Those who have received the light of modern education may look upon these ideas as those of dreamers. But the great mass of the people attribute the present troubles more to moral and less to physical causes.*

The remedy lies in the improvement of the moral tone of Indian society, not a task of immediate accomplishment for the reformer or the philanthropist, and yet one without whose accomplishment there seems to be little hope of the country seeing better days. A beginning may, however, be made by reform in the direction of charity. This will be the first step in the right direction. Speaking of the contributions of natives of India towards the relief of the famine of 1900, the late Viceroy said:—

“A careful observation of the figures and proceedings in each province compels me to say that in my opinion, native India has not yet reached as high a standard of practical philanthropy or charity as might be expected. Though private wealth in India is not widely distributed, its total volume is considerable. If Englishmen in all parts of the world can be found as they have been found twice in three years willing to contribute enormous sums for the relief of India on the sole ground that its people are suffering fellow-subjects of the same Queen, it surely behoves the more affluent of the native community not to lag behind in the succour of those who are of their own race and creed.”—*Speech in Legislative Council, dated 9th October, 1900.*†

There is some truth in the above as the experience of the famine of 1900 shows. Then although individual effort in the shape of distribution of relief was largely in evidence in most parts of the country, there was no organized effort on any scale worth the name except on the part of Christian Missionaries and in places of the Arya Samaj. There is a great deal of private charity in the country. For instance, in Benares alone there are some 300 *anna-satras* (feeding houses), where thousands of people are daily fed, in some upon dishes which many a middle-class man might well envy. The quantity of dry grain that is daily distributed there also comes to several hundred

The Hindu population of India attribute famines and plague largely to the unrighteousness of both Government and the people.—*Ed., M. R.*

† We absolutely deny that Indians are less charitable than Europeans. Our charity is less ostentatious, figures less in official subscription lists, that is all. The daily handful of rice or flour given by every householder maintains a far larger number of paupers and mendicants (some of whom are undeserving of help) than the poor laws of the

West. We admit that our charity is unorganised. It should also be borne in mind that we are far less rich than the Europeans. Moreover, our rich men have to contribute largely to official projects and finance “loyal demonstrations” and other *tamashas*. So far as Britishers are concerned, they have been sucking India dry of her wealth. It ill becomes them to boast if they return to her impoverished children a very small fraction of what they have taken from India. Of course, we admit, that we ought to be more charitable than we are.—*Ed., M. R.*

maunds. In Hardwar, Rishikesh, Ayodhya and other sacred places, it is the same. In Rishikesh where two would suffice, there are now about half a dozen establishments for the free distribution of food to beggars and *sadhus*, so much so that a large proportion of these men go there only to fatten upon charity and swell the ranks of the idle and the mischievous. In all these places of pilgrimage the amount spent in charity, comes to several lacs in the month and, if properly directed, can support several millions of people in times of famine and scarcity and be sufficient for the construction of relief works in the shape of wells and tanks, which according to the Sastras will be better charity than merely feeding religious men upon dishes more fitted for men of the world than for mendicants. Therefore at this juncture when the country is on the brink of a dire calamity, it behoves men of light and leading everywhere to come forward and do all they can towards reforming the charities of the country, organize them and give them a proper direction. They should be as much on the alert as the Government, and devise plans of famine relief suited to the condition of each class of people. There are moreover hundreds of men of wealth and position in the learned professions, business, Government service, everywhere, who, while they are very liberal in public subscriptions in which officials of Government take the initiative, seldom prove so on occasions of famine. In fact, had it not been for their ladies who are still devoted to deeds of charity, they would not be giving the little they do now. The less educated and common people show better examples in this respect and are more liberal. But their charity is not properly organized and is not unoften misdirected. If, therefore, a start were made in this direction, it would have a good moral effect all round, improving the tone of the recipients of relief and stimulate the devotion of money in channels where it would do greater good than now. With the improvement in the moral tone of society, there will be less demand for relief from outside, and we shall be rising in the estimation of other nations as being able to support our own poor in times of scarcity.

For this purpose I would have small syndicates or committees formed of the leading men of the place for regulation of charity. If the members themselves set the example by raising a fund amongst themselves for charity and devote it in a proper manner, they will soon be able to influence the founders of the larger charities of the place to entrust the latter to their management. In Benares, for

instance, if the leading men formed a syndicate for the relief of famine and started with a few thousand rupees for the relief of persons who really need relief, the founders of the bigger charities would soon be willing to let them also manage the latter. As it is, the intentions of the founders of these institutions cannot be carried out properly for want of adequate supervision and they have to depend upon low paid officials. Only the other day one of the ministers of a Native State wrote to me to have the house owned by them in Benares repaired under my supervision, simply because although they had their servants they could not sufficiently trust them. If there were a syndicate for the regulation of public charities in Benares, such a difficulty would seldom occur. In another instance where a large sum of money had been bequeathed by will for feeding Brahmans, the executor would not devote any portion thereof for the purpose, but would give the whole of it for a burning ghat, because, as he said, he did not care to be the daily witness of fights and quarrels amongst the recipients of his charity over articles of food.

In many of these institutions in Benares which are meant for the feeding of poor students, the persons in charge prepare food at a time when the students are attending their schools and distribute it to their friends by the time the schools are over. Then, again, although the founder never contemplated the distribution of food to vagabonds and idlers, yet it is done because of the absence of supervision. The same is the case in other places also. There is so much charity in the country to relieve the poor in times of famine and scarcity that outside help should scarcely be needed. Only it should be properly applied and regulated.

One of the most difficult questions at such times is the regulation of the export of food grains from India to other parts of the world. Free trade, though it profits the latter, yet leaves poor India depleted of its grain stores and makes the horrors of a famine felt much more keenly than in former days when exports were not so considerable. In the famine of 1896-97 the coarser food grains seldom went higher than 12 seers a rupee and people could somehow live. Now although famine has not yet declared itself, the price of gram, barley, and jwar is not lower than ten seers a rupee. What it will be a few weeks hence nobody can say. The latter half of the nineteenth century was especially unfortunate in the matter of famines, and against five famines of its first quarter, two in its second, six in its third, it

suffered from eighteen in its last quarter. The 20th century promises to be still worse, for as I have said above, never since 1901 have we had a normal year. And yet during all these years the exports of food grains have gone up by leaps and bounds. Ten years ago these exports of wheat and rice were not at all what they are now. The average annual export of wheat now comes to about 7 lacs of tons and of rice about 17 lacs. This year in spite of bad harvests the exports have been heavier.* There has, it is true, been a great increase in the area of land under food grains' cultivation. But it has been at the expense of fodder crops and in food grains also of grains principally required for export at the expense of the food of the people themselves. It is, therefore, worth serious consideration whether the Government should not do something to regulate the export grain trade of the country and save its people from starvation in times of famine. When railways did not so easily carry the produce of the country from one part to another or to the sea to be shipped off to foreign ports, the effects of a famine though felt keenly were only felt in the particular locality affected. Now in spite of protective works in the shape of railways, they are immediately felt all over the country. In the last four years there has been the enormous rise of 150 per cent. in the export of wheat and of 15 per cent. in that of millets and other coarse produce. India is now the great supplier of food to not only England, but also to Germany, Japan, the United States of America, East Africa, Mauritius, the Phillipines, Ceylon, the Persian Gulf and other countries of the world. But this instead of being a thing to be proud of, leaves a feeling of regret when the frequency of famines and droughts in the country is considered. If the Government cannot check the exports, it can, in the interests of the country and its starving people, levy duties upon them so as to make it unprofitable to take the grain of India outside.

The question was considered in the famine of 1896-97, but nothing was done. Sooner or later the problem will have to be faced. In the meantime it is the duty of the Indians to do something to supply grain to their starving countrymen at least at the present prices for some time to come. For this purpose, as in the case of regulation of charities, syndicates should immediately be formed in all

large centres with proper capital to buy and store up grain and sell it to the poor at a certain fixed price up to a certain quantity. By this means they will be affording substantial relief to those who cannot beg and yet would be able to tide over the present situation with a little help. It would also have a good effect upon the market as well as prevent combinations amongst grain dealers to raise prices. It is done in several Native States and could easily be done everywhere in British India also.

The next important question is the improvement of the water supply. A very large portion of the country, especially the whole of Upper India, is dependent upon irrigation either from wells or canals. The Government has built large canals in several parts of the country at a total cost of some 45 crores of rupees and derives from them a net annual income of more than one crore. Its policy as settled by the Famine Commission of 1900 is that protective railways should now give place to protective irrigation works in the shape of storage tanks, reservoirs and irrigation wells. This policy has yet to be carried out in practice. The great drawback in the employment of private capital in the construction of these works is that in places where the revenue is periodically revised, the settlement officer does not in practice allow for the improvement in the productive power of the land assessed and its annual higher return on account of well irrigation. The orders of Government are not carried out by throwing the burden of proving what portion of the improvement is due to the irrigation from wells and what to other causes upon the landholder who is thus virtually deprived of the benefit of his labour and is prevented from investing money in the excavation of wells or tanks. In permanently-settled districts this is not the case. There you see good stone masonry wells all round. Not so in districts where the settlement is revised every thirty years. The matter, therefore, deserves consideration, and all that is necessary is that the declared intention of the Government should be carried out in practice. Large portions of the country are even now beyond the reach of canal irrigation, and well irrigation is the only means of saving their people from famine.

We are told that unless the people of India learn thrift and self-help, they will never be safe from the effects of famines and droughts.

* "India exports more corn every year, and the shipments from Calcutta this year so far show a remarkable increase. From March 1st to September 7th, the quantity of grain and seeds received at the

Kidderpore Docks was 4,453,614 maunds, or 163,121 tons, which shows an increase of 73 per cent. on the figures for the corresponding period last year."—*The Empire*.

With an average income of three to four rupees a month which is all that a labourer gets in a village, it is a little too much to expect him to be thrifty. He has not got any surplus money to waste and all that he can manage to do in good years is to keep body and soul together, and when famine comes, he has either to look forward to death from starvation or acceptance of relief from Government. It is the abject poverty of the people, their want of diversity of employment, and sole dependence on agriculture, rather than want of thrift, which makes their position so miserable at the first pinch of famine and scarcity. In former times when rents used to be collected in kind, it was not so bad. Now, when the Government revenue has to be paid in cash, the landlords' rent must also be paid in cash and the agriculturist must convert his grain into cash for the purpose. In one respect high prices of grain prove useful to him in that he gets more money than formerly, but they also tell upon him the other way in that if he has to buy or borrow grain from his money-lender, as he often has to do, he has to pay more heavily for it than before. The Government grants him *taccavi* for purchase of seeds and bullocks and during the last famine more than 2 crores of rupees were given in this way. It also suffered a loss of some six crores in its land revenue and spent about 10 crores in relief operations. But in a famine affecting whole tracts of the country, this is a mere drop in the ocean. The relief must come from the people themselves and it is because the time has come to largely supplement Government effort in this direction, that I have written this paper to draw early attention to the calamity that is in store for us and to the necessity of timely action. Those who live in towns have little idea of the misery a drought causes in rural areas. In towns people can get employment of some sort or other. In villages when once field operations are stopped, the occupation of almost the whole village is gone and the cry of despair is heard everywhere. Not being skilled labourers the people have no means of turning elsewhere for employment except on relief works where they get a

mere dole. Having nothing to fall back upon, their only recourse is the village money-lender who does not lend them money on such occasions as he has no hopes of recovering it in the near future. The prospect before them is thus very dark, and it should be the duty of all to come forward to their help at times like these. Much of their low moral calibre is the result of poverty. This can only be relieved by providing them with diversity of occupation, and for this it is not so much Government as the leaders and capitalists of the country who should come forward to revive its dying industries and developing new ones.

To sum up, I would draw public attention to the following:—(1) There should be formed syndicates and associations of the leading men of each place to regulate public charity as well as to start relief works in the manner most suited to the wants and habits of the people. (2) Those who cannot or would not go to public relief works should be given relief at home and provided with work suited to their capacities and position in life. (3) In all large centres grain depôts should be opened by the leading men of the place for sale of grain to the poor up to a certain quantity at a certain price. (4) The export of food grains should be regulated by the imposition of suitable export duties. (5) Those who are spending money in charity in sacred places, should be induced to spend it in the excavation of wells and tanks and other works of irrigation. (6) The Government should not raise its assessment because of improvement in the produce of land due to the construction of such wells. (7) Finally, the aim should be to make the mass of the people not depend solely upon agriculture, and for this purpose the capitalists of the country should devote much more money than they have done hitherto towards the revival of Indian industries. India will soon be passing through a great crisis, and the sooner this is realized by all its men of education and position, the better it is for both themselves as well as for the masses who look up to them for help and guidance.

BAIJNATH.

Allahabad: October 7, 1907.

From within or from behind, a light shines through us upon things, and makes us aware that we are nothing, but the light is all.—Emerson.

TO THE RUINS OF GOUR

I. On the road—to the Mahananda.

A WEEK in winter, from Rajshahi to the ruins of Gour, is not a bad trip altogether. But one must muster courage to start for Godagari,—twenty miles in a rattling *ticca*,—over what may be properly called an apology for a district-road, till he gets to the steamer on the *Mahananda* to reach the ruins in due course.

The indigo-factory on the way, once well-known for sumptuous hospitality, is now in ruins. A paddy-husking machine was set up in its place, only to meet with a premature break down. A Mahomedan mosque in ruins is also another melancholy sight. Mr. Metcalf, a former Collector of Rajshahi, in exploring this part of the country, was rewarded with a valuable find, since deposited with the Asiatic Society of Bengal,—a stone-inscription setting forth the genealogy of the Sena-kings,—a record of a pious dedication in metrical Sanskrit composed by Umapatidhara, the court-poet of king Vijaya, the Victorious. A tank at Deopara, where this missing link of Bengal-history was accidentally discovered, is still believed to contain many more relics lying unexplored in deep water. This part of the country is locally called “Barin,”—a vulgar contraction of “Barendra,”—a vast tract of hard red soil, with occasional undulations, extending over Rajshahi, Malda, Dinajpur and Bogra. Vijayanagar, lying on this rugged route, is supposed to have been the capital of the victorious Vijayasena, before his son Ballála came to conquer and occupy Gour. We have it on the authority of the *Danasagara*, a voluminous work of Ballála, that his father Vijaya “flourished in Barendra,” and that Ballála himself had his education under Professor Aniruddha Bhatta* of the same place. Many villages, with unmistakably Hindu and Buddhist names, are now inhabited chiefly by Mahomedan cultivators of the soil, without any learning or pretensions in that line, for which the place appears to have been once so well-known.

Walter Hamilton travelled over this part of the country in the first quarter of the last

century and recorded in his “Description of Hindoostan,”—“the District contains no forts, except one belonging to the Nawab of Moorshidabad, at Godagari, which was built in former times as a place of refuge for the Nawab’s household, and is now in a most ruinous condition.” No trace of this fort is, however, visible now,—“Killah Baruipara” is now a mere name. The imperial rice-mart, Sultangunj, still carries on a brisk business, which is daily looking up, as Godagari is rising once again to another sort of importance, as a river terminus of the Katihar-Ranaghat railway.

The District Board has a rest-house, a poor thatched house, affording some shelter, although the place deserves to be built up properly.

On the bank of the *Mahananda*, which falls into the *Padma*, at Sultangunj, stood up to the last rains a small brick-built monument supposed to indicate the last resting place of a pious Christian, possibly of a Factor of those days, who spent the best years of his life in raising the dividend of “the Company” by constant supervision of the *Aurungs*, only to succumb in the end to hard labour and malaria “unwept and unsung,” save for a mute monument, which no one can now identify! The “Bengal Obituary,” a pious compilation, was too much pre-occupied with ancient Christian burial-places in and around Calcutta to take notice of this and other similar edifices in the interior.

To the Hindu traveller this land route has a special attraction, as it passes by Premtali and Khetur, held sacred by the followers of “Lord Gouranga.” The clay images of Gouranga and Nityananda at Premtali, and the golden image of Gouranga at Khetur, are to this day worshipped by thousands of pilgrims, who congregate here in October, when a *mela* assembles every year in honour of Narottamdas, the well-known Vaishnava poet and preacher, who relinquished a rich zamindary and led the life of an ascetic in furthering the propagation of his faith. † For four hundred years and more this annual gathering, near the bank of the *Padma*, has

* An excellent Vritti on Sankhya philosophy, published by the “Society” is ascribed to Professor Aniruddha.

† Narottam was prince of “Garerhat,” a pergunna in Rajshahi which has given its name to a style of Kirtan music in which Narottam excelled his contemporaries.

come and gone to attract traders, sight-seers, and *vaishnavas*; and in this respect at least, the place has an interest of its own. But the greatest interest of the modern age is money, and many amass it in this tract by an export-trade in paddy, for which "Barendra" is so well-known.

II. On the Mahananda.

A small steamer, from Sultangunj, with a printed list of table services for dainty dishes—for wines, aerated waters and even for ices but with no food of any sort nor a drink other than "Adam's Ale,"—runs up to Malda in a leisurely zigzag course along rich fields of paddy, pulses and oilseeds, and mango groves, the monotonous green being occasionally relieved by the yellow of silk-cocoons set up in quaint bamboo trays in the sun "to ripen," as they call it in technical parlance.

On the route lies Baraghararia with its Silk-factory, and Nawabgunj with its modest Munsiff's Court, apparently undisturbed by the incessant metallic sound created by hundreds of brazier's workshops in turning out pitchers, pots, plates, cups and occasionally forks and spoons of genuine *Swadeshi* make and finish. Higher up near the confluence of the *Pinarbhava* with the *Mahananda* stands Rohanpur, destined to grow into greater importance on account of the new railway which, at this and other places, cleverly taps the richest rice-fields of Barendra, which were once bestowed on the ancestors of the "Barendra Brahmans" when they were induced to come from Kanouj and settle in the Gourian Empire at the solicitation of King Adisura of old. Bholahat, the next place of importance, has to this day a French silk factory in the midst of a tract ever well-known for its silk cocoons. Nearly three-fourths of the raw material is utilised by the people in weaving with the handloom various silk stuffs for which Malda has not completely lost its reputation, although the trade with Persia and Arabia in mixed silk fabrics seems to have almost died out in our day.

It was this river-route which was taken by Sirajuddaula in his flight from the battle field of Plassey. Orme says he fled "on a camel," Macaulay made the animal "fleet," but Sraffton, who was an eye-witness, says it was only an "elephant" that carried away the fugitive Nawab from the field to the capital. At Moorshidabad the scene was one of confusion. Even his wife's father, though begged to stay and collect troops, refused either to defend the Nawab where he was, or to accom-

pany him in his retreat to Patna. Some advised him to deliver himself up to the English, which he imputed to treachery. When he arrived at the city, his palace was full of treasure; but with all that treasure he could not purchase the confidence of his army. As a last resource he is said to have opened the door of his treasury to distribute large sums to the soldiers. But they received his bounty only to desert him and his cause. So he fled in a boat from Bhagwangola opposite Sultangunj, and tried to reach Patna by a circuitous route, through the *Mahananda* and *Kalindi*, to avoid detection and capture. His intention was to escape to M. Law, and with him to Patna, the governor of which province was a faithful servant of his family. But Law was only thirty miles off when he was taken prisoner at a place called *Barhal*, on the *Kalindi*, in Malda, at a short distance from Rajmahal, because the river at that place had dried up. Danshah, a fakeer, is said to have caused him to be arrested, as the Nawab is said to have cut off the nose and the ears of the fakeer. But the story has to be taken with a grain of salt, as the inscription on the tomb of Danshah, still in existence, makes it impossible for Danshah to have lived when Siraj-ud-daula was born. Mr. Beveridge took great pains to ascertain this route of flight, which has also been investigated by others. Thus Malda has also an interest of its own to the student of modern history, and no account of the ruins of Gour will, therefore, be complete without at least a passing mention of this, which is told in another way in all histories with a persistency worthy of a better cause.

III. Englishbazar.

The civil station of Malda is still locally called "Englishbazar." It is on the right bank of the *Mahananda*, while on the left bank, a little higher up, stands Malda, now usually called "Old Malda." Englishbazar appears to have been the first place, where the East India Company established a modest warehouse, which was, however, looted and demolished by Rahim Khan and Sobha Sing during their incursions. Another warehouse, with slight defensive works, four bastions and a boundary wall, was built again; and it stands to this day to accommodate the court houses of the Magistrate. A small monument, and a marble tablet placed by Lord Curzon during his visit, indicate that the present edifices were built in 1771. In one part of the extensive compound stands the

"circuit house," which was improvised into a sort of "Government House," when Lord Curzon came to occupy it as his quarters during his visit to the ruins of Gour. English-bazar is not altogether devoid of interest to the student of history, for it was here that Golam Hosain, the historian,—author of "Riaz-us-Salateen"—which supplied Stewart with a model for his "History of Bengal,"—lived and died. On his dwelling-place stands now the charitable dispensary, and a tomb in ruins at "Chak Korbanali" indicates his final place of rest.

George Udny, Esq., of the Hon'ble Company's Bengal Civil Service, died in Calcutta, October 24, 1803, in the 70th year of his age, and the "Bengal Obituary" records his "exertions in the cause of religion generally, and in the circulation of the Holy Scriptures particularly." But the "Riaz-us-Salateen" records his other services, no less interesting to the reader. George Udny came out to Malda in 1784 and employed Golam Hosain to write his celebrated Persian History, which has now been translated into English under the auspices of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Golam Hosain left his works with his pupil Abdul Karim, who made them over to Iahibuksh, (born 1824, died 1892), the author of another Persian history, the *Khursid-Jahan-namah*. Mr. Beveridge, who knew Iahibuksh personally and looked into his work, reported to the Asiatic Society—"on the whole, I think, we may say that Iahibuksh has done well, and that he deserves to be held in remembrance along with Golam Hosain, Creighton, Franklin, Ravenshaw and Blochmann." We owe almost all we can now gather, to these eminent writers, and primarily to Golam Hosain, who was the real pioneer. It would be interesting to know that Reverend Carey, before he joined Marshman in Srirampur, lived and worked in Malda, and carried on useful experiments in introducing systems of printing and public instruction through schools, which subsequently came to be adopted as types for all Bengal.

IV. Gour under the Hindus.

Very little, if any thing at all, is visible now of the palaces and temples, which are said to have adorned the capital of Gour under the Hindus. When it came to be occupied by Bakhtiyar Khiliji, it was called *Lakshmanavati*, after the name of King Lakshmana Sena, who is said to have greatly embellished the city built by his father Ballala. But we are told by the author of the "Riaz" that Bakhtiyar demolished innumerable Hindu temples, and utilised the materials, thus secured, for the

construction of "places of Mahomedan pure worship." This zeal, not peculiar to Bakhtiyar alone, may account for the absence of Hindu structures of old. Indeed the author of the "Riaz" had good reason to trust the older records he had seen, as all tourists can even now see in many Mahomedan edifices carved stones, which must have belonged to Hindu or Buddhist structures of old. Gour under the Hindus was recently and may be even now called a mere name, with very little authentic accounts to satisfy curiosity.

The name itself has been a puzzle to all European scholars, some of whom tried to derive it from the word "Gur"—molasses; and to invent a supposed connection with the cultivation of the sugarcane. The name is old enough to baffle such attempts at grammatical derivation. It occurs in the grammar of PANINI, composed centuries before Christ, as the name of an Eastern country and city, without any connection with the supposed cultivation of the cane. The story recorded by Iahibuksh that "it was founded about 393 years before Christ by one Singaldip of Koch Bihar," can hardly be accepted as authentic history. The kingdom of Pundravardhana, the *Panna-fa-tan-na* of Hieun Tsiang, had its capital at Pandua, which was also the capital of the earlier Pathan kings. The later Mahomedans built their cities at different places of the neighbourhood on the opposite bank, which are all included in the area now pointed out as Gour. Although both banks of the *Mahananda* might equally boast of containing ruins connected with the rise, progress and downfall of the Gourian Empire, yet their local names created a distinction, according to which the west bank claims the ruins of Gour, while the east bank is said to contain those of Pandua only. To all early Mahomedan historians, Gour was known by the name of *Laknowti*. In the sixteenth century, Humayun, during a visit to Bengal, conferred on it the name of Jannatabad; but in 1575, in the reign of Akbar, during the viceroyalty of Man'm Khan Khanan, a terrible pestilence left the city a deserted wilderness, to be thenceforward known as the "ruins of Gour."

Hieun Tsiang passed through Pundravardhana. It is interesting to note he had no words for the mangoes for which the place is now so well-known. Kalhana's *Rajatarangini*, the "Chronicles of Kashmir," has two stories of Gourian valour, one relating to the siege of Trigrami in Kashmir by the soldiers of Gour, and another explaining the circumstances under which king Jayapida of

Kashmir came to marry the princess of Poundravardhana. From old writings, inscriptions, and usual references one can gather only a glimpse—vague and indistinct—of the past.

The Pala kings of Magadha held the Gouri-an Empire, they had many a tug of war with the Sena kings. Ballala Sena eventually succeeded in assuming the title of *Goureswara*, Lord of Gour, which could not, however, be enjoyed long by his descendants. Most of the lands now belong to Maharaja Surjakanta, and we may call him the modern *Goureswara*, in grateful recognition of his hospitality to tourists, who come with notice. It is "princely" in every respect, with Mr. Hellow as Manager and host.

A Mahomedan mosque in Pandua contained a Sanskrit palm leaf manuscript, as the only reliable relic of Gour under the Hindus. A copper plate grant of Dharmapala was another, which was discovered and sent to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, by W. C. Batabyal, a late lamented Collector of Malda and an erudite scholar.

Building materials from the ruins of Gour, stones and bricks, used to be carried away far into different parts of Bengal, and some of them may, to this day, be traced out in Dinajpur, Rajmehal, Dacca, Moorshidabad and even in Calcutta. The Nawabs derived a revenue, the *Khest Gour*, which authorised the farmers to carry on this vandalism with impunity. An Act for their preservation has now imposed a penalty upon every such act of spoliation; and the tourist has been obliged to put a curb on his aspirations in that direction. At one time there were among the ruins a few huge masses, which appeared to be of blue marble and had a fine polish. The most remarkable of these covered the tombs of the kings of Gour, whence they were removed by Major Adams (during his survey operations), who intended to send them to Calcutta, but not being able to weigh them into boats, was obliged to leave them on the river bank, only to be carried away by the stream! The little town of Englishbazar possesses some of these relics; and a huge inscribed stone slab, once decorating a place of Mahomedan worship, has long served the unenviable purposes of a stone-seat in the garden of the house in which the Collector resides! Some stone relics are lying in heaps in a corner of the court compound, and almost every old house in the town possesses some stone or other, though of inferior quality.

Malda appears to have offered Colonel Clive a resourceful recruiting district for organising his well-known "Lal Palton,"—the indigenous sepoy regiment, clad in red-coat uniform. When the veterans came to be disbanded, they were rewarded with grants of land in Malda, which came to be called and recorded in the Collector's books as "English." They exist to this day, though no longer in the occupation of the descendants of the sepoys, who fought under their "Heaven-born" General. In almost every case the "English" has since changed hands, and has helped the money-lender to strut about as a modern zamindar. The Ranee of Dinajpur, to whom the lands belonged at the time, exacted a proper compensation for the usurpation of her lands in rewarding the sepoys with the "English." It is interesting to note that most of these "red coats" of Colonel Clive, who had an undoubted share in the credit for "empire-building," were no other than ordinary cultivators of the soil, ready and capable of being trained up as effective soldiers in the good old days of the "Company Bahadur." Clive appears to have got his due share of praise and blame at the hands of Mr. Udny's historian. For, the "Riyaz-us-salateen" has a passage to indicate that "Sirajuddowla was put to death at the instigation of the English chiefs and Juggut Seth." Stewart, in compiling his "History of Bengal" noted in his "Preface" that he was indebted to the "Riaz" for the idea of his work and for the general outline; but he concluded his book with a note, "In justice to the memory of Colonel Clive, I think it requisite to state, that none of the native historians impute any participation in the death of Sirajuddowla to him." This is hardly consistent with Stewart's model. After a careful comparison of the "Riaz" with the history of Stewart, Mr. Beveridge was constrained to observe,—“I do not understand why Stewart says that no native writer charges Clive with complicity.” A Bengali writer came to the rescue and suggested that the passage in question might have been wanting in the manuscript of the "Riaz" which Stewart had access to. But the passage occurs even in the edition printed and published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, although no book, written in English, took any notice of the same, before Mr. Beveridge tried and failed to understand the matter.

AKSHAY KUMAR MAITRA.

THE COTTON MANUFACTURE OF DACCA

THE productions of the Dacca looms may be classified into (1) gossamer muslins; (2) cloths of ordinary or medium quality; (3) coarse and (4) mixed fabrics of cotton and *muga* silk.

The muslins comprise plain, striped, chequered, figured and coloured varieties and are distinguished by names which either denotes fineness or transparency of texture or the uses to which they are applied as articles of dress. The common dimensions of a piece are 20 yards by one yard. The number of the threads in the warp is reckoned by the number of dents in the reed used in weaving and as two threads pass through each dent, the actual number is twice that expressed by the weavers. There are more threads in the warp than in the woof. The value of a piece of muslin is estimated by its length and the number of threads in the warp compared with its weight. The greater the length and number of thread and the less the weight, the higher is the price. The principal varieties manufactured were:—

Mulmul-khas (signifying—made or reserved for the particular or private use of the king) has from 1800 to 1900 threads in the warp, is 10 yards by one, weighing 8 *tolas* and 6 *annas*. It may pass through smallest ring. Price Rs. 100.

Jhuma (Hindi *jhina* = fine or thin)—20 by 1; number of threads 1000; worn only by dancers and singers and by the inmates of *zananas* of wealthy princes. It is referred to in an ancient Tibetan work "The Dulva," wherein it is mentioned that—

"The King of Kalunga sends to the King of Kosala a piece of fine linen cloth as a present. If comes afterwards into the hands of Gtsug-Dgah-mo, a wicked priestess, she puts on it, appears in public, and seems naked."*

It is also noticed by Tavernier as an article of manufacture at Seronje in the 17th century. He describes it as

"so thin that when a man puts it on, his skin shall appear through it as if he were naked. The merchants are not permitted to transport it; for the governor sends it all to the seraglio of the Great Moghul and to the principal lords of the Court. Of this the Sultanesses and the great noblemen's wives make them garments in the hot weather. And the king and lords take great pleasure to behold them dance in these garments."†

Rang—much like *jhuma*.

Abrawan derived from Persian *ab*—water, and *rawan*—to flow, *i.e.*, like limpid running water. It is said that the Emperor Aurangzib was angry with his daughter for showing her skin through her clothes, whereupon the young princess remonstrated that she had seven *jama*hs on. In Nawab Aliverdi Khan's time a weaver was chastised for his neglect in not preventing his cow from eating up a piece of *abrawan*, which being spread on the grass was quite invisible.

Sarkar Ali—threads 1900, weight only 4 cz., manufactured for the viceregal court.

Khasa—*i. e.*, fine or elegant. The finest variety of it is called jungle-khas. Abul Fazl says that Sonargong was then celebrated for this cloth. Threads 1400 to 2800, weight 21 oz.

Shubnam or *shabnam*—Persian words meaning "morning dew" or "evening dew." When spread over a grassy field it is scarcely distinguishable from the dew on the grass. 20×1: threads 700 to 1300; weight 10 to 13 oz.

Alaballee—according to weaver's interpretation of the word it means "very fine." Threads 1100 to 1900; weight 17 oz. Latin *Abolla* means a "military court," and Arrian ascribes it to India, and probably this muslin was meant.

Tunzeb (Pers. *tun*—body, and *zeb*—an ornament). Threads 800 to 1900: weight 10 to 18 oz.

Turundam—(from Arabic *turaf*—a kind, and Persian *undam*—body; or I think, *tarh*—kind, *undam*—naked, *i.e.*, semi-naked). Threads 1000 to 2700; weight 15 to 27 oz.

Nayansook—mentioned in the Ayeen Akbari. Threads 2200 to 2700, price 4 to 80 Rs.

Badan Khas—Threads 2200, weight 11 oz.

Sarband—(from *Sar*—head, and *band*—to bind), a muslin for turbans. Threads 2100; weight 12 oz.

Sarbatee—Thin like *Sarbat*, or *Sarbuttee*, a cloth to bind the head with.

Kamees—(from Arabic *qumees*—a shirt), used for making long garments; threads 1400; weight 10 oz.

Doorea or striped. Threads 1500 to 2100.

Charkhana or chequered, mentioned in the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*.

Jamdanee (a Persian name applied to cloths

*Analysis of the Dulva. Researches Asiatic Society of Calcutta, Vol. XX, part i, p. 85.

† Tavernier's Travels, Part II, Bk. i, Chap. xi.

embroidered in the loom). Threads 1700. From the complicated designs these were the most expensive. Those manufactured for the Emperor Aurangzib cost Rs. 250; and it is said that at the time of Muhammad Reza Khan, the Naib Nazir of Dacca in 1776, some were woven at Rs. 650 per piece.

Muslins have been manufactured in India from remote antiquity, but of their very early history as articles of dress in foreign countries, little is known. In Harris's *Natural History of the Bible* certain words in the Bible have been interpreted to mean muslins.* During the sixth century B. C., India had regular commercial intercourse with Egypt, Syria, Palestine and Arabia, and India, which was far advanced in civilization and arts and industries, supplied other nations with manufactured commodities. Prof. H. H. Wilson in his introduction to his translation of the Rig-veda Sanhita says that the Hindus were—

“a manufacturing people; for the art of weaving, the labours of the carpenter and the fabrication of golden and of iron mail are alluded to; and what is more remarkable, they were a maritime and a mercantile people.”

Mr. Yates holds the view that cotton cloths imported from India were used in Greece about 200 years before Christ.†

In Juvenal's Satire the term *multitia* is supposed to mean *muslin*. Romans called this cloth *ventus textilis* because it is said that Dacca muslin was formerly made so fine that a piece of it measuring several yards in length could be blown by the breath into the air like a feather.

Descending, however, from conjecture to history, we find particular mention of the muslius of Bengal in the “Periplus of the Erythrean Sea”—a nautical journal, ascribed to Arrian, who lived in the 2nd century A. D. Dr. Vincent renders a passage in it as “the Gangetic muslins, which are the finest manufacture of the sort.” Greek *karpatos*, Latin *carbasus*, Hebrew *karpas*, Persian *karbas*, are much akin to Sanskrit *karpasa* or Bengalee *kapas* or *karpas*, which means both cotton and cotton-made cloth. *Karpas* occurs in the Book of Esther (ch. i., v. 6).‡

The two Musalman travellers of the 9th century, in describing the Kingdom of Rami (Bengal), say—

“In this country they make cotton garments in so extraordinary a manner, that nowhere else are the like to be seen.....they may be drawn through a ring of the middling size.” §

Turkish travellers in 1516 and 1560 refer to muslins and *malmal shahi*.|| Ralph Fitch, the first English traveller to East Bengal in 1586, refers to the muslins of Sonargaon as being the finest that were made in all India.¶ A German traveller bears testimony in 1599 that these were exported to Spain.** The Empress Noor Jehan was a great patroness of Dacca muslin and Malda silk.†† Tavernier describes it as

“Scarcely to be felt in the hand;the eye can hardly discern it, or at least it seems to be but a cobweb.” ‡‡

The first great importation of British yarn into Bengal was made in 1821; and since 1828, it has been used almost to the entire exclusion of native thread. The fabrics of imported yarn were—

Bafta (Persian—signifying “woven”). Used as wrappers. Tavernier mentions two pieces of it, each 28 cubits long, which were sold at Broach for 500 *mamondas*, i.e., about Rs. 150.

Boonnee (from Boonna “to weave”) is a cloth with either red or black border.

Ekpatta, *Jore* (or a pair), *Saree*, *Dhootee*, *Hummun* (used at the bath) and *Gamochha* (or towel) were the other minor varieties.

Cloths made of a mixture of *Muga* silk and *Bhoga* or *Seronge* cotton imported from the Garrow and Tipperah hills were made exclusively for the markets of Arabia. Sir H. G. Brydges holds the view that the goods formerly sent from Bassora to Constantinople mostly consisted of Bengal cloths, but this branch of traffic has been superseded by the importation of British manufactures into the latter city.§§ The mixed cotton and silk manufacture of Bengal and specially of Malda was carried on from time immemorial. Dr. Buchanan says:—

“The native women, from the queens downwards, weave the four kinds of silk produced in the country, with which three-fourths of the people are clothedEach family spins and weaves the silk which it rears.” |||

Spinning was formerly the general leisure occupation—in many cases the principal employment—of Hindu and Musalman females, but particularly of the former, who have always been distinguished for their unrivalled skill in this art. All the yarn formerly used

* Ezekiel, xvi., 10, B., Isaiah, iii. 23, &c.

† *Texerimum Antiquorum*.

‡ See Kitto's *Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature*.

§ *Accounts of India and China*, translated by the Abbe Renadout.

¶ *A Turkish Nautical Journal* by Sidi Capudan. See *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Calcutta*, Vol. v., p. 467.

‡‡ See *Hakluyt's Collection of Travels and Voyages*.

** *Travels of John Huighen Van Linschoten*—translated by John Wolfe.

†† *Stewart's History of Bengal*, p. 222.

‡‡ *Tavernier's Travels*.

§§ Evidence on Steam Navigation to India before a Committee of the House of Commons, 1834.

||| *Eastern India—Topography of Assam*, Vol. III p. 679.

in the Dacca looms was made by the spinners (*katanees*) of the district, and *paikars* or agents collected it from every house. The finest yarn was made at Dumroy, Sonargaon and Junglebaree and was sold at Rs. 8 per *tolah*.

A head or master-weaver possessing two or three looms either employs a journeyman (*kareegar*) or an apprentice (*nikaree*) or both. The rate of wages varied from one and a half annas to four annas per day. These wages should not be considered very low, as at that time the principal food stuffs of the Bengali people were very cheap, which may be seen from the following table :—

	1760.	1800.	1837.
Rice per md.	8 to 12 as.	Rs. 1 to 1-8	Rs. 1-8 to 2 Rs.
Salt per md.	Re. 1-4 as.	Rs. 5	Rs. 5
Mustard oil			
per md.	Rs. 3-4 as.	Rs. 5	Rs. 5

Then the land-tax, too, was very low, and the bleeding of the land was only beginning.

The cloth merchants of Dacca formerly comprised persons of various nations, viz.,—Hindus, Moguls, Pathans, Turanis, Armenians, Greeks, Portuguese, English, French and Dutch. They were divided into two classes—*mahajans* and *kapreeas*, i.e., wholesale and retail dealers. They advanced money to the weavers through agents called *paikars*, and under them were *mookims* who inspected the cloths in the looms. *Nakhoodas* or the Arab traders from Jedda and Bassora were the main purchasers. The buying and selling were through the *dalals* who were paid a small commission.

The Dacca factory of the East India Company is mentioned by Tavernier in 1666. Burke, in his charges against the Company's servants stated :—

"In 1773, the trade at Dacca was carried on by native brokers.....Money was at this time advanced for more than they could possibly execute in the year. In this way they were kept in bondage to the Company to the exclusion of private merchants and foreign factories."

In 1787 a Commercial Resident was appointed to conduct the affairs of the factory. This system of management appears to have been continued down to 1817, when the factory was closed.

After the weaving of the cloth it was bleached. The process of bleaching was carried on in the suburbs of the town of Dacca. Abul Fazl mentions a place called Catarashoonda, in Sonargan, that was celebrated in his time for its water which gave a peculiar whiteness to the cloths that were washed in it. Similarly, the water of the tract of land from Naraindiah to Tezgan was thought to possess

similar property. At the latter station the English, Dutch and French had extensive bleaching grounds. The water used at Naraindiah was taken from wells.

Cloths are first steeped in large earthen vessels (*gumlas*) and are then beaten in their wet state upon a board, the surface of which is cut into transverse parallel furrows. In the institutes of Manu we find—

"Let a washerman wash the cloths of his employer little by little or piece by piece and not hastily, upon a smooth board of *salmali* wood."

Fine muslins are not, however, subjected to this rough process, but are merely steeped in water. Then these are immersed in an alkaline ley composed of soap and *sajee matee*. Soap was introduced into India by the Muhammadans who are still the principal, if not the sole, manufacturers of it in India. The Hindus formerly used ashes of different plants, particularly the plaintain tree, in washing clothes. The Indian name of *saboon* is an Arabic word. The soap manufactured in Dacca was considered the best in Bengal and was formerly an article of export to different parts of India, Bassora, Jedda, &c.

After the immersion in the alkaline ley the cloths are then spread over the grass and occasionally sprinkled with water, and when half dried, were removed to the boiling house or *bhattee-ghur* to be steamed. The boiler is a big earthen vessel, a hollow bamboo serves as a tube through which water is poured into the vessel. The cloths are twisted into loose bundles and steamed and thus allowing the alkali still adhering to them to penetrate more completely into their fibres and seize on the colouring matter of the cotton. The cloths are then removed and steeped in alkaline ley, and spread over the grass and again steamed at night. These alternate processes are repeated for ten or twelve days until the cloths are perfectly bleached. After the last steaming they are steeped in clear filtered water, acidulated with lime-juice. Tavernier states that—

"Throughout the territory of the Great Mogul they make use of the juice of citrons to whiten their calicuts, whereby they make them sometimes so white that they dazzle the sight."

The best season for bleaching is from July to November, because at this time the water is clear and pure, and winds carrying dust seldom occur. The bleachers are all Hindus called *dhobees*. The cost of bleaching including the expense of dressing varied from 30 to 160 rupees per 100 pieces.

The cloths having been bleached are dressed by workmen, the chief of whom are :—

Narceeahs who arrange the threads of cloths that happen to be displaced during bleaching. This name is derived from *nard*, a roller on which cloths are rolled. The damaged portion is unwound and stretched out and being wetted with water, a comb formed of the spines of the *nagphanee* (a kind of cactus) plant is drawn lightly along the surface of the displaced threads in order to bring them to their proper places.

Rafu-gars or darners who repair damages during bleaching. They join broken threads, remove knots from threads, &c.

Dag-dhobies who remove spots and stains from muslins. They use the juice of the *amroola* plant which takes out iron marks; and a composition of *ghee*, lime and mineral alkali to efface stains and discolorations such as are produced by decayed leaves and the plants called *neelbundee* and *cachu*.

Kundegars who beat muslins with smooth *shankh* or conch shells, rice-water being sprinkled over them during the operation.

Istreevallahs who iron cloths. The very fine plain and flowered assortments of fabrics are ironed between sheets of paper. This work is done only by Muhammadans, and appears to have been introduced into India by them.

The cloths are folded by the *murdeeahs* and then piled up and formed into bales which are compressed by workmen called *bustabunds*. The ancient mode of packing fine muslins was to inclose them in the hollow of bamboo tubes; these cylindrical cases which were sent to Delhi, were lacquered and gilded. Tavernier mentions that Muhammad Ali Beg on returning to Persia from India where he had been an ambassador, presented to the king a cocoanut shell, studded with pearls; and that on opening it, it was found to contain a turban of Indian muslin sixty cubits long.

Rafu-gari (darning) is a branch in which Muhammadans display a degree of manual dexterity almost equal to that exhibited by the Hindus in weaving. An expert *rafugar* can extract a thread 20 yards long from a piece of the finest muslin of the same dimensions and replace it with one of the finest quality. This *choonai* or picking out a thread is generally done when a coarse thread is discovered in a web of muslin after bleaching.

Zar-do-zi (embroidering) with gold and silver thread is an art for which Dacca had long been celebrated, so also for *chikan-kari* (embroidering with cotton on muslin) and *kashida* (embroidering with muga or coloured cotton thread).

The art of dyeing was not brought at Dacca to such perfection as it was in other parts of

India. The people who carry on this work are called *puttoah*, who are mainly Musalmans.

The earliest notice of the muslins of Bengal was by Arrian and Pliny. Fa Hian bears testimony to the extensive trade of Bengal with various countries. Speaking of Bengal in 1272, Marco Polo says that "much cotton is grown in this country." Chittagong was then the principal port of Bengal. Ibn Batuta landed there in 1324. He and Vertomannus (1503), a traveller from Rome, notices that 50 ships laden with silk and cotton goods were despatched annually to Persia, Arabia, Ethiopia and Egypt. Hence Chittagong was called "Porto Grande" by the Portuguese.

In 1700, in order to encourage British manufactures an act of Legislature was passed prohibiting the importation into England of "all wrought silks, Bengals, and stuffs of Persia, China or East Indies." Among the goods prohibited we find enumerated the following:—*Mulmuls*, *abrowaks* (*abrawans*), *junays* (*jhunas*), *rehing* (*rang*), *terindam* (*tarundam*), *tanjeb*, *jamdawnes*, *dooreas* and *cossacs* (*ichasa*). In 1701, a duty of 15 per cent. was imposed on muslins; for from 1703 to 1709 the muslins of Bengal, particularly *mulmuls* and *dooreas*, appear to have been in great request in England. We are now only trying to pay England back in her own coin by boycotting English goods.

The Dutch appear to have had the principal share of the foreign trade at Dacca in 1666. According to Bernier they exported large quantities of goods to Japan, as well as to Europe. In 1781 their factory was seized by the English.

The French settled in Bengal in 1688, but did not begin to trade at Dacca until 1726. Their factory was thrice captured by the English but was made over, and in 1830 they sold the factory to the people of Dacca.

The manufacture of muslins had been attempted at Paisley as early as the year 1700, but it was not until 1781 that it was permanently established and carried on with success in Great Britain. In 1787 Dacca exports were the greatest, and thereafter it began to decline. As an effect of this decline the population of the town greatly decreased and skilful artisans betook themselves to agriculture. And has not the time come again to recall them to their own vocation and once again to try to revive the lost industry?*

CHARUCHANDRA BANDYOPADHYAY.

* The above account has been compiled chiefly from *A Descriptive and Historical Account of the Cotton Manufacture of Dacca*, by a former Resident of Dacca, 1851.

BURMA AND THE BURMESE

MAYMYO.

MAYMYO is a beautiful little town, known as a remarkable sanitarium. It is 3741 feet above the sea level and is situated on a Shan plateau hemmed in on all sides by ranges of hills and hillocks. The land spreads with gentle undulations for miles around and is often interspersed with clusters of jungly wood that sometimes grow as high as a pine and as large as an oak. The soil, though not exceedingly rich, is highly suitable for vegetable production. Brinjals, plantains, *jhingá*, beans, *uchchhe*, *karolá*, potato, cabbages, and several excellent vegetables unknown in our country, are available here all the year round. The climate is generally cold; but in May and June the days are pretty fine and warm and awaken the recollections of many youthful days passed amidst the vernal beauties of our own country. The houses built in this beautiful locality partake of its elegance.

Maymyo is at present the summer residence of the Lieutenant-Governor of Burma. In 1886 it was occupied as a military outpost and continued as such till the year 1900. But with the introduction of railways, it was conspicuously brought into view as a luxurious hill resort and the hot weather seat of the local Government. Two Gurkha Battalions with a regiment of Sikhs have been stationed in this natural fort and latterly barracks have been erected for British troops which are being moved up from Mandalay. It is a trade registering station between China, Burma and the Shan States, and large quantities of tea, dry and pickled, pass through Maymyo by rail and road. Postal, Telegraph, Military, Public Works and several other important departments, recently removed here, have brought in a number of educated men from the enlightened provinces of India. The Chetties of Madras have established commercial banks in the town; the Surties of Bombay have opened shops and firms with large capitals; a large number of Punjabees has poured in to tender for the contracts of roads and buildings; and within a few years the rugged plateau has been turned into a beautiful little town.

In the middle of the last century, however, the landscape presented a very different aspect. No trace of art and science except those that are found in simple and primitive societies could be detected in this silent lap of nature. Scarcely a house could be seen in the valley save the rude thatched huts of the Shan peasantry; and Maymyo, now peopled with 6,000 industrious men from all parts of India, was but a small assemblage of narrow filthy lanes, winding between lines of huts much resembling the dens of wild bears that abound in the neighbouring forests.

The Shans were the former inhabitants of this little valley, but now they have receded before the Europeans who have usurped most of their civil and natural rights. They are a race tolerably beautiful, and their women, though slightly Mongolian in their features, possess a charming complexion and excellent limbs. The Burmese women, who belong to a different race, stand higher than the Shans in a contest of beauty. The obliquity of the Mongolian eye and the ugly swelling of their cheek-bones are entirely wanting in the Burmese women. Their eyes, though sometimes small, can hardly undo the spell cast by their dazzling complexion and the graceful symmetry of their healthy limbs. They are very sportive in their nature and seem always to be in a lovely pre-disposition to smile and laugh.

The male members of the Shans—I am speaking of the rich and respectable families—live for the most part an indolent life, charmed in the amorous laps of their nymph-like better-halves. Firm constancy is demanded of them by their wives, and a breach of faith is almost always avenged with blood-shed. They are naturally foppish in their tastes and will spend anything to look more rich and beautiful. In the morning when the Shan male has finished washing, he will crown himself with a coloured silk, put on a clean ironed shirt, wear a fine *lunghee* beautifully decorated with coloured silk embroidery, and then go out with an indifferent face perfectly unmindful of how the world goes. The women are still more foppish in

their nature, and would perhaps outdo the coquettes of Bath, if placed in similar positions. But they are very faithful to their domestic duties and will duly perform all the tedious and laborious works of the day. Though there is no *Purda* system among them, the ladies of respectable families do not generally come out (except on Bazaar days) to do any work before the public eye. The poor only are habituated to this kind of work. I have often seen the lovely peasant girls working gaily in the green field and have revived with the utmost pleasure the beautiful image of "Ruth in the cornfield." I really like these Burma girls not only for their personal grace and beauty, or the vigour and nimbleness of their limbs, or even for the ruby smiles spreading wreaths of sleek dimples on their rosy cheeks, but specially for the simplicity and constancy of their hearts, the sprightliness of their conversation and their life-long endeavour to please and comfort those on whom they have bestowed their hearts. These invaluable qualities, I hope with confidence, will ever be prized by every race in every part of the world.

I have been repeatedly told that Burmese women are very easily enticed by the *Kala-admies* (lit.—black men or foreigners). At first I could not persuade myself to believe it so easily, but observing a few instances myself I have been led to hold that there is much truth in this statement. Indeed, no race in India has so freely intermingled with foreigners as the Burmese have done. The poor and low class women have for a more comfortable living grafted themselves in considerable numbers to the strange new-comers, and rich and respectable families also have not thought it beneath their dignity to take in a number of migratory young men to settle with their beautiful daughters, though previously the Burmese nobles tried their best to keep clear of such hideous blots on the fair name of their families. Hellenic adventures, I am told, are not rare even in the high families of Burma as in the civilised societies of Europe; and numerous cases of such unpleasant abductions have been silently borne by many notable families of Burma.

I at first looked upon this strange non-eastern conduct with an astonished eye, and found at last, as best as my poor intelligence enabled me to do, the real causes of this strange and rapid amalgamation. I shall try to enumerate them one by one.

First, for reasons more than one, the Europeans are admittedly privileged as fit persons to marry Burmese maidens, whenever

they like to do so. Their position, their pecuniary condition and their religious catholicism give them a peculiar advantage. But it is a puzzle why these beautiful girls should like to choose the black or brown skinned Indians or the ugly Chinese, as the life-long consorts of their vernal jollity. Yes, it is a question that must certainly puzzle many of my readers; but I beg to remind them that in the eyes of love there can be nothing like ugliness or deformity.

Secondly, the connotation of the word chastity differs among different nations. Chastity in its Hindu sense is the crowning virtue of womanhood and does not perhaps possess the same connotation outside India. The Burmese, perhaps like the Europeans, take it in a lighter sense and their country has by long practice allowed the explanation.

Thirdly, the Burma-girls, except those of high families, choose their own husbands. There being no special stringency of the caste system or any other powerful obstacle in their way, the girls are, in the majority of cases, led by their fancy and passion, and their parents also make no wilful objection to their voluntary choice and happy union. I know of cases, where such objections have been made, but with cruel and serious results.

The last and what I hold to be the most substantial cause of this rapid and abnormal intermixture, is that the Burmese girls actuated by an inordinate passion for foppery, disdain their own simple mode of living and wed foreigners with a view to satisfy their desire for luxury. The unsought-for ease and comfort of foreign family life, when compared with the tedious life of the Burma-wives, impress them most deeply. They are naturally foppish and luxurious in their tastes, but as I have said before, they are too poor to satisfy the extravagant craving for dandyism that rankles within the innermost cells of their hearts. So, when wooed by "Kala-admies" i.e., foreigners, they unhesitatingly accept them without looking before and after.

But I must add that these girls, simple as they are, are also sometimes entrapped by the extravagant professions of love made by treacherous persons. Many girls have thus been treacherously deceived by foreigners and have been compelled to bring their lives to a miserable termination.

A European officer once took a fancy to a poor beautiful Shan girl, who came to the Bazaar to sell some rare vegetables that she had grown with her own hands. The Sahib was struck with her beauty and engaged without delay some go-betweens for

Supplement to "The Modern Review."



BURMESE LADY.

Block by Mr. Dial Das, Roorkee.

INDIAN PRESE, ALLAHABAD.

enticing the girl from her home. He personally called on her and presented her a precious ring, a silken Lunghee and an embroidered petticoat of satin. The poor girl was beside herself with joy; her relatives began to dream of immense fortunes suddenly poured on her, and good-natured friends were not behind-hand in arousing in her the first feelings of love and regard. The poor girl was taken by surprise, and for a time she was perfectly at a loss to understand what to do. But very soon she felt the gap in her heart and filled it immediately with what had come so near. A few days more rolled by, the Sahib pleaded his love to her more than once a week, the parents urged the union, and the poor innocent girl without any shilly-shallying was tied down to satisfy the unholy passion of the Christian "Takhin." She was ultimately quartered with him.

The simple girl did not suspect any hypocrisy in his profession of love. She began to love the white man and like all other women of her race, lost herself entirely in that love. She began to learn English and within a short time could talk fluently and impressively in that language. She imbibed plenty of western ideas and aspirations, and saw clearly the lowliness of the half-civilised condition of her own race. So, in the sixth year, when a child was born, she was elated with the idea of seeing it trained in the European fashion. But poor soul, she was cruelly deceived.

For, owing to difference of opinion with his official superiors the European officer soon resigned his office and smuggled himself away one night to Mandalay. After a fortnight he left the Burma coast for good, and was seen no more in the east.

The unexpected event fell so heavily on the poor woman that for three days, she could not think of eating or drinking. The treacherous conduct of one so dear to her heart, completely broke her down. She was rendered quite helpless, but she thought nothing of that; not a farthing was left in her pocket, but she cared not for gold; the summer friends shunned her from a distance, but what need had she of them when *he* was gone; it was *he* alone whom she wanted and it was *his* treason that bowed her down like a rose surcharged with deadly snow. She confined herself entirely to the vacant house, without a single consolatory face to sympathise with her in her sorrow. The child fell dangerously ill, no medical help was procured, want of proper diet aggravated the illness, and the keen blasts of the hilly winter did the rest.

The poor primrose withered and dropped down before its time.

An hour after, when the dead body was taken away, she rose up firmly and calmly, wiped away her tears, and sat once more in the window-seat cross-legged like a Turk. Here, alas, in her happy days, she used to expect her lover returning from the heavy work of his office.

Just then an old friend of hers, touched by the successive calamities that had pressed her down, entered the room and saw her sitting there silent and motionless like a marble statue. She dared not approach so greatly a figure, and as she was retreating to the ante-room, she heard a sudden shriek and saw the poor woman burst out of the house like a hurricane, stark mad, whither—no one cared to know.

On the third day she was picked up dead in a lonely cave and was afterwards buried with an inscription—"Out of Treachery."

Truly the Burmese women have suffered a good deal in their love affairs with foreigners. But it would be unjust to heap all the blame upon the foreigners alone; for they alone are not the authors of so many domestic broils and innumerable divorce suits that are being continually decided in the Law Courts of Burma. I have said, I remember, that the Burmese women are particularly noted for the simplicity and constancy of their hearts. But I am very sorry to add at the same time that they are losing this peculiarity of their character with a tremendous rapidity. Many are of opinion, that at the present stage of their transition, they have entirely forgotten constancy as an invaluable virtue. We have many grounds to hold that *Neka* and *Sangha* marriages were not unknown in Burma even before the foreigners came in; but such marriages were, at that time, advocated merely as a national creed for the Burmese. From the commencement of British rule these *Neka* marriages have degenerated into mere temporary contracts for the satisfaction of lust and luxury; the evils of European civilization have affected the very marrow of the Burmans; and have at present infected all the ranks and circles of the doomed country. The Burmese women have imbibed a spirit of inconstancy at the instance of their faithless foreign lovers; and to speak the truth, this monstrous combination of lagging constancy and the newly grown harlotry have made Burma an amazing stage of heart-rending tragedy and clownish comedy. In rich and respectable families, these unhappy incidents are indeed much rarer than

among the poor and the middle classes, but this small minority can safely be neglected by a man who wishes to say anything regarding the Burmese character.

The social condition of the Burmese is really very serious at present. They have amalgamated with all races (except the Hindus, for they cannot take them in, as the Hindus have fear of losing their castes) and have at present become a heterogeneous hybrid race, destitute of any fixed manners and customs or of any steady principles of religion. They are running with a lightning speed towards the verge of absolute moral depravity; and in spite of the influence of so many excellent institutions, existing in their country, they have not taken care to save themselves from the impending corruption. The eight kinds of marriage mentioned by Manu are practised in Burma without any exception; and their social tie is so slack and loose that the Penal Code alone has not been sufficient to reform them in the least.

I know of a Burmese woman, who was living, very happily and peacefully, with her husband for about five years past. The man served in the Khedda Department, and the woman, too, earned as much as her husband, by her own manual labour. They were really an excellent pair, loved and praised by all who knew them. The husband was a jolly young man of twenty-five, never given up to anger or waywardness, and the wife, too, a beautiful woman of twenty, perfectly suited to his tone and temper.

One evening, the husband, returning from his work in the Khedda, did not find his wife at home. He thought that she had gone to some of her friends on some urgent business. So without waiting any longer for his wife, he entered the kitchen—for he was very hungry after the labours of the day—and looked for food. But lo! there was nothing in the *handy*, the pan was quite empty and the fire, too, in the oven, quite extinguished. The man came out of the kitchen in a fit of vexation and having washed his hands and feet began to wait for her arrival.

Two long hours passed one by one, the sun went down, the coolies returned from their work, night came on, but his wife did not come back to prepare food for her husband. The poor man began to apprehend serious danger and passed the whole night, wide awake, in sobs and tears. The following morning he informed the Jamadar of his fate and absented himself from his work. The whole day he searched for her, here and there,

in nooks and corners, in fields and jungles, but she was nowhere found by him.

Three days after this incident, while he was going to fetch water from an adjacent river he saw his beloved wife laughing and joking very familiarly with a Mahout of the Khedd elephants. He was indeed overjoyed at the sight; but as he approached to accost the woman, she cast a wanton smile on the wretched man and amorously grasped the neck of the triumphant Mahout, as if to bring the confused man to his senses. Our reader may imagine the rest. The poor Burman was compelled to bear this greivous injury with out a groan escaping from his lips.

Another woman took five *yachous* (temporary husbands) one after another—first a European sergeant; secondly, a Punjabee orderly, then a Hindustani, and at last a Hindu outcaste. Some Western people may not find anything strange or disgusting in this abnormal manner for novelty; but in the eyes of the Eastern races, such conduct is simply shocking and disgusting, and can never be explained away in any way without seriously injuring moral and social laws.

The Shans though belonging to a more primitive stage than the Burmese, are far better than the Burmese in this respect. They cannot endure their conjugal love to be abused at the beck and call of passionate whims. It is impossible for them to bear with an unfaithful wife without wreaking vengeance on her and her paramour. Petition for divorce are only the last resource, and are seldom valued by them. They will rather die than see patiently any treason in their conjugal love. This trait of their character cannot but be applauded when compared with the Burmese. They are a brave race, stout and strong in their frame, and are very ferocious when they are angry. In their usual demeanour, they are very meek and gentle but if once excited, it is very difficult to cool them down. The Shan will lie in ambush in your way, dog you persistently wherever you go, and will seize the earliest opportunity to thrust his dagger up to the very hilt in your bosom; no, he will not be satisfied until he has hacked and mangled you sufficiently to appease his inhuman wrath. But treat him kindly and gently, address him as a friend, give him two pice a day for a dish of rice, just as much as is required by a dog, a pair of *lungees* will not be amiss,—and he will serve you till death more faithfully than any man of the civilised world. The British Government, after the conquest of Upper Burma, has been constantly trying to reform this semi-savage tribe



SHAN WOMAN IN FULL DRESS.

Block by Mr. Dial Doo, Rangoon.

INDIAN PRESS, ALAHABAD.



BURMESE WOMAN SELLING MANGOES.

Block by Mr. Dial Doo, Rangoon.

establishing Courts, appointing Thugies, guards, sentries and Ohla-ain-gouns; but it will certainly take a long time to bring them under the yoke of Law and Equity.

As a piece of personal explanation, I beg to say here, that I have been really very sorry, to fill so much space with the ignoble features of the Burmese character. This, however, is not the only topic about this "Silken East." I hope I shall atone for my shortcomings in my future papers. Unfortunately enough, I have not yet been able to get any good history of these races. There are only two or three books, with such information as will be interesting to our readers; and these books again are not easy of access. So I tried, at first, to learn what they themselves could tell me. But even with my best endeavours, I have not been able to gather from the most learned men of their race, more than a few cock and bull stories regarding their chiefs and kings.

To return to Maymyo. By the Burmese, the place was previously called Pe-a-w; but since the conquest of Upper Burma, this beautiful plateau, so carefully protected by nature, was chosen by Colonel May as a hill-station and was afterwards named, to perpetuate the memory of the said Colonel, Maymyo—Myo being the Burmese word for a town. The climate and the situation of the place, and perhaps the beauty as well of the surrounding landscape, attracted the attention of the Government, and it was made a residence of the Lieutenant-Governor of Burma, with the consuls of the Powers of Europe. The European quarters are all situated on the upper circles of the declivities of the hills. A man standing below, can survey at a single glance a series of beautiful houses rising one above another, piercing the dull sky with numberless finials, spires, &c. The long range of hills, lying in the background, makes the whole a grand picture—an endless feast for a poet or an artist. There are two conspicuous houses, one of Mr. Syam, and

another of Mr. Clerk, that will, first of all, arrest his attention. They are built on the top of two high hills and command a grand view of the pleasing brotherhood of the surrounding hills and of the whole town.

I cannot finish without saying something about the flowers of the place; for Maymyo is specially interesting for its flowers. All houses, especially those that belong to the Europeans, are provided with big compounds, brilliantly studded with innumerable season flowers and different kinds of orchids. The green lawns, rising and falling with the undulations of the hills, are in due season, starred with numberless crocuses. The gardens are fringed by various types of roses, and are embroidered with sweet-scented violets, jessamines and *jendharaj*. The butter-cups and the dandelions, too, will not disappoint you—they will lie by your way, and if you are a European, will nod their head in sweet salutation, requesting news of their kindred races of the far west. Lots of European children, you will find—boys and girls—verging upon maturity, spending their evening in the said lawns, gardens, and glens of the neighbouring forests—some lying at ease on the soft grass, some busy with the flower pots, some engaged in familiar talks with their intimate friends and others perhaps filling the atmosphere with peals of hearty and innocent laughter.

The local zilla school is a large and spacious building, with excellent arrangements for the teachers and the taught. There is a boarding house in the same compound, under the proper care of the authorities. On a petition to the Lieutenant Governor the school is at present set apart only for European and Eurasian boys. The "natives" of India or of Burma, are not allowed to prosecute their studies in this institution; and the boarding house, too, punctiliously observes the same invidious racial rule and does not admit any Indians or Burmans.

BIRESVAR GANGOOLY.

All inmost things, we may say, are melodious; naturally utter themselves in song. The meaning of song goes deep. Poetry, therefore, we will call musical thought. See deep enough, and you see musically: the heart of Nature being everywhere music, if you can only reach it.—*Carlyle*.

Not what does a man believe, but what is his attitude toward the spirit of truth? is the π important question.—*Dr. A. H. Bradford*.

The only hope of preserving what is best lies in the practice of an immense charity, a wide tolerance, a sincere respect for opinions that are not ours.—*P. C. Hamerton*.

THE POSITION OF WOMEN

"Whether one member suffereth, all the members suffer with it; or, one member is honoured, all the members rejoice with it."

Letter from PAUL to the Corinthians.

MAY I be allowed to offer a few comments on the excellent paper that appeared in your August number, *Save Your Women*; excellent, as it seemed to me, because the writer has so truly pointed out the lever, without which no up-lifting of the position of Women can possibly be effected. I refer to the attitude of *Men* towards the subject, to the necessity of creating a more just and a more generous public opinion among themselves on this important matter. And indeed, it is a matter of extreme importance; not merely a question of Women, but a question concerning the welfare of the whole nation; for how can a nation attain to its highest development, while one half of its people is regarded as a more or less negligible quantity?

Not until man and woman go hand in hand together, not until each has learnt to reverence the powers indwelling in the body, soul and mind, of the other; not until those powers have been given the opportunity for proper development, can they become true helpmates, true yoke-fellows, and, until such is the case, the burdens of life will never be worthily borne, nor can the uplifting of the whole nation be truly accomplished.

Every student of history knows that so long as the old adage, *Might is Right*, is held to be the governing principle, the place of Woman is necessarily low, but when brute force has been succeeded by a higher ideal, the powers latent in women are gradually allowed room for development. The progress has, however, been very slow, because so many restrictions and obstacles have impeded its path; and in some nations, even to-day, not much improvement has been made. In England a great deal has been accomplished during the last fifty years; the minds of good and thoughtful men have seen and recognised the duty of bringing forth the best out of women, and allowing women free play to bring forth their best. Thus the education of girls has been revolutionized, and the result has been that the whole nation has been enriched; the number of its effective citizens and workers has

largely increased, while that of its weaklings and 'cumberers' has diminished in equal proportion.

Education is a great thing, and it is good to hear of first class girl schools springing up in various parts of India. It is excellent to develop the physical powers so that girls may become healthy and fearless; it is excellent to develop their minds in order that they may acquire knowledge, and—more important still,—may gain understanding; it is excellent to develop their souls, so that having learnt to *know*, they may be inspired to love and to do the thing which is right.

But all this is useless by itself. Nay, unless something else accompanies this better education, the education itself will tend rather to increase their sufferings. This *something* is the estimation in which women are regarded by men, the position which they hold in the home. The story of "*Savitri*," published in this review, shows how hard is life, as it is; but how much greater would have been her unhappiness, if, having been vouchsafed a glimpse of a higher ideal, she had been forced back into the lower modes of life.

So it comes back to the point to which I referred at the beginning of this article—namely, the necessity, first of all, of creating a better public opinion among men. The writer says, "Let us create a public opinion that will cry shame on the man who suffers a woman to be insulted in his presence without doing his utmost to prevent it!" Certainly that is the most elementary step, one would say.

And here I should like to make one comment on the anecdote given with reference to this matter. '*Swadeshi*' speaks of an English girl giving a 'smart slap' to a big burly soldier who had touched her bonnet with a stick, and he adds, "Imagine to yourself what a young Hindu lady would have done under similar circumstances." Here, certainly, we have a case where 'like is not being compared with like.' We have in England a large number of young factory girls who go to and fro to work every day, and whose manners are somewhat loud, though they are good girls at heart. I can quite understand, if some impudent fellow tapped her bonnet rudely, that one of these sturdy lassies might box his ears: that a young

English lady would do this I cannot believe, for it would be a proceeding both undignified and unwise. Indeed, there would be no need for the lady to take note of any real insult, if any man—gentle or simple—happened to be near; for he would most assuredly come to her assistance and punish such rudeness. And this because *public opinion is against such conduct*. For the same reason women in that great city of London—that city so full of moral sunshine and shadow both!—are able to walk about freely in almost every part without being molested; so long, of course, as they dress quietly, walk as though they had business in hand, neither loitering nor courting attention. Such are the counsels then, that I should suggest being given to our Indian sisters rather than that they should attempt retaliation, and, *when public opinion has been properly educated* they should then have but little cause for dreading to go forth alone. I

speak as one who has lived in London during her whole life—over sixty years—and who has been accustomed from childhood to go out by herself.

It is true that all the nations of the earth can learn much from one another, but in order to do this we must not only gain an all round insight into the habits and modes of thought of others, but we must learn to discriminate between the healthy and the diseased state, whether of body or soul. And with all our seeking for help from outside we must constantly bear in mind that each one of us,—as an individual or as a nation, is required to cultivate his, her or its *own best*, and must never be content with trying to copy the best of somebody else. So only can the individual or the nation be said to make real progress, so only will all the peoples of the earth fulfil their proper destiny.

MARIAN FEITCHARD.

DR. J. C. BOSE ON MEMORY*

WE are next led to the question of the after-effect of stimulus which is known as memory. The first thing to be noticed here is that the after-effect of a strong stimulus lasts for a longer time than that of a feeble one and to show this Dr. Bose arranged an experiment. He made a design with magnesium powder and fixed it in a dark room. He took an observer who knew nothing of the design and he observed the sudden burst of light and closed his eyes. This burst, accompanied with smoke, prevented the impression from being definite at first, but the obfuscating image of the smoke passed off quickly, and after a time, the image of the flash became distinct.

Another interesting thing about the subject is the rate at which impressions fade, the rate of molecular recovery. Dr. Bose says, that the rate is at first rapid and then becomes slower and slower, and the same thing happens in the case of forgetting too.

Certain tissues which undergo ready excitation, such as nerve, give multiple responses to a single strong stimulus. That these multiple after-images are physiological is proved by the fact that their periodicity is not the same always, its modification depending on a

previous condition of rest or activity. The periodicity is shortest in the morning when we are refreshed by sleep, and as the day advances the periodicity is prolonged, too. Thus, it is seen, that the impressions especially visual ones, and their multiple character (*i.e.*, recurrence) persist for a very long time. Even on retiring at night and in dreams this recurrence has been noticed.

We have been concerned so far with the immediate after-effects of sensory stimulation, but the problem becomes more difficult when we have to grapple with the question of the revival of an image long after it has faded away. Hitherto psychologists believed in the existence of certain spots or traces in the brain, and held that the revival depended on a certain disposition to movement there, or something of the same kind. But these had not been experimented upon and given a clear explanation of. To explain this revival, we must take into account two principal factors—one, the molecular change, and the other, the effect of an internal stimulus by the will upon the sensitive surface where the image lies latent.

*This short article should be read as the concluding portion of the article on his psychological researches published in our last number.—Ed., M. R.

Now it has been seen in experiments about curve, that when stimulus is stopped the original molecular condition is not exactly got back, and there is a certain residual effect owing to which properties of the very substance stimulated change. Hence it is, that repetition leads to habit, and a substance which was quite non-conducting before, becomes quite excitable afterwards owing to this same cause.

An experiment will clearly exhibit how a latent impression rises into vividness under the action of stimulus. Dr. Bose took a card and coated it with some luminous paint and kept it a long time in the dark. A stencilled pattern was then placed on the card, and the whole was exposed to light, for a fixed duration of time known to evoke a response. On cutting off the light and removing the metal pattern, a luminous pattern was seen and that was the primary response. The impression went out, but the cardboard then contained a latent image, which had to be revived. Now, certain areas of it, having ceased to respond, were still more excitable than other areas not stimulated. Consequently, just a feeble stimulus was able to revive the image. The whole card was then placed to diffuse stimulus of light and this time duration was shorter. The indifferent areas would not be excited but where the image had been impressed before, would.

Thus it will be seen that it is possible to get a revised or negative image under diffused stimulation as Dr. Bose has shown in another

experiment. An observer was made to stare at the incandescent filament of the electric lamp with his right eye, his left being closed and covered by the hand. The right was closed after sometime and multiple images were seen till the whole impression seemed to have faded away. Just at this moment the hand was removed and under the diffuse stimulus of light on the retina, the latent image was revived as a negative, as a very dark thread against a brighter background.

About this revival of positive or negative images Dr. Bose has tried to show that it is a question of the intensity or non-intensity of impression. We get two different kinds of response in either case.

So long we have said nothing about the internal stimulus of will. Dr. Bose has simply mentioned it in his paper as acting something like a diffuse stimulus and rendering the sensitive surface differentially excitable. We hope to know more on this point in his book which will, perhaps, soon see the light.

To sum up now, memory is the after-effect of stimulus. The after-effect of a strong stimulus is more persistent than that of a feeble one. Intense stimulation gives multiple responses as its after-effects, and they are seen on the recurrent after-images in the retina of the eye. When a long time has passed after a stimulus, no trace of an image may be noticed at all, but the portion once stimulated has been rendered more excitable than other areas, and then by a diffuse stimulus, it is possible to revive the latent image.

JAGADANANDA ROY.

OUR BOYS

NO question at the present moment seems to me to be of greater importance than "What to do with our boys?" This is not a new question, but, as the struggle for existence is every day becoming keener and keener, the question to my mind has now reached an acute stage. The reason why I raise it in the pages of the *Modern Review* to-day is because I desire to invite a discussion of it.

In the golden olden days the struggle for existence was not very severe and men had comparatively an easy time of it. Food-stuff was cheap, ideals of comfort were different, and a rupee could be made to go a long way.

But Malthus has always been regarded as a false prophet in India and with all our 'westernised ideas' we have not been able to adopt certain civilized methods which had better not be more particularly referred to. The result has been that the mouths to feed have multiplied, while the supply of grain to feed the same with has apparently gone down.* Our ideals of comfort and competency have changed, our habits have grown in certain ways more expensive, and employments such as our people have favoured in the past

* For a brief discussion of the bureaucratic theory of the so-called "over-population" of India, the reader is referred to page 92 of our last July number.—Editor, *Modern Review*.

are no longer easily available. The learned professions are overstocked, the number of clerical appointments is very far from being unlimited, and the competition for them is daily growing keener, and what is worse, the test of selection is seldom merit. The question, therefore, which has to be squarely faced is—what is to be done?

An obvious remedy is that people should not all look up to "service" as the sole respectable way of earning a livelihood. People must learn to help themselves, and then, as the old adage has it, "Heaven will help them." The move, therefore, for the imparting of technical education and the fostering of indigenous industries is unquestionably a move in the right direction. It is these industries which may find employment for our young men, and it is by receiving the necessary technical training that they may be able to earn their daily bread. The problem is to find employment for our boys which will enable them to work with self-respect and turn an honest penny. The great mistake that Indian fathers have made in the past and are still making is to give all their sons a stereotyped form of education. Every child is sent to school and matriculates in due course; then he enters a College and takes his Arts (or possibly Science) degree. It is not till a boy has become a graduate that we begin to think what is to be done with him, and then probably it is too late for him to do anything but to read for the LL.B. And then, after he has taken all the necessary degrees, what is generally the result? It is a very high pressure system of education which our Universities prescribe, there are too many public examinations, and too little time for independent study and private reflection. After all the toil and trouble, therefore, of obtaining one or more degrees and oppressed by social and domestic cares, when the average Indian youth enters upon the hereditary occupations of chasing the wolf from the door he is already a broken-down man. Now it seems to me that what ought to be clearly recognised is that the obtaining of one or more academical degrees is not the be-all and end-all of life, that the same kind of education is not fitted for every mind, that each body has to be separately trained and each mind separately fed. You cannot start without a foundation, some general education must be given to every boy, but this does not mean that he should go through the regular course prescribed for the University examinations. After this basal education has been imparted, special training must follow. What

we must fully realise ourselves and what we must impress the minds of our children with is the dignity of labour. Work, however humble in popular estimation, so long as it is honest, it is honourable. The task I set to myself may be lowly, but if I can do it well, that is better than attempting some task, which people consider to be higher, but which I can but ill perform. It is imperatively necessary, therefore, to find out and train the natural aptitudes, often latent, and if my boy can be a mechanic there is absolutely no reason—nay, there is a world of reasons to the contrary—why I should force him to become a "failed" or even a passed B. A.

I have said that the move for imparting technical education is a move in the right direction. But I am afraid that not much good will come of simply educating young men. What is most difficult to obtain in large parts of this country is capital for financing industries. The *Swadeshi* movement has been very much to the fore in Bengal during the last two or three years, but how many mills and factories have we to point to by way of practical result? For starting a pencil manufactory a young man trained in Japan wanted Rs. 10,500 some years ago, but so far as I know he has not up to date found this money. Just fancy! I suppose there are hundreds of us who could at any moment put down Rs. 10,000 if we chose, but we won't do it. We should prefer to invest the money in Government promissory notes, those who are more enterprising would select other securities, and others, I regret to say, would follow the example of many a "natural leader" of the people and learn too late that riches have wings and they fly away. Before any industries can provide employment for our young men those industries must be established, and they cannot be established so long as we do not open our purse-strings and find the necessary capital. It is not only the Indian Dives who must awaken to a sense of the obligation which the possession of wealth imposes. I appeal to each and every countryman and countrywoman of mine to contribute his or her mite to (the phrase is hackneyed but expressive) the country's cause.

A retired judicial officer in these provinces some time ago wrote a letter to one of the papers pointing out that if our boys, instead of taking up appointments as clerks, would choose an independent career and open small shops, they would save their eyesight and probably, in the long run, have a

larger share of the good things of the world. Only the other day an M. A. of the Allahabad University, who is a Government servant with prospects and not a mere clerk, was telling me that if he had the necessary capital he would prefer to set up as a tradesman even in a small way, and doubted not that he would do much better. I commend this suggestion to the notice of Indian fathers.

I would also ask the Indian father to consider another matter. India has always been largely an agricultural country. Why should not some of our sons become farmers? We are by nature conservative and seldom care to get out of the old ruts. But I have no doubt that if land was cultivated according to modern methods and with a knowledge of agricultural chemistry, much waste land could be brought under cultivation and the yield of land which is now arable very much increased. I know that the average zamindar is a poor man and the dread of recurring settlements has deprived him of all incentive. When I asked a small zamindar in the Allahabad district why he allowed a comparatively large piece of land to lie fallow, he said, "What's the good? That plot could no doubt be cultivated, but then that would mean an enhancement of the

revenue assessment at the next settlement." As waste land or even as grove land the assessment would not be so heavy. So there is hardly any inducement to add to the quantity of arable land in a village. Still it strikes me that it will pay to convert waste land into an orchard or a field, and I believe that if our boys would learn agriculture and agricultural chemistry they might do much worse than take to farming. Those who own land should reserve some *sir* cultivation, those who do not may acquire tenant-rights. Anybody travelling through the country can see what vast spaces of land lie waste or are but poorly cultivated. Orchards, vegetable gardens, flower gardens, can all be made sources of income, and the form of industry I suggest, ensuring, as it will, an out-door life, cannot fail to be at the same time healthy and wholesome.

I believe as strongly as my betters that for manhood worth the name self-knowledge, self-reverence and self-control are essential. I, therefore, wish our boys to grow up healthy and honest men, self-reliant and capable soldiers for the battle of life, who curry no favour and want none. Is it not then the duty of Indian fathers to lay their heads together and find honourable work for their sons?

SATISH C. BANERJI.

THE BATTLE OF KHARDA

THE battle of Kharda, A. D. 1795, where the Mahrattas and Nizam Ally "decided their respective differences by the sword" is about the most important battle fought by the Mahrattas, since Ahmed Shah Abdally had routed them at Paniput in 1761. In Grant Duff's History of the Mahrattas will be found given a full and detailed account of this battle. The following letter which contains an account of the battle is given here because of the great interest it possesses. It is a letter written by Nana Fadnavis himself from the battlefield and hence its importance. The student of history must be aware that Nana Fadnavis had at this time risen to the summit of his power and by the glorious victory in that battle he attained almost every object of his life. This was the last battle when all the Mahratta chieftains of the great Mahratta Confederacy gathered together in a common cause under the authority

of the Peshwa and an account of the battle, as given by the great minister, Nana himself ought to prove of great interest, and this is my excuse for publishing it here (literally translated). The letter is addressed to Baburao Krishna, who was Nana's confidential agent and was appointed by him as a manager of the Royal Family of Satara.

22nd Ramzan "Khamas tisen Maya va alef" 1204 Fasali, dated April 14th, 1795 A. D. Chaitra Suddha, 9th Monday, Shake 1717 Rakshas year.

To Rajashri Baburao.

Humble salutations from Balaji Janardhan (Nana Fadnavis) who requests that having known our welfare from this, you should communicate your own. Further we have received your letter, dated 12th Ramzan, containing the following account. "We had various reports of the battle from people, but we have no authentic account of the battle and hence we



NIZAM ALI KHAN AND HIS MINISTER.



SAVAI MADHARAO.



NANA FADNIS.

are not at ease in our heart. Victory to the Shrimant (Peshwa) is certain. But we are anxious about your health and about the delicate constitution of the Shrimant in these hot summer days. You will please order to write all this in detail. You will settle every thing [as well] as can possibly be done. People have a thousand various opinions, but your Excellency has to look to victory and many other political matters. This is what people do not understand. Nizamalli Khan was obedient to the orders of Haripant at the time of danger. I wrote to your Excellency what suggested itself to me. Although I am at a distance from your Excellency, yet I always watch these events calculated to help or hurt the interests of my master. I cannot help writing and you have also attended to my letters more or less. We have heard from public reports that you have carried out your plans most successfully. The formation of the army was after the "Chakravayuha" and the whole battle was fought on the same plan. Never was there fought such a battle. I cannot adequately express in words my joy at your glorious victory."

(Having quoted the above extract from Baburao's letter, Nana writes in reply as follows:—)

It was not my intention that you should learn the news of battle from [other] people and not from me. I intended to write to you all the details after the battle was successful, but in the meantime I received your letter, in reply to which I write to you as follows. The Shrimant has been so fortunate that since the time he was in the womb to the present day he has ever been glorious. Your anxiety for his delicate constitution is true, but by the grace of God matters did not reach that point when the Peshwa had to trouble himself. Yes! These are hot days of summer; but there are plenty of remedies, and where there is kingdom there is suffering too. Please do not be anxious. (You write) to settle it [as well] as it can be settled, fully remembering that the Nawab was helpful in the time of difficulty. But his present minister, Mina-ud-daula, has entirely changed the policy. He aims at snatching away the Peshwa's kingdom and desires the Nawab to plant his flags at Poona. Moreover, there were many political plots organized with a view to subverting our Government and killing the Shrimant, for which deed they had engaged some ruffians. Documentary evidence was also found. That the Shrimant should be driven across the Narbada was spoken in full Durbar. The Nawab said and did many such things and yet

I over-looked them several times. Later on was organized an army of 50,000 cavalry and 50,000 Gardis; and with the help of this immense army he wished to attack the Shrimant; and yet we wrote him in several ways and sent him several messengers with soothing messages. His ambassador came and we gave him to understand that our Friendship should not be broken, but all to no purpose and hence we had to undertake this invasion. Moreover none could say what Tippl would do and so we ordered out one Company of Scindia and 15,000 men from Hindustan. Also from Bhonsle we ordered out some 20,000 and the Sircar's army some 40,000 and 20,000 Gardis and Holkar's and Sircar's other companies. While we were collecting these armies the Nawab marched on from Bedar in successive stages, which compelled us to proceed against him. The Shrimant reached the Seena river. Scindia's Sirdars with his company and the Sircar's division with the Gardis under the command of Purshurampant Bhau and Baba Fadke led the van and were six kos in front. Behind them came the Shrimant with 20,000. In the meanwhile the Nawab descended the Mohorighat. On the first day when some of the Peshwa's army went out for reconnoitring, the army of the Nawab advanced and fired cannon balls at them. So they retired. Even with this result we were satisfied. But on the 19th the Nawab marched on with the intention of attacking Poona via Karvalya, and was overtaken by the Peshwa's Sirdars in the afternoon. In the conflict that followed Purshurampant Bhau was slightly wounded on the right side of the head. As the enemy advanced, the Peshwa's army and the armies of Scindia, Bhonsle and other Sirdars attacked them with great fury. Swords and spears, small and big, were freely made use of. The guns of the enemy commenced to play upon our army but were ably replied to by the division of Scindia who ultimately silenced them. It was night, the fight was severe, and the attacks vigorous, when the Nawab twice sent word to cease fighting, whereupon we stopped fighting towards the latter part of the night when there remained some 12 gates to run on. Later some ten or twelve thousand Pindharies who were specially brought from Northern India rushed into the army of the enemy. The Nawab seeing the army's approach retreated to a place called Kharda some two kos distant from the battlefield. At this time he sustained heavy losses. His camp was plundered. Some guns were captured in the battle and were dragged to our camp. So was captured a lot of ammunition. Many nobles on

the enemy's side were wounded and killed. The loss was very heavy. Next day the Nawab opened negotiations to stop fighting and to enter into a treaty. So we stopped the fight. We proposed that Mina-ud-daula, who was the cause of all this mischief, should have nothing to do with the treaty. The Nawab hesitated, but we insisted upon the condition. This being complied with, the terms of the treaty were discussed. The Minister being overpowered confessed his mistake and readily consented to surrender himself to us. We then made him promise not to do anything which might raise any suspicion in our mind. He agreed to this term, whereupon we met him and kept him under strong guard. The reason of this was that on the next day of the battle it was proposed that the Nawab should be destroyed. The Sirdars, too, were of the same opinion and he really deserved it for his treacherous conduct. But the Nawab had rendered useful services in the past and so we saved him. Then we discussed the terms of

the treaty. In our consultations it was decided that the Nawab should pay to the Peshwa three crores of rupees as the tribute for the last twenty years due by him, and two crores for the expenses of the war and for other dues; he should give also a Jaghir yielding 30 lacs annually and the Fort of Doulatabad. He should also return the provinces of the Nagpur Bhonslas that were taken by force and pay his *amals* (dues). All this was agreed to by the Nizam. The written documents will be made within 8 days, after which the Peshwa will write a formal letter to the Maharaja (of Satara). That this be known to you, so I have written at length. In short, all this success is due to the kindness of God and the good blessings of the Maharaja and to the Shrimant's good luck. You have written that His Majesty the king of Satara and his mother always say that Shri Shambhu will fulfil all the desires of the Peshwa. All this is the result of his (the Maharaja's) blessings. Dated the 22nd Ramzan.

P. V. MAWJEE.

THE GENESIS OF THE BRITISH IDEA OF CIVILISING INDIA

WITH the opening of the nineteenth century, events were occurring in Europe which had no inconsiderable share in shaping the course of the history of both England and India. After the French Revolution, a man, who has left the indelible mark of his genius on the pages of the history of not only France but of the whole of Europe, rose like a giant, and to crush him was the great object of the statesmen and people of England. The Corsican adventurer, Napoleon Bonaparte, was a terror to the English and like an incubus was disturbing the even tenor of their existence. He called the English a nation of shopkeepers, and as that nation destroyed his fleet, he took steps to destroy their commerce, on which their prosperity depended. He said he would conquer sea by land. He blockaded all the ports of the continent of Europe against the importation of British goods and manufactures. The economic effect of this blockade was very keenly felt by the English. England had lost America, and the other colonies which she still possessed were not in a sufficiently flourishing condition to

increase the wealth of England by becoming her customers. England planted her colonies with the object of enriching herself at their expense. Adam Smith in his "Wealth of Nations" writes:—

"To found a great empire for the sole purpose of raising up a people of customers, may at first sight appear a project fit only for a nation of shopkeepers. * * *

"The maintenance of this monopoly has hitherto been the principal, or more properly perhaps the sole end and purpose of the dominion which great Britain assumes over her colonies. In the exclusive trade, it is supposed, consists the great advantages of provinces which have never yet afforded either revenue or military force for the support of the civil government or defence of the mother country. The monopoly is the principal badge of their dependency, and it is the sole fruit which has hitherto been gathered from that dependency. Whatever expense great Britain has laid out in maintaining this dependency, has really been laid out in order to support this monopoly."*

But because the colonies could not enrich England, she turned her attention to India. It is said that Earl Mornington (afterwards known as Marquess Wellesley) on the eve of

* Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, Chapter VII, Part III.

his departure from England to assume the appointment of the Governor-General of India, received instructions from the Prime Minister Pitt to found an empire in India to compensate for the loss of America. That perhaps accounts for all the unprovoked wars he waged against Indian princes and the torrents of blood he shed of the Indian people. Be that as it may, the empire which England was building in India, without spending a single farthing out of the pocket of any of her inhabitants, was the means of saving her from the perilous position in which she had been placed by Napoleon.

The ports of the continent had been blockaded against English goods and manufactures and so the English took advantage of their political power in India to flood this country with English goods. But India was already an industrial and manufacturing country. In order to create a market for British manufactures, Indian industries had to be crushed. England felt no hesitation in doing in India what she had already done a century previously in Ireland. An Irish historian has narrated

"the gross impolicy as well as the gross injustice of the commercial disabilities by which almost every form of Irish industry was deliberately and selfishly crushed. The history of those laws is well worthy of the attention of all who would study the social condition of Ireland, and it has been written by Mr. Froude with consummate power. Until the time of Charles I. Ireland was placed commercially on all points on a level with England, but Wentworth, imagining that the Irish woollen manufactures might undersell those of England, took some measures to discourage them. This proceeding appears to have been purely arbitrary.* * *. With Charles II., * * legislative prohibitions began. Ireland was a great pasture country, and her chief source of wealth was the importation of her cattle into England. The English landowners complained of the rivalry, and the importation of Irish cattle to England, as well as of salt beef, bacon, butter, and cheese, was absolutely prohibited. By her omission from the amended Navigation Act of 1663, Ireland was at the same time excluded from all direct trade with the British Colonies. Her two chief sources of wealth were thus utterly and wilfully annihilated. One chance, however, still remained. The Irish, when forbidden to export their cattle, turned their land into sheep-walks, and it soon appeared that, in spite of the poverty of the people and the low condition of civilization, a great and flourishing woollen trade was likely to arise. Ireland possessed the advantages of unlimited water-power, of cheap labour, and living, and, above all, of the best wool in Europe. Many English and even foreign manufacturers went over, and in the first years that followed the revolution there was every probability of her becoming a considerable industrial nation. Once more the selfish policy of English manufacturers prevailed. The export of unmanufactured wool to foreign countries

had been already forbidden. The legislature now interposed and forbade the export of Irish manufactured wool not only to England and the English dominions, but to every other country. The rising industry was thus completely annihilated. * * Whole districts were thrown into a condition of poverty verging upon starvation, * * ."

The above lengthy extract from Lecky is meant to show the peculiar traits of the English character. The Irish are their neighbours and related to them by blood and religion. If they had no scruples to crush their industries and reduce them to poverty, what consideration could the English have for the natives of India, who were alien to them by religion, language, and above all, color? So they set to work to destroy Indian industries and replace Indian manufactures by those of England and thus create a market in India for British goods. India suffered for the Napoleonic wars in Europe. England grew rich at the expense of India and was enabled to fight Napoleon with resources wrung out of India. The importance of India at this crisis to England has been fully appreciated by so competent a writer as Sir George Birdwood, who, in his introduction to the *First Letter Book of the East India Company, 1600-1619*, states that it was the Company's possession of India which enabled England, at the commencement of the nineteenth century, to successfully resist the machinations of Napoleon I, and he declares that

"the continued possession of India will be our chief stay in sustaining the manufacturing and mercantile preponderance in this country in the crushing commercial competition with which we have now everywhere to contend."

The natives of England never spent a single farthing for the acquisition of India. But then they resented the East India Company enjoying the close preserve of India. The English were thirsting to have a finger in the Company's Indian pie. Even "the darkest cloud has its silver lining." So the East India Company with all its faults had one redeeming feature which should not be overlooked.

The Company was an exclusive body, and it did not allow any Europeans except those who were connected with it to settle in India for any purpose whatever. It did not encourage the colonisation and settlement of India by Englishmen for reasons which will be presently mentioned. Nay, the Company even went the length of propagating a myth that not more than three generations of pure-blooded Europeans could live in India. There is no evidence for the statement. It was made that a colony of Europeans

at any time intermarrying with natives would disappear within a couple of centuries. The Company did all that lay in its power to prevent Europeans travelling about freely in this country. Thus an order was passed by the Governor General that after 1st March 1788

"no persons in the civil or military service of the Company shall be allowed to proceed from the Company's provinces beyond Buxar without the Governor-General's pass, to be produced to the Commanding Officer of that post, unless such persons are under orders, which shall appear either in the gazette (or by an official signature), to proceed to stations beyond that place, or unless they should be returning to their stations after the expiration of leave of absence. The same orders respect Europeans in general, who are not in the service of the Company."

According to the regulation passed by the Governor General in Council on the 1st May 1793,

"no British subjects (excepting King's Officers, serving under the Presidency of Fort William, the Civil Covenanted Servants of the Company, and their Military Officers) shall be permitted to reside at a greater distance from Calcutta than ten miles, unless they enter into a bond rendering themselves amenable to the court of Dewany Adawlut, within the jurisdiction of which they may reside, in all civil suits that may be instituted against them by natives or inhabitants of either of the provinces of Bengal, Behar or Orissa, coming within the descriptions of persons declared amenable to the Zillah and City Courts, for any sum of money or thing, the amount or value of which shall not exceed five hundred sicca rupees, and that this bond is to be executed in open court before the Judge of the Court within the jurisdiction of which such British subject may reside or take up his abode."

In letters, dated the 11th December, 1793, and the 28th May, 1794, the Court of Directors ordered that new covenants should be taken from every person in their service. They wrote:—

"We direct that every person in our service be called upon immediately to execute the covenants proper to his station, and that on his refusing to do so he be dismissed and have notice to come home. We also direct that all other British subjects, residing under your presidency, whether with or without license, be forthwith called upon to execute the covenants proper to their stations, and that on neglect or refusal to execute they have notice to quit India, as we are determined not to permit any persons in future to reside in India, without our license and being under proper covenants, so that any irregularity of conduct may be more readily corrected. With regard to persons who reside under your presidency, and have not entered into covenants of any description, we have sent a number of covenants of the denomination of covenants of *free merchants, free traders, and of persons permitted to reside in India*; and we have related to suit all persons, who are under the Company's protection, and you will see that every person executes one of these covenants, as I have already pointed out."

"Those known as '*free merchants*' were obliged to furnish two responsible persons in England to enter into security in the sum of £ 2,000."

The following were the instructions for the marine authorities for the landing of new comers in India:—

"The Commanders of all foreign vessels importing at Calcutta, are required to deliver into the Master Attendant's Office, on their arrival, the names of the commanders, officers, crews and passengers on board the said vessels, and that the Master Attendant is positively prohibited from furnishing any foreign vessels importing at Calcutta, with a pilot until such list shall have been delivered to him."

The East India Company had to issue all these orders, because they knew that they never conquered India by their sword, but held it by the sufferance of the people. Therefore, the Company took all precautions necessary not to wound the feelings of the natives of India in any way. It was on this ground that Christian Missionaries were not allowed to settle in territories then under the administration of the Company. Carey and others had to settle in Serampore, which was owned at that time by the Danes.

The East India Company knowing full well the temperament and moral nature of their compatriots and co-religionists made all those regulations which discouraged Englishmen coming out in large numbers to India. For had they at that time allowed Englishmen to come out and settle in India, they would not have succeeded in consolidating their power in this country. It is impossible for Englishmen to ingratiate themselves with natives of foreign countries. Mr. Meredith Townsend in his '*Asia and Europe*' (p. 216) says that an Englishman is hated everywhere.

"It is very difficult, of course, for an Englishman conscious of his own rectitude of purpose and benevolence of feeling, to believe that he will not be more liked when he is better known; but a good many facts seem to show that it is so. He is not seen and talked to anywhere by men of a different race so much as he is in Ireland, and he is not hated quite so much anywhere else. He is decidedly much more disliked in Egypt since he appeared there in such numbers. He is more hated in the sea-coast towns of India where he is prominent, busy and constantly talked to, than he is in the interior where he is rarely seen. He is much more detested in the planter districts than in the districts where he is only a rare visitor. If there is contempt for him anywhere in India, it is in the great towns, not in the rural stations where he is nearly invisible; and contempt is of all forms of race-hatred the most dangerous."

In India, even in those days, when the English did not possess any political power, they behaved towards the natives of this country in a manner which did not enhance their reputation for honesty or fair dealing.

natives of India were according to them uncivilized barbarians and their coming in contact with the English would raise them in the scale of civilisation. They were heathens and so missionaries of the Christian persuasion were to be permitted to settle in India to lead them out of darkness. At the same time, Bishops and other ministers of the Christian faith were appointed and they were to be paid out of the revenues of India.

But these were all very plausible arguments which were meant to cover their ulterior designs, the nature of which has been sufficiently indicated above.

Section 33 of Act 53 Geor. III. Cap. 155 passed on 21st July, 1813, ran as follows:—

"And whereas it is the duty of this country to promote the interest and happiness of the native inhabitants of the British dominions in India; and such measures ought to be adopted as may tend to the introduction among them of useful knowledge, and of religious and moral improvement: and in furtherance of the above objects, sufficient facilities ought to be afforded by law to persons desirous of going to and remaining in India for the purpose of accomplishing those benevolent designs, so as the authority of the local governments respecting the intercourse of Europeans with the interior of the country be preserved, and the principles of the British Government, on which the natives of India have hitherto relied for the free exercise of their religion, be inviolably maintained: and whereas it is expedient to make provision for granting permission to persons desirous of going to and remaining in India for the above purposes, and also to persons desirous of going to and remaining there for other lawful purposes; be it therefore enacted, * * * that such person or persons shall be furnished by the said Court of Directors with a certificate or certificates * * * signifying that such person or persons hath or have so proceeded with the cognizance and under the sanction of the said Court of Directors; * * *

Before we mention the steps which were taken "to promote the interest and happiness of the native inhabitants of the British dominions in India," it is necessary to advert to the evidence of the witnesses who were examined before the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the occasion of the renewal of the Charter of the East India Company in 1813. Almost all of those witnesses who knew anything of India were opposed to the increased resort of the English to India or of Christian Missionaries to preach the gospels to the heathens. Warren Hastings, the first Governor General of India, Sir Thomas Munro, Sir John Malcolm, Sir John Shore (afterwards Lord Teignmouth), the *Christian* (the epithet is not ours) Director of the East India Company, Mr. Charles Grant, and several other well known Anglo-Indians spoke in strong terms of the inadvisability of allowing the

increased resort of Europeans to India. Warren Hastings

"expressed it as his opinion, that if Europeans were admitted generally to go into the country to mix with the inhabitants or form establishments amongst them, the consequence would certainly and inevitably be the ruin of the country: they would insult, plunder and oppress the natives, and no laws enacted from home could prevent them from committing acts of licentiousness of every kind with impunity. A general feeling of hostility to the government would be excited; and although the armed force might be of sufficient strength to suppress any overt acts of insurrection, yet the stability of the Empire must be endangered by universal discontent."*

Other Anglo-Indian witnesses bore testimony similar to the above. Sir John Malcolm, in his evidence with respect to the free admission of Europeans into India, said:—

"I think of all the powers which are vested in the Local Government, there is none more essential to its existence in full vigor and force, than that which enables them to restrain the local residence of every individual European to a particular part of the Empire. If British subjects were allowed to go in the manner described to India, the effects would be various, agreeably to the places to which they went. If to the Presidencies where British courts of law are established, there would be no other danger, I conceive, resulting from them, but what might arise from their great numbers, and the changes in the condition of the society, and eventually and gradually of the government, from that circumstance, but if they went to any ports where there was no established authority to control them, and if they proceeded into the interior of the country, there would no doubt be much mischief arising from those quarrels which must inevitably ensue with the natives, which mischief would vary from a hundred local causes connected with the character of the natives of the places to which they resorted."

Relative to Malcolm's examination, Sir James Mackintosh made the following entry in his diary:—

"He (Malcolm) is to give strong testimony in favour of the Company's favorite argument, that a free trade will lead to an influx of Europeans, which will produce insult and oppression to the natives, and at last drive them into rebellion, which must terminate in our expulsion."

Mr. Charles Grant in his pamphlet on the State of Society in Asia, wrote:—

"If the subjects of this country are permitted, at their pleasure, to visit those possessions as they may our American colonies, though professing but for the purposes of traffic, great numbers of them will settle; for mercantile transactions must entail residence, because it will be impossible for a government to say, that all such transactions shall be closed, and the parties be gone within a certain time, or to take cognizance in this manner of the conduct of every individual; and if such a measure were at first attempted, it would not continue any time. All the lines of trade and manufactures would soon be overstocked, and then men would seek to fasten themselves on the

* Mill and Wilson's History of British India, Vol. VII. p. 375.

soil. Colonization would therefore very soon commerce in India, especially in Bengal; those whom uncontrolled enterprizes in commerce would carry thither, would see a rich soil, apprehend great scope for exertions, and regard the natives as a subjected people, feeble, timid, and contemptible; all things would tempt them, and many, both agents and seamen, would remain. But the increase of Europeans there would not be regulated by the gradual progress of colonial industry. Multitudes of the needy and the idle, allured by the fame of that country, and eager to seize novel privileges, would flock thither at once. Britain would, in a short space, be thinned of inhabitants, and those eastern provinces filled with a new race of adventurers, many of them low and licentious. Being there, they must subsist; they would spread themselves throughout the country, would run into the inland trade, fix themselves wherever they could on the lands, domineer over the natives, harass, extort, exasperate them, and at length provoke them to plots and insurrections; they would be bold and assuming towards our own government there; * * * In a certain degree we should have that lawless destructive scene acted over again, which the Spaniards exhibited when they first poured into America. It was thus that the Portuguese power in the East declined. The intolerable license of the roving adventurers of that nation rendered them odious to the natives, and armed the coasts and islands of India against them, so that weakened before they fell an easy prey to the Dutch. And thus too, we should ourselves be exposed, perhaps at no distant period, to the danger of general convulsion and revolt in these possessions, which prudently guarded and cultivated, may under the favor of Providence, to consolidate which should be our first care, be preserved for ages, to our great advantage, and the happiness of their native inhabitants.

'The question now therefore, with respect to these possessions, is not, whether all British subjects shall have a right to trade thither in their own persons, but whether the natives shall be protected from being overruled and oppressed by foreigners.'

But the fiat had gone forth that the Indian trade was to be thrown open to the merchants of England. And, therefore, no attention was to be paid to the evidence of those who were competent to speak on the subject with authority. When the subject was discussed in the House of Commons on the 25th of May, 1813, the speakers who were opposed to the abolition of the monopoly of the trade privileges of the East India Company brought forward very weighty arguments against the proposed change.

Mr. Charles Grant, Senior, the reputed "Christian Director of the East India Company" and his son, Mr. Charles Grant, Junior, were opposed to the throwing open of the trade of India to the general merchants of England. The latter

"impressed upon the House the peril of disturbing a system of administration under which the people of India were prosperous and happy, for the sake of imaginary commercial advantages which never could

be realised. The good of the people of India was the real point at issue; and this could not be promoted by letting loose amongst them a host of desperate, needy adventurers, whose atrocious conduct in America and in Africa afforded sufficient indication of the evils they would inflict upon India. The Company had been charged with having excited wars in India, and furnished an exception to the general rule that peace and tranquility were the inseparable attendants of commerce: and by whom was this charge made? *By the advocates of the slave-trade, the people of Liverpool.*"*

But all these arguments were of no avail. The happiness and prosperity of millions of the inhabitants of India could not outweigh the lust for gold of the natives of England. The "heathens" of India were represented to be barbarians and, therefore, it was necessary to civilize them. But then those heathens did not stand in need of the luxurious articles of English manufacture and there was no market for them in India. India manufactured everything to meet the wants of her population. The evidence of no Britisher is more persuasive and eloquent on the subject than that of Sir Thomas Munro. In his memorandum on opening the trade with India to the out ports, 1st February 1813, he wrote:—

"Now as to the exports (from England to India) it is not likely that they will ever, unless very slowly, be much extended; opposed by moral and physical obstacles, by religion, by civil institutions, by climate, and by the skill and ingenuity of the people of India.

"No nation will take from another what it can furnish cheaper and better itself. In India, almost every article which the inhabitants require is made cheaper and better than in Europe. Among these are all cotton and silk manufactures, leather, paper, domestic utensils of brass and iron, and implements of agriculture. Their coarse woollens, though bad, will always keep their ground, from their superior cheapness. Their finer camblets are warmer and more lasting than ours.

"Glass-ware is in little request, except with a very few principal natives, and, among them, is confined to mirrors and lamps, and it is only such natives as are much connected with Europeans, who purchase these articles. * * Their simple mode of living dictated both by caste and climate, renders all our furniture and ornaments for the decoration of the house and the table utterly unserviceable to the Hindoos; * * * *

"These simple habits are not peculiar to the Hindoos. The Mohammadan also, with a few exceptions among the higher classes, conforms to them.

"If we reason from the past to the future, we can have no well-founded expectation of any considerable extension of our exports. If it were as easy, as some suppose, to introduce the use of foreign articles, it would have been done long ago.

"From the most distant ages of antiquity, there was a constant intercourse between India and the countries on the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea, without the introduction of foreign manufactures among

* Mill and Wilson's History of British India, Vol. VII. p. 381.

the Hindoos; and since the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope, there has been an extensive trade with the Western nations of Europe, without any one of them having been more successful than the ancients in prevailing upon the Hindoos to change their customs so far as to use their commodities in preference to their own. Neither the Portuguese, the Dutch, the French, nor the English, have in this respect effected any considerable change; * * *

"* * Besides the peculiar customs and institutions and climate of India, we must look to the superior skill of the Indian workmen. We cannot profitably export to them until our own fabrics excel theirs. When this is accomplished, no extraordinary skill will be required to extend the sale. The Indians will purchase, even though we should endeavour to prevent them, just as we in this country purchase the contraband stuffs of India.

"* * The grand obstacles to our exports are the inability of the Indians to purchase our commodities, and the cheapness and excellence of their own. It is obvious, therefore, that their demand for ours can only be enlarged either by a general improvement in the condition of the natives of India, or by a reduction in the price of European articles: * * * In seeking, therefore, to extend our exports, cheapness is not the only requisite,—the tastes of the natives must also be studied. * * *

On the whole, there is no ground to look for any considerable increase in the demand for our manufactures by the natives of India, unless by very slow steps, and at a very distant period; * * "

Of course, Sir Thomas Munro was a paid servant of the Company and, therefore, to be true to the salt he ate, he advocated that the Company should be allowed to possess their monopoly of trade. He wrote:—

"The East India Company are attacked from all quarters, as if they alone, in this kingdom, possessed exclusive privileges. But monopoly pervades all our institutions. All corporations are inimical to the natural rights of British subjects. The corn laws favor the landed interest, at the expense of the public. The laws against the export of wool, and many others, are of the same nature; and likewise those by which West India commodities are protected and enhanced in price. It would be better for the community that the West India planter should be permitted to export his produce direct to all countries, and that the duties on East India sugar, &c., should be lowered."

As proved to demonstration, there was no market for European manufactures in India. But this was to be created for the benefit of the people of England. Under the circumstances mentioned above by Munro, there was no other way of effecting this than that of ruining Indian industries. How they did this will be evident from the following often quoted passage from Wilson's 'History of British India':—

"The history of the trade of cotton cloths with India affords a singular exemplification of the inapplicability to all times and circumstances of that principle of free trade which advocates the unrestricted admission of a cheap article, in place of pro-

tecting by heavy duties a dearer one of home manufacture. It is also a melancholy instance of the wrong done to India by the country on which she had become dependent. It was stated in evidence, that the cotton and silk goods of India up to this period could be sold for a profit in the British market, at a price from fifty to sixty per cent. lower than those fabricated in England. It consequently became necessary to protect the latter by duties of seventy and eighty per cent. on their value, or by positive prohibition. Had this not been the case, had not such prohibitory duties and decrees existed, the mills of Paisley and Manchester would have been stopped in their outset and could scarcely have been again set in motion, even by the powers of steam. They were created by the sacrifice of the Indian manufacture. Had India been independent, she would have retaliated; would have imposed preventive duties upon British goods, and would thus have preserved her own productive industry from annihilation. This act of self-defence was not permitted her; she was at the mercy of the stranger. British goods were forced upon her without paying any duty: and the foreign manufacturer employed the arm of political injustice to creep down and ultimately strangle a competitor with whom he could not have contended on equal terms." *

In this connection, the speech of Mr. Tierney may also be referred to. The author who has been quoted above, in summarising his speech, says:—

"The singularity of the debate was a long and elaborate speech from Mr. Tierney, who, in opposition to the sentiments of his colleagues, maintained that, looking to the distinguished character and generally concurring tenor of the evidence adduced in favor of the Company, and the total absence of any evidence on the opposite part, the existing system ought not to be interfered with. In fact, there was a gross inconsistency in the resolution: a Court of Directors that could not be trusted with the commerce of India was to be confirmed in the government,—twenty-four execrable merchants were to make excellent political governors! But there was no charge against the Company.

"* * * Amongst all the arguments in favor of the benefits that were to accrue to the people of India from a free trade, he had never heard it proposed to allow one manufacture of India to be freely imported into Great Britain. It was true that they would allow cotton twist: but then, having found that they could weave by means of machinery cheaper than the Indians, they said to them, 'Leave off weaving; supply us with the raw material, and we will weave for you.' Now, although this was a natural principle enough for merchants and manufacturers, it was rather too much to talk of the philanthropy of it, or to rail the supporters of it as in a peculiar degree the friends of India. If, instead of calling themselves the friends of that country, they should profess themselves its enemies, what more could they do than advise the endeavor to crush all Indian manufacture? What would be said of the East India Company if they were to show as decided a preference to the manufactures of the natives of India under their protection as we did to the manufactures of England? * * * he could defy any man to point out anything like the good of India being the object of any of the resolutions." †

But no reasons and no arguments were of any avail. Indian industries were deliberately crushed by England in order "to promote the interest and happiness of the native inhabitants of the British dominions in India." They were talking of civilizing the people of India by the establishment of an open trade. When Sir Thomas Munro was asked his opinion on the subject, he gave the following characteristic reply:—

"I do not understand what is meant by the civilization of the Hindus; * * * * But if a good system of agriculture, unrivalled manufacturing skill, a capacity to produce whatever can contribute to convenience or luxury; schools established in every village for teaching reading, writing, and arithmetic; the general practice of hospitality and charity amongst

each other; and above all, a treatment of the female sex full of confidence, respect and delicacy, are among the signs which denote a civilised people, then the Hindus are not inferior to the nations of Europe; and if civilisation is to become an article of trade between the two countries, I am convinced that this country (England) will gain by the import cargo."

But the Christian natives of England were bent upon civilizing the heathens of India by means of (1) free trade, (2) permitting free influx of the English into India, (3) allowing Christian Missionaries to preach the gospel to the heathens, and (4) imparting instruction in English.

Of these methods we shall speak in future issues of this review.

THE NATIONAL MOVEMENT

THE growth of the doctrine of nationalities as the basis of a new right of nations has been one of the most conspicuous features of the history of the nineteenth century. It is essentially different from the doctrine of the Divine right of Kings, which regarded great tracts of the world as the rightful dominions of particular dynasties; and also from the doctrine of the balance of power, which prevailed at the peace of Westphalia, and governed most of the prominent changes in Europe during the two succeeding centuries. According to the great politicians and political philosophers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the maintenance of European stability was the supreme end of international politics. Their first object in every arrangement of territory was to make it impossible for one great power to absorb or dominate over the others; and by multiplying what are called buffer states, and by many artificial divisions and apportionments of territory they endeavoured to diminish the danger of collisions, or at least to limit as much as possible their number and scope. Territorial changes in their opinion should be regarded mainly with a view to these objects, and justified and condemned in proportion as they attained them. The more modern doctrine is that every people or large section of a nation, has an absolute natural and inalienable right to the form of Government it pleases, and that every imposition upon it of another rule is essentially illegitimate.

The genesis of this view is traceable to the region of thought prevalent during the French Revolution over which Rousseau exercised the strongest influence. The Convention proclaimed in the loftiest language its determination to respect the inalienable right of every people to choose its own form of Government; and the Republic made much use of the doctrine of the rights of nationalities to kindle revolts; but it also made those revolts powerful instruments for effecting its own territorial aggrandisement, and it was speedily transformed into a military despotism, the most formidable, the most aggressive, and the most insatiably ambitious the modern world has ever seen. The strength and tenacity of the sentiment of nationality were, indeed, seldom more forcibly displayed than in the struggle of Spain and of the Tyrol against the emperor who professed to be the armed representative of the French Revolution. After Waterloo the rights of nationalities suffered a long collapse.

The doctrine of the Divine right of Kings and a formal repudiation of the right of nations to choose their own forms of Government were the basis of the new "Holy Alliance" and of the resolutions of the Congress of Laybach. There were, however, signs that the doctrine of nationalities was not extinct. The enthusiasm evoked by the emancipation of Greece, by the revolt of the Spanish Colonies in America, and by the foreign policy of Canning, marks the turn of the tide and the

French Revolution of 1830 kindled a democratic and nationalist movement in many countries. The Government of France now rested on a parliamentary basis; popular institutions were introduced into Denmark; the aristocratic Cantons of Switzerland were transformed and the Reform Bill of 1832 placed English politics on a more democratic basis.

The French Revolution of 1848 again changed the aspect of affairs and in a few months nearly all Europe was convulsed. The French Government in the manifesto issued by Lamartine in March, 1848, while disclaiming any right or intention of intervening in the internal affairs of other countries, asserted, perhaps more strongly than had ever been done before in an official document, the legitimacy of all popular efforts for national independence, and clearly intimated that when such risings took place, the Republic would suffer no foreign intervention to suppress them.

The doctrine of nationalities has been specially formulated and defended by Italian writers. Vico had defined a nation as "a natural society of men, who by unity of territory, of origin, of customs and of language are drawn into a community of life and of social conscience." More modern Italian writers, among whom Mancini, Mamiani and Pierantoni, are conspicuous, have employed themselves in amplifying this definition. They enumerate as the constituent elements of nationality, race, religion, language, geographical position, manners, history, laws, and when these or several of them combine they create a nationality. It becomes perfect when a special type has been formed; when a great homogeneous body of men acquires, for the first time, a consciousness of its separate nationality, and thus becomes a moral unity with a common thought." This is the *cogito ergo sum* of nations, the self-consciousness which establishes in nations as in individuals a true personality. And as the individual man according to these writers has an inalienable right to personal freedom, so also has the nationality. Every government of one nationality by another is of the nature of slavery and is essentially wrong, and the true right of nations is the recognition of the full right of each nationality to acquire and maintain a separate existence, to create or to change its government according to its desires. Every sovereign who appeals to a foreign power to suppress movements among his own people; every foreign power which intervenes as Russia did in Hungary, and as Austria did

in Italy, for the purpose of suppressing a national movement, is essentially criminal. On the other hand any war for the emancipation of struggling nationalities, such as that of France with Austria, and of Russia with Turkey, derives its justification from this fact, quite irrespective of the immediate cause or pretexts that produced it.

Such is the philosophy which in vaguer and looser terms pervades very widely the political thought of Europe, and has played a great part in the historic development of the nineteenth century. It may be observed that the many different elements of nationality which have been mentioned above rarely concur, and no one of them is always sufficient to mark out a distinct nationality. As a matter of history all great nations have been formed in the first instance by many successive conquests and aggrandisements, and have gradually become more or less perfectly fused into a single organism. Race is usually a most obscure and deceptive guide and in most European countries different race elements are inextricably mixed. Language and religion have had a greater and deeper power in forming national unities; but there are examples of different creeds and languages very successfully blended into one nationality, and there are examples of separation of feeling and character, due to industrial, historical, and political causes, existing, where race, creed and language are all the same.

Within certain limits the doctrine of nationalities undoubtedly represents a real and considerable progress in human affairs. The best, the truest and the most solid basis on which the peace of the civilized world can rest is the free consent of great masses of its population to the form of government under which they live. The increased recognition of this fact, the increased sensitiveness of the European conscience to the inequity of destroying wantonly the independence of a civilized nation or maintaining one civilized nation under the yoke of another is a genuine sign of moral progress. At the same time, there can, I think, be little question that the doctrine of nationalities has assumed forms and been pushed to extremes which make it a great danger to the peace of the world. It becomes the readiest weapon in the hands both of a conqueror and of a revolutionist and by discrediting the force of all international treaties, deepening lines of division, and introducing elements of anarchy and rebellion into most great nations, it threatens the most valuable elements of civilization—it may be to build up a higher civilization.

It is most curious to observe the passion with which nations that are accustomed to affirm the inalienable right of self-government in the most unqualified terms and maintain that annexations can only be justified by a plebiscite, have thrown themselves into a career of forcible annexations. The most remarkable example is to be found in the case of the United States, one of the finest and most democratic nations in the world. *Texas* was admitted into the Union by a treaty with a state which was considered independent, Upper California was conquered from Mexico, New Mexico was acquired by purchase, Louisiana was purchased from Napoleon in 1803, Florida was acquired by treaty with Spain in 1821; but in no one of these cases were the people consulted by popular vote. But most significant of all was the attitude assumed by the Federal Government in dealing with the secession of the south. The latter declared the right of nationalities and demanded their independence, but the north after a sacrifice of life unequalled in any war since the fall of Napoleon succeeded in crushing the revolt, and established its authority over the vanquished south.

It has been truly claimed, however, for Italy that she represents the triumph of the doctrine of nationalities in its best form. The mingled associations of a glorious past and of a noble present, the genuine and disinterested enthusiasm that so visibly permeated the great mass of the Italian people, the spiritualized patriotism of Mazzini, the genius of Garibaldi and the inexpressible charm and loveliness of the land which was now rising into the dignity of nationhood, all contributed to make the Italian movement unlike any other. Nowhere else do so many elements of nationality concur—language, religion, a clearly defined geographical unity, a common literature and common sentiments. In German unity genuine sympathy bore a great part, but in some portions of the Empire force alone carried out the policy.

As regards the treatment of subject races, it has been urged that the claim of every subject population of distinctive nationality to the management of its own local affairs should be recognized by the dominant power. The expression 'distinct nationality' can only be applied to those subject populations which fulfil two conditions. The first is that the people occupy a defined territory. The term is inapplicable to a race which like the Jews finds itself scattered among its rulers. The second condition is that the subject population should

inherit a historic tradition resulting in a national consciousness and in the evolution of a distinct national character. These are the two and only two necessary conditions of nationality. Certainly religious unity is not such a condition, as we may see by the case of Switzerland or of Holland where one-third of the population is Catholic. It is a well known fact that unity of religion exists nowhere in any full progressive nation in the world. Nor is the possession of a common distinct language much as it strengthens the historic tradition, a condition of nationality. The Swiss speak three different languages, French, German, and Italian, and are still a nation. Unity of race is also not a condition of nationality. The contrary is a patent fact in many countries. What is the common race to which the heterogeneous population of the United States of America belongs? Yet no one hesitates to call the people of the United States a nation.

The principle of national self-government is based on the following considerations. Foreign control of local and of home affairs must be oppressive. Aliens, however well-meaning, cannot understand the subject people and they must necessarily seek their information from such elements of the community as are willing for their own advantage to separate themselves from their fellow countrymen and fawn on the strangers. But even if the rulers obtain accurate information, it is almost impossible for them to be impartial where the interests of the rulers and the ruled clash with each other; their sympathies are necessarily with the former, nor can they support the complaints of the latter without appearing to endanger the prestige of the dominant race. On the other hand the subject nationality lives a maimed life in as far as it accepts its position, struggling to fit itself to an alien civilization, and in so far as it rejects it, expending in hostility to the oppressor the energy which would otherwise have been used in promoting its own development and in contributing its share to the general life of the civilized world. There seems to be two strong motives which incline the ruling power to listen to reason, on the representation of the subject people. The first is the pressure of public opinion of all civilized nations, which has already prescribed to conquering nations the methods by which alone they may wage war, and which cannot fail in the future to make empires conform to its behests; for it is a force that grows continually with the growth of justice and humanity. The second is the difficulty, the danger and the expense of ruling a subject people by

permanent coercion. England has recently in South Africa had a taste of the cost of Empire. She has had experience of the difficulties of repression in the whole history of her relations with Ireland. There comes a time when the conscience of the most callous of the rulers revolts at everlasting coercion, and the most obstinate begins to ask whether it is worth while to continue such a policy. But this will only happen where the subject people make coercion difficult and when they never cease to press their claims upon the ruling power. This conflict is the result of education and civilization and will be necessarily intense and inevitable with their progress. It is a conflict between the ideals of Nationalism and those of Imperialism. Nationalism has a marked tendency to ac-

centuate a distinct national and local type. It recognizes the right and privileges of other nations as equal to one's own, while Imperialism involves the political, economical, and industrial subordination of many nationalities to one.

The nineteenth century has witnessed the rise and progress of the ideal of Nationalism in the West. The twentieth century which has begun with the awakening of the nations of the East, will witness not only the rise and progress of that idea but its conflict with that of Imperialism and it depends upon the righteousness, wisdom, foresight, and sympathy of the highest statesmen of the civilized world to lead the movement to its inevitable goal peacefully and without bloodshed.

ASIATICUS.

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE NATIVE INDIAN ARMY

A CERTAIN British Officer bearing the pseudonym of *Carnaticus* wrote in the Asiatic Journal for May, 1821 :—

"Divide et impera should be the motto for our Indian administration, whether political, civil or military."

Acting on this principle, he expressed the following opinion :—

"Mixed troops would be, in my opinion, the very thing for India, particularly for our Asiatic army. The fewer foreigners we have in our European army the better ; but in the native army we should mix all descriptions of castes as much as possible, if not to break the link of possible combination, at least to disturb and perplex it."

When, after the Indian Mutiny of 1857, the Indian Army had to be re-organized, several eminent men in the service of the Indian Government gave it as their opinion that that army should be re-organized on the principle of *divide et impera*. Thus Sir John Lawrence, Brigadier-General Chamberlain and Colonel Edwardes wrote :—

"* * but after mature consideration, and with reference to the events of the past year, we come decidedly to the conclusion that regiments of native infantry should be provincial in their composition and ordinary sphere of service ; as we cannot do without a large native army in India, our main object is to make that army safe ; and next to the grand counterpoise of a sufficient European force, comes the counterpoise of natives against natives."

"* * * * It is found that different races mixed together do not long preserve their distinctiveness ;

their corners and angles, and feeling, and prejudice, get rubbed off ; till at last they assimilate ; and the object of their association to a considerable extent is lost. To preserve that distinctiveness which is so valuable, and which while it lasts makes the Mahomedan of one country despise, fear, or dislike the Mahomedan of another, corps should in future be provincial, and adhere to the geographical limits within which differences and rivalries are strongly marked. Let all the races, Hindoo or Mahomedan, of one province be enlisted in one regiment, and no others ; and having thus created distinctive regiments, let us keep them so, against the hour of need, by confining the circle of their ordinary service to the limits of their own province, and only marching them on emergency into other parts of the empire, with which they will then be found to have little sympathy. By the system thus indicated two great evils are avoided ; firstly, that community of feeling throughout the native army, and that mischievous political activity and intrigue, which results from association with other races, and travel in other Indian provinces ; and secondly, that thorough discontent and a liberation from the service which has undoubtedly sprung up since extended conquest has carried our East-Indeans soldiers so far from their homes in India proper."*

Lieut.-Col. John Coke, Commanding at Moradabad wrote :—

"Our endeavour should be to uphold in full force the (for us fortunate) separation which exists between the different religions and races, not to endeavour to amalgamate them. '*Divide et impera*' should be the principle of Indian Government."†

* Page 30 of *Papers connected with the Reorganization of the Army in India*, presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of Her Majesty, 1859.

† Ibid p. 279.

Major-General H. T. Tucker wrote :—

"Talk as we will of the beneficial effects and paternal character of our rule, we never can alter the fact that in India we are foreigners and interlopers; and while we remain what we are, the Natives of Hindustan what they are, the haughty and offensive conscious manner, the consequence of our superiority, * * will remain indelibly stamped in the bearing and character of the European, outweighing all the material benefits we can confer; and it is opposed, therefore, to all experience and to common sense to suppose that ever under any circumstances the Natives in their inmost hearts can become really reconciled to our rule as a class. Some few indeed may * * * ; but the ineradicable feature of colour must always remain to mark and distinguish the foreign troops, and will for ever act as an incitement to our ejection, when time and circumstances are thought to present a favorable opportunity for again trying conclusions with us. * * This has never been sufficiently understood or insisted upon; nevertheless it is and will be found ultimately to be the truth; and it speaks forcibly for the strong necessity which exists for so dividing and separating into distinct bodies the 'different nationalities or castes' the rulers in our Eastern dominions may deem it safe and expedient to entertain in our armies, so as to render them as little dangerous as possible to the State which they undertake so solemnly and faithfully to serve, but to which solemnity they, be it always remembered, attach little or no real meaning or importance, and by which, as we have now seen, they are in no way really bound.

* * * *

"The introduction, however, of other different elements would be advisable, if it can be done—Africans, Malays, and Arabs; anything, in short, to divide and so neutralize the strength of the 'castes and nationalities' which compose our armies in the East."*

* Page 10 of the Appendix to the Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the organization of the Indian Army, 1859.

† Ibid, p. 146.

Lord Elphinstone, Governor of Bombay, in a minute, dated 14th May, 1858, wrote :—

"*Divide et impera* was the old Roman motto, and it should be ours. * * I would ensure the security of our Indian empire by constructing our native army upon the same principle; for this purpose I would avail myself of those diversities of race and language which we find ready to our hands. I might, perhaps, hesitate to express my conviction so decidedly, if I were not able to show that my views upon this subject are entirely in accordance with those of the Duke of Wellington. * * * *†

The Commissioners appointed to inquire into the organization of the Indian Army in their Report, dated 7th March, 1859, recommended to Her Majesty the late Queen Victoria—

"That the Native Army should be composed of different nationalities and castes, and as a general rule, mixed promiscuously through each regiment."

They made this recommendation on the evidence of those witnesses who generally favored the policy of *divide et impera*. Thus in his evidence, Major-General S. W. Steel, K. C. B., said :—

"It would be of advantage to diversify the nationalities and castes as much as possible in each regiment, so that no one caste should predominate, and natives should be accustomed to serve as far from their own homes as the service may require."‡

No wonder then that the Native Indian Army should be organized on the policy of *divide et impera*.

‡ Page 70, Ques. 2132; Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the organization of the Indian Army, 1859.

FOLK-TALES OF HINDUSTAN

THE GREATER FOOL.

TWO friends were passing through a street when an old woman saluted them both with a *salaam*. The friends began to quarrel as to whom the woman had *salaamed*, and when they could not come to any settlement of the dispute, they resolved to refer the matter to the old woman. So they ran quickly after her crying :—"O Mamma, Mamma, wait a moment and resolve our doubt." The woman stopped and asked what the matter was. The friends said :—"Mamma, whom did you salute?" The old woman replied, "I saluted the greater fool of you

two." Then each began to claim superiority over the other in folly and stupidity. The woman said, "I cannot decide such a delicate question on your mere assertions; let me hear your histories and then I will give my award."

One of the friends then related his story in the following words :—Once upon a time in a hot summer day I was taking a walk in a garden. When oppressed with heat, I laid myself down to sleep by the brink of a well. I was soon lost in deep sleep and when I awoke I found that my turban had fallen into the well and that my shoes had been taken away by some dog or thief. I was very much

troubled what to do and knew not how to return home. However, mustering courage I ran home bare-footed and bare-headed, but covering the head with my hands. My maid-servant seeing me running homewards in this condition ran weeping to her mistress and informed her, "O *Begam*, some great misfortune has fallen on us, as *Mian* is running here bare-footed and striking his bare forehead." As soon as the news of my coming reached the family they set up loud wails and lamentations. When I reached home I found all weeping and tearing their hair. I did not know that I was the cause of all this grief. I naturally thought that some great calamity must have befallen our family; so I also without any enquiry sat down amongst them and wept very bitterly. Our cries brought in the neighbours, who also out of sympathy joined in the chorus. After an hour or so of weeping the neighbours asked me:—"Friend, who is dead?" I said:—"I do not know! ask my family." Upon this my servant said:—"Heigh Sir, we wept because we saw you run home in a distracted fashion." When I told my story, all cried out that I was the greatest fool alive.

The other friend then told his story thus:—I was invited by my father-in-law a few days after my marriage to a feast. My friends advised me all saying:—"Beware how you behave yourself there. It is not good-breeding for a son-in-law to eat or drink much or to show that he is hungry. So be circumspect in your diet." I promised to do as they advised. When I reached the house of my father-in-law I found great preparations had been made to receive me. Dishes nicely cooked were placed before me, and my mouth watered to taste those delicacies. But true to my promise, I did not eat a single mouthful, and when my mother-in-law pressed me to eat I excused myself saying:—"I have got stomach-ache and indigestion; so kindly excuse me." Thus I fasted all the day but when it was midnight my hunger was so great that I would have gnawed my own bones to satisfy it. So I groped my way to the kitchen to see whether I could find any thing there to eat or not. I searched here and there but without success, till I found in a corner some eggs. I took as many as my hands could hold and ran towards my sleeping room. But unfortunately in my haste I fell down with a loud noise, just at the door of

my bedchamber. The sound roused the inmates of the house and they ran to see what was the matter. I quickly entered the room and laid myself on the bed, but found no time to hide the eggs. So in order to escape detection, I thrust them all into my mouth, and, believe me, it was swollen, and as big as a melon, and I was almost choked to death. When they came into my room they found my mouth swollen fearfully, and asked what was the matter. I did not reply but kept my mouth more tightly closed; fearing lest by speaking I should show them the eggs within. Seeing that I neither spoke nor answered their queries in any other way, my mother-in-law and others began to cry saying:—"Poor boy, he is dying of starvation. See how big his mouth is, inflamed with cold and hunger. Send for a *Hakim* quickly." The physician was at once called in, and he also seeing me silent and my eyes bursting with suffocation pronounced that I was suffering from a most dangerous form of inflammation of the cheek and that a surgical operation must be instantaneously performed to relieve me of it. So taking a sharp knife he made a deep incision in my right cheek, cutting one of the eggs within; and out came the white and the yolk of it through the hole. The physician most triumphantly said:—"Behold what an amount of putrid matter was in it." Then he made an incision in the other cheek and the knife this time broke two eggs, and more yolk and albumen came out this time and the physician again cried out:—"Behold the pus." I was well-nigh out of my senses with pain and anger, and spitting out the eggs cried with great indignation:—"Foolish Doctor, it is no pus or putrid matter which you have extracted but the white and yellow of the eggs. Are you not the greatest of fools in confounding the two?" I hoped by this timely retort to crush the doctor for ever, for he was a pig-headed, self-opinioned old rascal and gave very bitter pills to his patients and killed more than he cured. But what was my horror when the table was turned on me and all began to laugh and say, "You are the greater fool of the two."

When the old woman heard these stories, she was also of the same opinion, saying, "Your friend is a great fool, but I congratulate you on being the greater one. I salaamef you."

SHAKKI CHILL.

TRADE FOLLOWS THE FLAG

THE people of the Orient have always looked upon and still look upon trade as a peaceful occupation. They do not associate this calling with bloodshed and murder, rapine and war. But the Westerners do not do so. They have promulgated the doctrine that "trade follows the flag." In plain and unvarnished language this means that a nation which is desirous of prospering in trade must also possess sovereignty over the country in which it proposes to carry on its operations. The mercantile nations of old, the Phœnicians, the Hindus, the Chinese, the Arabs, did not act upon or preach such a doctrine. Trade with them meant 'barter'. *i. e.* one nation supplied the wants of another by exchange of the products of each other's country. That being the natural function of trade, its pursuit was looked upon as a peaceful one.

But what is the state of affairs in the countries of the West now? Their natives given to commercial enterprises are not content with supplying the wants of other nations, but they must create what they call markets in other countries; otherwise they say that they cannot succeed in their undertakings. We should realize the meaning of 'creating markets.' It means that some countries do not stand in need of the products of the other but they are forced to purchase these almost at the point of the bayonet. The opium wars of China will illustrate this aspect of trade. The English forced opium on China not from any philanthropic or altruistic motives, but from those of greed and sordid gain.

Then, again, this doctrine of trade following the flag accounts for the Europeans' planting colonies. Adam Smith says—

"By the establishment of colonies in distant countries, not only particular privileges, but a monopoly was frequently procured for the goods and merchants of the country which established them."

Again he says—

"To found a great empire for the sole purpose of raising up a people of customers may at first sight appear a project fit only for a nation of shopkeepers. It is, however, a project altogether unfit for a nation of shopkeepers; but extremely fit for a nation whose government is influenced by shopkeepers. Such statesmen, and such statesmen only, are capable of

fancying that they will find some advantage in employing the blood and treasure of their fellow-citizens, to found and maintain such an empire. Say to a shopkeeper, Buy me a good estate, and I shall always buy my clothes at your shop, even though I should pay somewhat dearer than what I can have them for at other shops; and you will not find him very forward to embrace your proposal. But should any other person buy you such an estate, the shopkeeper would be much obliged to your benefactor if he would enjoin you to buy all your clothes at his shop."

Colonisation means displacement. The original inhabitants of a country were not perhaps good customers of the trading nation and so it was necessary to displace them to make room for the kith and kin of the trading nation. This has been one of the principal motives of colonisation in modern times. Remember the miseries heaped on the aborigines whose only fault seemed to be that they were simple in their habits and frank and hospitable in their manners. But because they did not stand in need of the superfluous luxuries of the countries of the West, therefore they were annihilated to make room for white colonists who would patronize the commerce of the mother country.

The American colonists did not care to patronize the mother country and hence was the war declared on them. Since the loss of America, the colonists are not forced by regulations but induced by kind considerations to purchase goods manufactured by the mother country.

But the position of British dependencies is worse than that of colonies. Colonists are after all of the same nationality, color and creed as the people of the mother country. Blood being thicker than water, they are not so badly treated as the inhabitants of dependencies. Take for example, the case of India. India when acquired by England was thickly populated and in a very prosperous condition as evident from her thriving industries. To create markets in India her industries were deliberately and ruthlessly destroyed and to maintain and extend that market the subjugation of India has been effected. In one of his Memoranda, dated 1812-13, Sir Thomas Munro wrote:—

"It is our political power, acquired by the Company's Arms, that has made the trade to India what it is: without that power it would have been kept within

narrow bounds by the jealousy and exactions of the Native Princes, and by some, such as Tippoo, could have been prohibited altogether.*

It was perhaps the extension of this trade which guided the policy of the Marquess of Hastings' wars in this country. For before his arrival in this country, England's trade with India did not assume those gigantic proportions which it has done since that period.

And it is to maintain their grip over the market which Englishmen have created by the destruction of Indian industries, that the people of this country are denied those political concessions which are their birth-rights. *Swaraj* or self-rule is not restored to India, because the English people who rule India (as admitted by a distinguished Anglo-Indian official) on the principle of "enlightened selfishness," are afraid that this might sound the death-knell of the extensive trade of England with India. "India for sale: Kashmir

sold," was the name of a pamphlet published in 1886. It was written by one Major W. Sedgwick, R. E., and published by Messrs W. Newman & Co. of Calcutta. This writer says:—

"We do not appear to realise the fact that the loss of India will assuredly deprive us of all our Eastern trade, and yet it is easy to see that it will be so; for not only will the marts of India be closed against us if we lose it,—as firmly closed against us as are those of Central Asia now,—but besides this, India, with its raw produce and its people skilled in manufactures from of old, will soon, under a system of protection, become a great manufacturing nation,—will soon with its cheap labor and abundant supply of raw material supplant us throughout the East."—(Page 4)

After this, need one wonder why all sorts of arguments are made use of by the modern rulers of India to show the so-called incapacity of Indians for self-rule, and why the educated community are stigmatised as the microscopic minority or better still as "enemies" of England?

Glieg's Life of Sir Thomas Munro, Vol. II (1831) p. 347.

BOHEMIA, PHILISTIA AND SHAKESPEARE*

THE countries I refer to are not to be found in the ordinary maps of schools or colleges. The *Bohemia* and the *Philistia* that I invite you to visit to-night must not be confounded with the Austrian *Bohemia* and the Biblical *Pelesheth*—the land of strangers and sojourners—the *Palestina* of Greeks. They are as you know types of places with certain moral characteristics. They are best recognised through their inhabitants. By a sort of literary convention these names originally of restricted use have been freed from the limitations of time and place; and it will not shock us to hear of *Philistian* mind or *Philistinism*, of *Bohemian* life or *Bohemianism* in Athens or Benares, or Babylon before the time of Abraham or in the time of Homer or in the days of Veda Vyasa.

The places are best recognised—as I said—through the moral characteristics of the inhabitants. Wherever you find the *Bohemians* there is *Bohemia*, wherever you find the *Philistines* there is *Philistia*. What then are the leading features of character of the *Bohemians* and the *Philistines*? Let me recall to you some typical *Bohemians* in history and fiction. You easily recognise that they have great family likeness, that they have *Bohemia*

writ broad on their foreheads. Græne, Nash, Marlowe and Ben Jonson, Dryden and Sir Richard Steele, Fielding, Johnson and Goldsmith, Hazlitt and Stevenson have been among its inhabitants. You may come across Falstaff and his worshipful company of followers, ruffling in the streets of *Bohemia*, Beau Tibbs you may find escorting a two-penny half-penny lady—possibly *Carolina Wilhelmina Amelia Skeggs*—who has persuaded him that she is a *Duchess* in disguise and distress. Tom Jones is there as well as Captain Boothe. Rebecca Sharpe ogles some students in the attics and Captain Shandon is the Editor of the *Bohemian Independent*. I have confined myself to Englishmen and personages familiar to students of English literature. You see that they resemble one another in this that they set at defiance conventions, and the *res angusta domi* sits lightly on their conscience and that they generally regard it as an inconvenient irrelevance, they have free and easy manners, there is a breeziness of atmosphere they carry with them. It is a merry time they have in *Bohemia*, a time of oysters, of idleness, of smoking, of song at night and profuse soda-water in the morning, of ease to-day and little heed for the morrow. The creed

* An Address delivered to the Suguna Vilasa Sabha on the 29th of April last in connection with Shakespeare Week Celebrations.

of the Bohemians may be said to be one of "protestantism against the formalism of life and rebellion against its necessities." There is something irresistibly attractive in such a life of large and spacious freedom, of easy reglêe, of unconstrained simple manners, of simple unsophisticated friendships and relationships, of devotion to things that really matter, of neglect of things that do not.

There are the unlovely aspects of Bohemian life, of weakening of the moral fibre, of breaking with domestic ties and tampering with the sanctities of home and civic life. We should not ignore this dark side of the picture, and even if one is inclined to do so, Philistia will not allow that side to be ignored. Putting it roughly we may say that Philistia is the exact antithesis of Bohemia. The Philistines have the virtues that the Bohemians are without, and they lack the charm and attractiveness that the latter have. They are economically the producers, generally conservatives in politics, in religion orthodox, in morals pharisaic and in manners strait-laced. They are averse to new lights. It is this aspect that Matthew Arnold has made familiar to the reading public. I will refresh your memory by quoting the well-known passage from Matthew Arnold's *Essays on Heine* :—

"Philistine must have originally meant, in the mind of those who invented the nickname, a strong, dogged, unenlightened opponent of the chosen people, of the children of light. The party of change, the would-be remodellers of the old European order, the invokers of reason against custom, the representatives of the modern spirit in every sphere where it is applicable, regarded themselves with the robust confidence natural to reformers as a chosen people, as the children of light. They regarded their adversaries as humdrum people, slaves to routine, enemies to light, stupid and oppressive, but at the same time very strong."

The French were for Heine the children of light and England was the rank soil where the weed of Philistinism flourished. In spite of the bad name it gets from such children of light, the work of the world is done by the Philistines. Their narrow outlook, their respect for order and morality albeit degenerating into formalism and conventionalism, their lack of the qualities which the Bohemian hides himself on possessing—all these make the routine business of the world possible.

Now that I have given a rough sketch of Bohemia and Philistia, we proceed to consider what Bohemia was like in England in Shakespeare's days, and we are lucky in possessing a description of Bohemia by contemporary witnesses like Harrison and Stubbes—Philistine witnesses—you may call them.

Here is a picture of the University Bohemian by Mr. Harrison :—

"From our entrance into the University unto the last degree received, is commonly eighteen or (peradventure) twenty years, in which time if a student hath not obtained sufficient learning, thereby to serve his own turn, and benefit his commonwealth, let him never look by tarrying any longer to come by any more. (For after this time and 40 years of age, the most part of students do commonly give over their wanted diligence and live like drone bees on the fat of colleges, withholding better wits from the possession of their places and yet doing little good in their own vocation and calling) . . . Long continuance in those places is either a sign of lack of friends or of learning or of good and upright life."

Harrison is suspicious of foreign travel and deprecates young men going to Italy—which, says he, is not to be seen without a guide, that is, without special grace given from God, because of the licentious and corrupt behaviour of the people. Justice Shallow's reminiscences of University life confirm Harrison's statement. The stronghold of Philistinism is the propertied class—all who can live without manual work, can be gentlemen and buy coats of arms and be called masters. Harrison is against having the young men of this class sent to Italy, whence they bring home Atheism, Vice and Pride.

Dress is an important indication of character. The Philistine is a precisian in this matter and he is apt to exaggerate the heinousness of extravagance in dress.

Says Philoponus to Spudens in Stubbes's *Anatomy of Abuses in Ailgna* :

"I would wish that a decency, a comely order, and as you say a decorum were observed as well in attire as in all things else; but would God the contrary were not truer, for most of our novel inventions and new-fangled fashions rather deform us than adorn us, disguise us than become us, making us rather resemble savage Beasts and stern Monsters, than content, sober and chaste Christians."

Harrison writes to the same effect :

"For my part I can tell better how to inveigh against this enormity, than describe any certainty of our attire: Sithence such is our mutability that to-day there is none to the Spanish guise, to-morrow the French toys are most fine and delectable, ere long no such apparel as that which is after the high Alman fashion, by and by the Turkish manner is generally the best liked of, otherwise the moused gowns, the Barbarian sleeves . . . make such a comely vesture that except it were a dog in a doublet, ye shall not see any so disguised as are my countrymen of England." If men are bad, women are worse, their dress, you may be sure, was outrageous. "They do now far exceed, the lightness of our men . . . and such staring attire as in time past was supposed meet for none but light housewives only, is now become an habit for chaste and sober matrons. What should I say of their doublets with pendent codpieces on

the breast full of jags and cuts and sleeves of sundry colours; their galligaskins (to bear out their bums and make their attire to fit plum round as they term it about them); their fardingals, and diversely colored nether stocks and such like whereby their bodies are rather deformed than commended."

A contemporary epigram is pretty plain spoken: There are references to tussocks on each side as big as balls—a very fair sight for beastly men, says the epigrammist, painted faces, middles braced in as small as wands, &c. &c.

We are glad to learn that the Philistines *par excellence*—the merchants 'do least alter their attire, and, therefore, are most to be commended, for albeit that which they wear be very fine and costly, yet in form and colour it representeth a great piece of the ancient gravity fairly appertaining to citizens and burgesses,' albeit their wives are worse than women of higher state.

In chapter x of Book ii are described 23 sorts of vagabonds—Bohemians of the worst type, lawless men and vagrants. Among these caterpillars in the commonwealth are Proctors with counterfeit licenses, Physiognomists, Fencers, Players, Minstrels, Pretended scholars and Bearwards. I will ask you to note the inclusion of Players in this list of Rogues or Vagabonds. Bearwards are also included. Readers of Scott's *Kenilworth* will recall that preference was given to the petition of Shakespeare to be allowed to enact plays before Elizabeth on the intercession of Robert Dudley against the rival claims of a bearward supported by Suffolk.

Stubbes—as a professed censor of manners, is much more emphatic in denouncing the evils referred to by Harrison. I will not trouble you by passages from Stubbes about dress, &c. But I must invite your attention to a tirade on the evil of stage players and their attendant evils. After saying that the theatres are Venus's Palaces and Satan's synagogues to worship Devils and betray Christ Jesus, Philoponus states:—

"These be the fruits of Plays and Interludes. And whereas you say there are good examples to be learned in them, truly so there are; if you will learn falsehood, if you will learn cosenage, if you will learn to deceive, if you will learn to play the hypocrite, to cog, lie and falsify; if you will learn to jest, laugh and leer, to grin, to nod, to mow; if you will learn to play the vice, to swear, tear, and blaspheme both heaven and earth; if you will learn to become a bawd, unclean, to devirginate maids, to deflower honest wives; if you will learn to murder, play, kill, pick, steel, rob and rove; if you will learn to rebel against princes, to commit treasons, to consume treasures, to practise idleness, to sing and to talk of bawdy love and ventry; if you will learn to deride, scoff, mock and flout, to

flatter and smooth; if you will learn to play the whore maister, the glutton, drunkard or incestuous person; if you will learn to become proud, haughty and arrogant, and finally, if you will learn to contemn God and all His laws, to care neither for heaven nor hell, and to commit all kinds of sin and mischief, you need to go to no other school; for all these good examples may you see painted in interludes and plays."

You members of the *Suguna Vilasa Sabha* are fairly taken aback that the art which you cultivate and patronise can be made responsible for such misdeeds. Yet there was some semblance of fairness in these attacks against the plays and playwrights of the early days. You cannot suspect such a veteran Shakespeare-scholar as Furnivall of any injustice to the dramatic art, nor will you confound him with Gosson and Stubbes and other critics to whom, Nash says, the cloak of zeal served as a cloak of mail, a pretence of purity as pentsise for iniquitie, a gloss of godliness as a covert for all naughtiness. Furnivall says in his forewords to Stubbes's *Anatomy*:

"He does not hesitate to ask his readers to believe that the abuses Stubbes denounced were real and not fancied ones, cancers in the body of the commonweal, and that his words in denouncing them were not, in most cases, one whit too strong."

A study of the Elizabethan drama, of the controversies of the day and of the lives of the dramatic writers of the day will show that there was good ground for the prejudice against players and their ways. The author of the *Groatsworth of Wit*, Greene, was no puritan. Marlowe against whom there was a charge of Atheism, the scurrilous Nash, Shakespeare and Ben Jonson knew intimately the seamy side of life as something more than imaginative. The moral advance of England in the 19th century over that of Elizabethan England can be gauged from the comparison that Furnivall suggests between Shakespeare's spring song on the cuckoo at the end of *Love's Labour Lost* with Wordsworth's. That the soiling of a woman's purity is no longer treated as a joke and that the debauching of girls is not looked upon as an honourable token of manliness is in no small degree due to the intense narrowness of men like Stubbes who set their faces against these abominations.*

Now coming to Shakespeare, the most superficial acquaintance with his career will show he was of Bohemia. His early boyish escapade (immortalised by Landor) of poaching in Sir Thomas Lucy's Charlecote Park has been accepted as authentic by such a cautious biographer as Sidney Lee. Prospero's earnest exhortation to Ferdinand that he must not

* Furnivall.

carry dalliance too far with Miranda has a particular significance from the fact that there was too great eagerness on the part of the relatives of Shakespeare's wife to push on her marriage with Shakespeare, an eagerness apparently necessary by her first child visiting the world at least three months too early. There is the anecdote of Shakespeare's successful rivalry in love with a fellow actor who played Richard III, the favoured lover boasting that William the Conqueror came before Richard III. There is the gossip of Shakespeare's visits to the Elder D'Avenant's Oxford hostelry, and of his relationship to his godson William D'Avenant who is said to have 'favoured' him. It was suspected, too, that Shakespeare's relationship to William was of a less spiritual character. A doctor of the University on being informed by the boy that he was going to ask a blessing of his godfather who had just arrived in town, warned him against taking the name of God in vain. Again there is the mystery of Shakespeare's experience as recorded in the sonnets.

We need not go the length of the Danish critic George Brandes who accepts the sonnets frankly as materials for biography, nor assume the extremely sceptical attitude of Mr. Sidney Lee who elaborates the argument that the sonnet-writing on such themes as Shakespeare chose was a literary convention in England and Europe, and that there is little of biographical significance in the sonnets. It is safe to adopt the opinion of Professor Courthope, which is a mean between the two extreme positions. He says that 'the woman coloured ill' of the Sonnets resembling as she closely does in person and character Cleopatra, must have been a real object of sense and must have been raised into an impersonation of the fleshly lusts which war against the soul.

As to Shakespeare's conviviality, as to his being the king of good-fellows, there is plenty of evidence. Fuller's reference to the wit-combats at the Mermaid between Shakespeare and Ben Jonson must be familiar to you. He made one of the company, doubtless, at those lyric feasts that Herrick refers to, when the wit outdid the meat, outshone the frolic wine. The creator of Falstaff and Sir Toby Belch, you may be sure, was no Puritan, did not eschew cakes and ale, and ginger must have been hot in the mouth too.

Along with the Bohemian characteristics, Shakespeare had some traits of the Philistine. Men of superior imaginative powers are supposed to be incapable of prudently ordering the affairs of life. It is this characteristic that

has impressed us all and hence a prudent Bohemian, a money-investing, a house-buying Bohemian, strikes one as an impossibility. Murger* refers to him as one having no right to the name. Shakespeare showed in practical affairs an alertness and a wide-awakeness that would do credit to the ordinary man of the world. He took steps to relieve the pecuniary distress into which his father had fallen. He purchased the largest house in Stratford and arranged with the Herald's Office for a Coat of Arms, that unmistakable sign of gentility. He was the more particular in such rehabilitation of the family prestige because he was too often reminded that he was an actor and playwright. He complains of his having made himself motley to public view and of his soul being seduced to what it worked in. There is nothing to indicate that he was proud of the profession and that these efforts of his to gain the esteem of his fellowmen were with a view to get a recognition for the profession. He could on occasion greatly quarrel about a straw. Lawyers would be delighted to learn that he was pertinacious in holding on to his rights and sued Philip Rogers and John Addenbroke for recovering from them small sums of money.

I have indicated enough to show that there are two strands in Shakespeare's character—one of Bohemianism and another of Philistinism. There can be nothing surprising in this—for Shakespeare, the most prolific creator, according to Dumas, after God, must have had all the elements of human character in him.

Now I proceed to the teaching of Shakespeare in his dramas—the teaching with particular reference to the contrast between Bohemianism and Philistinism. He shows up the hollowness of seeming as against being. If there is any constantly recurring thought occurring in the plays which might not be wholly explained away as merely due to the exigencies of the dramatic situation, it is this of his contempt for empty pretentiousness. I will not weary you with quotations: you remember listening yesterday to Bassanio's reasons for choosing the leaden casket; the hollowness of legal pleas, the spuriousness of heresies, the masquerading of vice as virtue. Shakespeare's contempt for ceremony, the mere external trappings of authority that so impress the Philistine and so provoke the Bohemian is expressed by his favourite king Henry V. "What are thou, thou idol ceremony?" He impatiently asks and esteems it at its right

* Scenes de la Vie Bohème.

worth. You will remember he had initiation in early days in Bohemia. What a lesson on the contrast between seeming and being is the character of Faulconbridge! All knavery, pretence, cowardice has to unmask itself before that genuine downright personage; as Satan has to at the touch of Ithuriel's spear. Take the case of Angelo. When he makes the nefarious proposal as a consideration for his being lenient to Isabella's brother, she exclaims on this 'seeming, seeming.' She wants to proclaim him what man he is. We know he is shown up for the thing he is. Again in the French king's rebuke administered to Bertrand when he expressed his scorn for Helen—a poor physician's daughter, the emphasis is laid on the essence of worthiness—

From lowest place, when virtuous things proceed,
The place is dignified by the doer's deed:

Where great additions swells, and virtue none,
It is 'a dropsied honour: good alone is
Good without a name; vileness is so.

The property by what it is, should go, not by the
title.

If this lesson sounds democratic and would be welcomed by Burns and others of his way of thinking, there is another lesson on the necessity of obedience to constituted authorities, and emphasis is laid on order in a way to meet with the full sympathies of Burke. The most eloquent plea for preserving degree, priority and place, for conservatism in short, you find in *Troilus and Cressida* and the speaker is the wise Ulysses. Elsewhere Shakespeare refers to reverence as the angel of the world and thus you see him uniting in himself the two strands of human nature, enforcing the principles equally of progress and conservatism.

The antithesis between Bohemianism and Philistinism suggests a snare that lurks in enacting the plays of Shakespeare. The ordinary theatre-goer resembles the immortal diarist Samuel Pepys. He was, as Mr. Sidney Lee says, an incarnation of the average man.

"His thought is rarely free from official or domestic business, and the heaviness or lightness of his personal cares commonly colors his play-house impressions. His praises and censures of a piece often reflect the

physical comforts or discomforts which attach to his seat in a theatre."

How marvellously close Pepys is to the Philistine in us all. His frank records of the impressions of the plays he witnessed shows that things of the imagination bored him and what attracted him were extraneous elements, music, stage effects of scenic contrivances and the beauty of the women actresses. Of the *Midsummer Night's Dream* he witnessed, he says:—

"It is the most insipid, ridiculous play that I ever saw in my life. I saw, I confess, some good dancing and some handsome women, which was all my pleasure."

In Shakespeare's plays, the poetry, the characterisation is everything, and these are just the elements that do not appeal to the Philistine. The elaborate stage arrangements, music and other attractions are all in all for him. But a systematic study and representation of the plays is the remedy for making the ordinary man rise to their full appreciation. For successful dramatic illusion there must be the active exercise of the imaginative faculty of the author, the actor and the spectator.

For the actor himself, the perfection of the machinery of the stage, is a danger. In the spectacular splendour he sinks into a secondary position. Scenery being costly and specialised there is the temptation on the part of the manager to repeat particular plays with long runs to make up for the cost of the staging. Acting becomes mechanical, the actor repeating night after night the same trick of voice, eyes and gesture.* The remedy is to vary the plays. Subordinate parts must be reckoned as important as the chief parts. There must be versatility cultivated on the part of the actor, and there would be then formed a school of Shakespearian acting and the public by constant attendance catch something of the spirit of the myriad-minded genius and get somewhat of the inward perfection which would be the best counterpoise of the mechanical and material civilisation to which we have been introduced.

K. B. RALIANATHAN.

* Sidney Lee's *Shakespeare and the Modern Stage*, to which I am greatly indebted.

NOTES

The Flag follows trade.

There is an English saying that trade follows the flag. But the converse is also true. In all continents of the world the flags of many European races have followed trade. The English came to India and Egypt, the French to Siam, &c., as traders, but gradually became masters of these countries. The Anglo-Russian convention must be read in the light of these facts. We do not care who, —whether Russia or Great Britain, has won or lost in the game of diplomacy. What we note, with hopefulness regarding the progress of humanity in international morals somewhat damped, is that two nations making professions of high-sounding Christian principles, divide between themselves the territory of a third nation, ostensibly for commercial purposes, without even asking the opinion of that nation. If this is international morality, we do not know what its opposite is. Both Russia and Great Britain have a two-fold interest in crippling and parcelling out Persia. Both want to exploit Persia. But there is another object in view. Both have extensive Asiatic dominions despotically governed. The rise of Japan as a world-power has already roused Asia from her dream. If Persia also be able to keep and develop her new-born free political institutions, the Asiatic races subject to Russia and Britain will have an additional incentive to seek for freedom. Therefore Persia must not remain free or be powerful. This is the logic of the two despotic countries as we read it. Excuses will not be wanting for first occupying and ultimately swallowing up Persia. If the Persians do not by their actions furnish such excuses, the European philanthropists will create them. Already fortune seems to favour them. For a boycott of foreign goods is being preached in Persia. And in the eyes of European races what offence can be greater than your refusal to buy their goods? Was not opium forced down China's throat at the point of the bayonet? Are not boys and men being punished in East Bengal for boycotting foreign goods? So the Persian boycott of foreign goods will be very convenient for creating complications. Who knows who is at the bottom of the Turkish invasion of

Persian territory? Is Turkey a mere tool in the hands of some "Christian" power?

Some men in our country think that the Anglo-Russian convention having secured the safety of the N.-W. frontier of India from Russian invasion, there will be a reduction in the number of troops and in military expenditure in India. This is to take it for granted that Russia believes England or England believes Russia. But the truth is, whenever their national interests will clash, the terms of the convention will be no more binding than drunkards' oaths. And, moreover, the Army in India is not maintained solely or chiefly to repel Russian invasion. There are two other reasons, which the convention does not affect. The first is to keep the people of India in subjection and in a state of abject fear. The second is to find livelihood in India for as many British privates and officers as India's resources can possibly maintain; for every one knows that England cannot maintain her surplus population on her own soil. But if in spite of these reasons, there be a reduction in army expenditure, we may rest assured that the money thus set free will be exploited by England in some other way. For, in the words of Lord Salisbury, "India must be bled."

Racial prejudices and Christianity."

There is a timely article on the above subject in *The Inquirer* of London. After stating that it is impossible to justify class selfishness or trades union particularism, the article proceeds:—

But it is too often forgotten that nationalism, while it is a union of a more august and wider kind, is yet as much subject to temptations of selfishness and permanent pre-occupation with its own interests as any trades union. Even if we spread our sympathies yet further, and embrace all white men in our union, we are still leaving out a large proportion of the human race. Why should Canada and Australia and the Cape be in perpetuity ear-marked for the white races? What right have we, on the principle that all men are brethren, to say to the Japanese or Chinese or Hindoos, You shall have no part or lot with us as free men and independent workmen in the life of these enormous undeveloped tracts of country? We will admit white men on equal terms, but you shall be for ever excluded. On the first page of some lay sermons by Professor Caird, late Master of

Balliol, is a description of Christianity. It "was a principle that bound all men to each other, and made them members one of another; as no previous religion had ever attempted to do. It broke down all the walls of division that had hitherto separated individuals, families, and nations from each other; it cast aside and utterly repudiated all the prejudices of rank and caste, of race and custom, and bade men, as simply men, recognise each other as brethren." What a mockery these words sound in relation to the action of our Colonies and of the U. S. A. towards coloured peoples!

There is, indeed, one argument, and one argument alone, so far as we can see, which would justify white men in excluding coloured races from sharing in the development of our Colonies. It is the argument that living side by side in common work and daily life is not advantageous for either the white or the coloured races. It is stated that the children of mixed marriages are of a lower character than either of the parents. In the case of Eurasians this seems unfortunately to be true. *But if this is so serious and unavoidable an evil as to prevent our admitting Hindoos to settle in South Africa, it ought also to require for the sake of India that all Europeans should leave that country as soon as possible.* We are by no means in favour of the immediate abandonment of India by England. If Eurasians are so degraded a type it ought to be possible by law, and yet more by public sentiment, to make unions between whites and Hindoos far less general than they are. In the case of mixed marriages with Japanese and Chinese it does not seem to be so clearly proved that the results entailed upon the children are so deplorable. If they were, and if it were absolutely impossible to prevent such unions becoming ever more common, the exclusionists would have something to say for themselves on Christian principles. Nothing but clear proof that white and coloured races cannot occupy the same country without reciprocal deterioration would justify us in trying to confine our Colonies to white men alone. This is not proved at present. It is to be earnestly hoped that it cannot be proved. If it were, it would mean that the white and yellow races must be constantly fighting for the exclusive possession of the earth, instead of working side by side in free healthy competition. We find it difficult to believe that the laws of God make fighting imperative and association impossible. [The italics are ours.]

To this we have only to add that even if it were clearly proved "that white and coloured races cannot occupy the same country without reciprocal deterioration," it is the European races that must first leave all countries outside Europe. For they are the interlopers and the coloured races are or were the original inhabitants. In America and Australia the coloured races have been almost exterminated by the whites. In Africa this process has not been feasible. Africa never was, nor is a white man's country. Hindus or Chinese may be excluded from South Africa, but the Kafirs, Zulus, Hotentots, &c., are and will remain there. The affair is merely one of brute force and selfish-

ness; the ethics of Christianity or of any other religion are entirely out of place here. Otherwise why should the Japanese who attacked the white mob in Vancouver receive compensation, and the Hindus who did not even join the Chinese and Japanese strikers be only beaten and driven from their houses? Practically human brotherhood still means, he alone is a brother who can thrash you. Perhaps it is best so. For the admission of the weak to brotherhood would rest on a very precarious foundation. But then the less some people held "Hague Conferences," &c., the better it would be for their honesty.

Class representation.

Class conflicts and class prejudices are opposed to the highest welfare of the State. Professor Henry Jones has some wise and striking words on the deep-seated delusion

"that when every class presses for its own claims, justice will arrive to all as a result of their collision. It is not true. The just equipoise of rights never comes in this way. Mere class legislation is never right. . . . What will arrive by such methods is care for the strong and neglect of the weak, the conversion of the state into a warring arena, and the ultimate triumph of the strong. It is not the strife of interests that maintains the equipoise of the state or the city, but *its just men.*"

Mr. Keir Hardie at Lucknow.

The Indian Daily Telegraph, the Anglo-Musalman daily paper of Lucknow, writes:—

Our representative gathered that Mr. Hardie motored down to the village of Chobaypore thirteen miles from the city, where his visit to the local school convinced him that the Government does not give sufficient encouragement to primary education. He saw the ryots in their own dwellings and was surprised to find that the majority of them had hardly means enough for even one full meal a day.

"Did your visit to Calcutta agreeably in press you with the Bengali? Do you, for instance, agree with the charge of effeminacy brought against him by Stevens and other writers?"

"Decidedly not. I think masculinity would have been a better description. I consider the Bengali is a man suffering from too much patience. Now that he is showing impatience, he is getting into trouble."

Mr. Hardie then turned to his interviewer. "What is the opinion of the people of these provinces regarding the Bengali?"

"I cannot say, but I do not think they admire his type. You are passing through a province which is on the brink of famine—it is a very severe test—and yet you will find no disaffection."

Mr. Hardie's eyes twinkled. "I know if I were one of them I should be disaffected."

Kshatriya loyalty.

The mighty Kshatriyas of Aryavarta (called in vulgar parlance the United Provinces of

Agra and Oudh), the descendants of the famed ancient warriors of India, have declared their adhesion and loyalty to the rule of the British officials in India. We do hope the British and Native Army in India will now be disbanded, and Lord Kitchener will find sufficient occupation in looking babies in his wife's eyes.

Despotism good and bad.

John Stuart Mill says :—

"A good despotism is an altogether false ideal, which practically (except as a means to some temporary purpose) becomes the most senseless and dangerous of chimeras. Evil for evil, a good despotism, in a country at all advanced in civilization, is more noxious than a bad one; for it is far more relaxing and enervating to the thoughts, feelings, and energies of the people. The despotism of Augustus prepared the Romans for Tiberius. If the whole tone of their character had not first been prostrated by nearly two generations of that mild slavery, they would probably have had spirit enough left to rebel against the more odious one."

So a benevolent despotism, such as our Government professes to be, is a contradiction in terms, unless it decides, gradually at any rate, to abdicate in favour of popular constitutional government. But if it is not to give place to popular constitutionalism, it is best for us that it should go on in its mad career of repression and exasperation, thus opening the eyes of the people to its real character and rousing them from dreams of a perpetual lotus-eating slavery.

The Calcutta riots.

The Indian public of Calcutta speaking from bitter personal knowledge and experience assert that the recent riots in the northern part of that city were due to the high-handedness of the police, nay,—that they were preconcerted in order to serve various purpose; *e. g.*, to furnish an excuse for stopping swadeshi-boycott meetings (which had never been disorderly), to create grounds for passing an act against "seditious" meetings, to divert the attention of the boycotters and picketters so that the big puja sales of foreign goods might not be affected, and to punish swadeshi shopkeepers by having their goods plundered and heads broken. A hurried official inquiry within closed doors cannot rebut these serious charges. Nor is the belated later official enquiry likely to satisfy the public. People have not sufficient faith in officials to come forward in large numbers to give evidence, particularly as the first enquiry has been a fiasco. The non-official enquiry has established beyond doubt the fact of the complicity of the police in the riots. In any

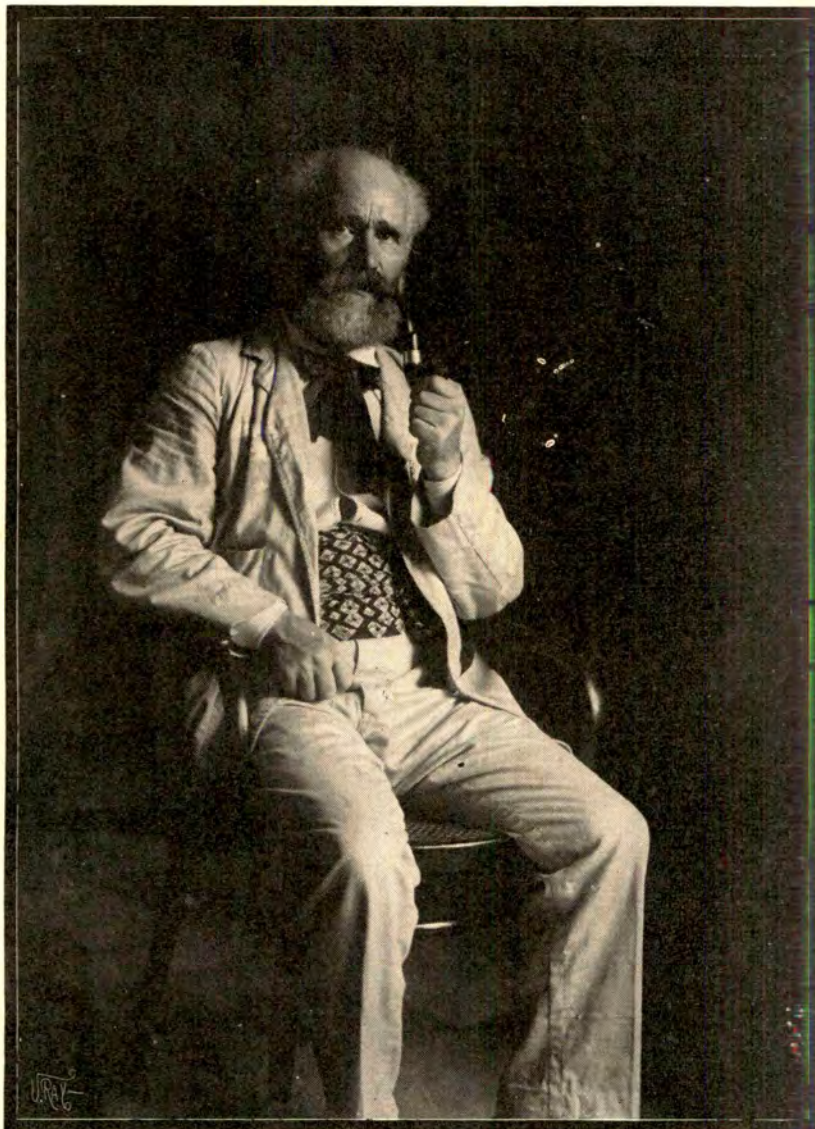
case, it is an undisputed fact that for several days a section of northern Calcutta was given up to ruffians to assault and plunder whomsoever they liked. Very respectable and trustworthy men have asserted that they have personally seen policemen taking part in the general assault and plunder. The police defence is that the ruffians disguised themselves as policemen! Did the police lend them their uniforms or did the hooligans rob the police of their clothes, or do Calcutta ruffians keep suits of police clothes as part of the paraphernalia of their profession? We wish the police had displayed a little more ingenuity in fabricating a defence. This, however, is clear that Government with all its reserve police and its soldiers in Fort William cannot or will not protect the Indian public *even in the capital of the empire* in certain emergencies. This is to us a rude reminder that the task of self-defence cannot without disaster be delegated by any community or individual to another. Young and old, therefore, should everywhere practise the art of individual and organised self-defence with whatever weapons they have or can procure. And in view of the proved inability (in East Bengal and Calcutta) of Government to protect people in emergencies, the Arms Act should certainly be repealed.

One thing has struck us as rather curious. The Barabazar shops are the richest in the Indian quarter of Calcutta. If the looting was simply the work of ruffians, if there was no predevised method in their nefarious work, why was not Barabazar looted? It seems strange that the ruffians did not extend their operations to that part of the Indian City where the largest shops dealing in foreign cloth are situated. What reasons or motives had they in not plundering or interfering with the sales of these shops?

Famine.

Famines are directly caused by drought, and to a lesser extent by floods. In the human body, there is very often a proved connection discernible between moral and spiritual, and physical condition. But no causal connection has yet been established between human unrighteousness and such a natural phenomenon as drought, though we do not deny the possibility of such a connection. A causal connection has been established between drought and the denudation of forest areas, which latter is the work of human hands. Beyond this a scientific thinker will not go, though

Supplement to "The Modern Review."



MR. KEIR HARDIE, M. P.

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the popular belief in India connects drought with unrighteousness on the part of both rulers and the ruled.

But though rainfall is at present beyond human control, much can be done by canal and well irrigation to counteract the effects of drought. Some work in this direction has been done by Government, but very much more could have been done and can still be done. Droughts are not peculiar to India, but frequent and devastating famines are. But Government is blind or pretends to be blind to its own faults; as none are so blind as those who will not see. The Gold Standard Reserve fund formed out of the profits of the coinage of rupees now amounts to 16 millions sterling or 24 crores of rupees. This amount has come entirely from the pockets of the people by means of the coinage of the dishonest rupee, which is intrinsically worth about nine annas, and should be devoted entirely to the improvement of their condition. Irrigation, sanitation and education are their special needs at present.

The land revenue should be permanently settled throughout India, as was at one time promised by Government, so that people may devote all their energy and capital to the improvement of their land in the full belief that the fruits of their labour will not be snatched away from them.

Improved methods of agriculture should be introduced. In order to make this possible, people should be roused from their apathy, fatalism, and lethargy, by universal free education, which will also enable them to acquire information on agricultural subjects. Without this indispensable means of amelioration, the agricultural departments and colleges and publications of Government do good almost entirely to highly paid European officials, thus serving as fresh channels for draining away India's wealth. In fact, whatever scheme for India's good Government propounds is sure in the first place to benefit Englishmen, as the very first idea is to employ highly paid white men;—the benefit to India being oftener than not a doubtful entity.

The export of grain should be regulated. We are not rich enough to compete on equal terms with European countries in the purchase of grain. So what we consider famine rates, Europe considers cheap. And our railways professedly constructed for the prevention of famine, help in the perpetuation of famine prices by facilitating the export of grain.

If we can revive our industries we can keep our wealth in our own hands, nay, we can even, later on, bring wealth into India from foreign

lands. If we be richer than now, we can keep our own grain in the country. The swadeshi-boycott movement is calculated to achieve this object.

A revival of our industries will also serve to divert a large number of weavers, blacksmiths, &c., from entire dependence on land.

Not that we admit that the Indian Empire is overpopulated, or that it cannot maintain a much larger number of people by agriculture alone. The birth rate for India is 75 per 1,000 less than the average birth rate of all Europe; and the death rate is much higher than in western lands. The Indian Empire contains only 170 persons to the square mile. England contains 550 persons per square mile. In the Indian Empire 450,000 square miles of culturable land are at present uncultivated. No doubt here as in all other countries some tracts are congested. The remedy is free emigration to more thinly populated areas by education and fair inducements. Even by ordinary methods of agriculture India can support a much larger population than she does now, if the land revenue be permanently settled, if the export of grain be regulated, and if people are induced to migrate from congested areas to thinly populated tracts by promises of permanent tenures. But Indian agriculture is universally admitted to be capable of an indefinite degree of intensification. Therefore by improved methods of agriculture, our land can support a very much larger population than now.

The improvement of villages.

In the Bengal census Report for 1901 we find that

"In the province as a whole, out of every 100 persons 95 live in villages and only 5 in towns, Bengal is a distinctly agricultural country, and many even of the so-called towns are merely overgrown villages."

For this reason the moral and material progress of Bengal practically means the progress of the villages. But owing to various causes this fact is being more and more lost sight of. Mr. Hemendra Prasad Ghose's paper on "Decay of villages in Bengal" in the *July Calcutta Review* is therefore deserving of serious attention. Mr. Ghose is rightly of opinion that our villages suffer because of bad drainage, bad ventilation, bad surroundings, bad water and bad food. The problem of village improvement is, therefore, of great magnitude and complexity. But it is not insoluble. The existence of the Bengalis as a people depends on its solution. The article goes into important

and interesting details and suggests remedies. As Mr. Hemendra Prasad Ghose is a well-informed gentleman possessed of independent means, may we suggest that for sometime to come he should devote himself mainly to the education of public opinion on this problem with a view to its ultimate solution? We think his paper should be translated into the vernacular and large numbers of the original as well as the translation should be circulated among the literate population of the province. The district and village associations of the province should take up this question in right earnest. Village sanitation and improvement should be attended to seriously in other provinces of India, too.

How to kill sedition.

Government is about to pass a bill to prevent "seditious" meetings of more than 20 persons in public or *private* places. We suppose 20 or less than 20 "seditionists" may congregate without danger to British rule. If so, we suppose that will be the fashionable number for "seditious" meetings after the 1st of November, 1907. India is a land of joint families, which sometimes consists of more than 20 persons. There are very few educated families where politics are not discussed. As Englishmen discuss politics informally in their messes and clubs, we sometimes do so in our dinner or supper parties on festive or mournful occasions. By violating the sanctity of the home and private life, the police will kindle a fire which all the waters of the Indian ocean will not be able to extinguish.

Our reverend juniors of even 8 and 9 years of age do often talk of independence and things too terrible to entrust to public print. As many of us have families large enough to delight Theodore Roosevelt, should we or should we not gag the mouths of our juvenile rebels? If a large crowd assemble to listen to a "seditious" gramophone record, who will be punished? The maker of the gramophone, the taker of the record, the man whose voice is reproduced, the man who operates the machine, or the machine itself? If the gramophone with its records be sentenced to rigorous imprisonment, will it be told off to enliven the jail with screeching and twanging reproductions, or what other work will be given to it?

But speaking seriously, it is a mad enterprise that Government has set its hands to. Patriotism has never yet been suppressed in any country. It will not be suppressed in

India. Government through its police will succeed only in exasperating the people. Policemen will insist upon invading private dwellings, with consequences which may be imagined.

What the bureaucrats call sedition we call patriotism, though at times it may be misdirected patriotism. Therefore it cannot be killed.

Ka ipsitārthasthīranischayam manah

Payascha nimmābhimukham pratipayet?

"Who can reverse the current of downward flowing water or of the mind resolved upon attaining its object?" Stop meetings if you please. But patriots *will* make their message heard.

If Government wishes to remove discontent from the minds of the masses, we can suggest three sure means: cheap food, increasing immunity from plague, malaria and other epidemics, and freedom from police blackmailing and oppression. These comprise the people's politics. If British statesmanship be not equal to the task, popular discontent is sure to grow from more to more, and then our final advice must be what the old woman said to Mahmud Ghaznavi, "keep no more territory than you can govern well."

The Nagpur Congress Squabbles.

From the conflicting accounts published in the papers it is not easy to accurately apportion the blame for the congress squabbles at Nagpur. Whoever the persons may be who are to blame for the incapacity and rowdiness displayed, the episode is the most lamentable in the history of the Congress. We do hope all such persons will forget the past and set to work for the good of the country, to which they all owe allegiance. We do not think the ideals, principles and methods of the best men of the "extremist" and "moderate" parties are such that their co-operation in furtherance of the Congress cause is impossible.

Let not the members of any party think that they possess a monopoly of wisdom, patriotism, self-respect or courage. Nor need it be supposed that progress will necessarily move along the lines laid down by one party or the other. As in most mundane affairs, so in politics, too, there is such a thing as the parallelogram of forces. Progress may after all be along the diagonal.

The Rammohun Roy Anniversary.

Raja Rammohun Roy was the pioneer of Indian progress in modern times in all important lines of activity except industrial revival. It was therefore quite proper that

the 74th anniversary of his death, should have been celebrated in various parts of India on the 27th of September last. In speaking of Raja Rammohun Roy the Rev. N. Macnicol once applied to him a sentence from Emerson and said that it was he "who cut the cable and gave you a chance at the dangers and the glories of blue water." Most of us now-a-days want political freedom. Rammohun Roy also wanted freedom, but he wanted to be free not only politically but in religious and social matters also. Mr. William Adam, a Baptist Missionary who was converted by the Raja to Unitarian opinions, bears the following testimony to the latter's love of liberty:—

He would be free or not be at all.....Love of freedom was perhaps the strongest passion of his soul,—freedom not of action merely, but of thought..... This tenacity of personal independence, this sensitive jealousy of the slightest approach to an encroachment on his mental freedom was accompanied with a very nice perception of the equal rights of others, even of those who differed most widely from him."

The prosperity-test in Bengal.

In spite of the strenuous efforts of Government to check drinking, the Excise Revenue with tenacious perversity goes on mounting steadily year after year. In Bengal there was an increase of 7½ lakhs in 1906-07. Government is really helpless. The people are growing more and more prosperous, and therefore they must go on drinking. It is the duty of Government to make the people happy. How can they be made happy except by opening as many grog-shops as possible? The Bengal Excise Report says:—

The Commissioner of Excise notices the difficulty often experienced by the licensees both in Calcutta and in the districts in obtaining sites for liquor shops, and suggests that sites and buildings should be acquired for such shops.

By a happy coincidence a campaign has been recently started in the London press against education in India. We, therefore, want to be first in the field with the suggestion that all school and college buildings be converted into grog-shops. That will meet the demand for sites for liquor shops without extra expenditure, stop sedition, increase the revenue, prove to demonstration the growing prosperity of the people, and soothe the "official conscience," which Mr. Morley was about to define before a recent Temperance Deputation in London. But we really thank the Commissioner of Excise for the honesty of his complaint. We hope the drunkards will vote him a statue and the Bengal Government appoint him Archbishop of Frasergunge.

The Indian Art Exhibition.

We have much pleasure to draw the attention of our readers to the prospectus of the Indian Art Exhibition printed in our advertisement pages. It is calculated greatly to further the progress of Indian Art. We hope all Indian artists will compete and make the Exhibition a success.

"Dewali, or the Feast of Lamps."

Mr. Abanindra Nath Tagore's picture of "Dewali, or the Feast of Lamps" is an exquisitely suggestive production. It is an embodiment of purely Indian womanhood. May we take it as a prophetic type of the coming womanhood of India, the inspirer of luminous thoughts and illustrious deeds?

Mr. Tilak on Caste.

We take the following sentence from a recent pronouncement of Mr. Tilak's:—

The idea of superior and inferior castes is foreign to the Hindu religion. Gradation of castes is not supported by Vedic texts. Prevailing ideas of social inequality are working immense evil. Capital is made out of ideas of inequality and class is set against class. Such disintegration of society if unchecked will involve us in utter ruin.

Mr. Tilak may not go so far as the Brahmos and other social reformers, his reasons for condemning the caste spirit may be different from theirs, but this declaration of his views should be welcome to all lovers of social justice and political progress.

The Purulia Leper Asylum.

Purulia is one of the principal towns in Chota Nagpore. There is a Leper Asylum there, of which the Rev. F. Hahn is in charge. On the occasion of the presentation of a Kaiser-i-Hind Medal to Mr. Hahn H. H. the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal thus described the origin of the Asylum:—

"The origin of the Purulia Asylum was a very pathetic incident. Mr. Hoffmann's little girl, who had been on those kindly and intimate terms with the Indian Christians and the people generally which children so easily maintain, was sent home to her own country. When there, she was attacked by a disease which on examination proved to be leprosy, and there seemed to be no reasonable doubt that she contracted it through contact with lepers in Purulia. This moved the heart of her father towards the poor stricken people with whom he had thus by his own child's affection, acquired a sad sympathy, and the Purulia Leper Asylum was started in consequence. On Mr. Hoffmann's death, Mr. Hahn succeeded to the charge of the Asylum. The Purulia Leper Asylum is a village—not a prison. I have visited it more than once while Mr. Hahn was in charge of it, and I have

been struck with the wonderful cleanliness of the place, with its attractive surroundings, with all the efforts that have been made to ameliorate the lot of the suffering people confined in it, with the deep sympathy and kindness shown by Mr. Hahn towards these people and with their cordial response. I have now both in the Central Provinces and in Bengal had a very extensive experience of Leper Asylums, and I am sure that there is no agency that can be entrusted with the care of lepers at all to compare with the agency of the Christian missionaries who voluntarily give themselves to this work."

The praise bestowed on Christian missionaries in this connection is fully deserved. As far as we know, the only Leper Asylum founded and maintained by Indians is the Rajkumari Leper Asylum at Baidyanath-Deoghar. It was established mainly through the efforts of Eabu Jogindranath Bose, B. A., the principal donor being the late Dr. Mahendra Lal Sircar.

"Rama threatening the Ocean-god."

It is related in the Ramayana that when Ravana had carried off Sita, the wife of Rama, to the island of Lanka, the latter encamped on the sea-shore with his army and implored the Ocean-god to give him a passage across the waters. The Ocean-god paying no heed to his prayers, Rama grew angry and, standing full in the light of the flame-coloured morning sun, threatened to shoot at him a weapon called the *Brahmāstra*, which would dry up the waters and destroy all marine creatures. Whereupon the god appeared, bedecked with all the jewellery for which he is famous, and accompanied by the river-deities Ganga (Ganges), Sindhu (Indus), &c., and told Rama how he might cross the Ocean, and thus propitiated him. (See cantos 21, 22, *Yuddha-kanda*). This is the subject of Ravi Varma's picture reproduced in this number. It would almost seem as if the story were an allegorical representation of the truth that Nature is a good servant only when she is forced to give up her secrets; else she is a tyrant.

Sanitation our own Concern.

It is time we called the attention of our countrymen to the question of sanitation, as their own concern. We were, of course, like others, glad to see this question touched upon by the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale in his last budget speech, as one of the claims of the country upon its Government. Nevertheless, we must enter our frank protest against the feasibility or desirability of expecting from the Government everything that we need. It is by feeling our own responsibility for our

own needs, the trust laid upon ourselves for the work of our own country, that we shall grow as a people, to a manly stature.

Let us recognise the fact then, that we have failed up to the present either to solve the problem of sanitation itself, with the social problems that lie behind it, or to bring into being a central bureau, such as we call Governments, with the power and the will to solve it for us. Our indigenous systems did well enough, perhaps, in the days when the Indian population was well scattered over rural areas, a day when the wild lands were acclivitous to every village, and when high-caste men and women with their own hands cleansed threshold and street. But that day has gone, for the present, and another, bringing with it new problems, has dawned. We are now congested in cities. Our women have become accustomed to seclusion. They may leave the house early for the river-bath, but no high-caste woman, born in a city, will with her own hands, wash and brush the space before her door. She rarely sees it, in fact. Consequently, the space within our houses, or at least within such parts as are ruled by women, are marvels of cleanliness: and our streets and lanes, on the other hand, are often the reverse. Again, our villages and country-towns are often so neglected in this respect that on the outbreak of epidemic, the first thought of the people is necessarily to bring the sanitation up to a proper level. Ought we to have waited for disease to remind us of this necessity?

No. The cleansing of our own streets and towns is our own concern, and the sooner we realise this, the better for ourselves. It could not be done by others for us. For in the last resort, we are not children, but mature human beings, with men's power to suffer and to enjoy, to love and to lose.

The anxious care of the householder for cleanliness must embrace, not only the eating place, but also his reception rooms; not only the floor, but also the walls; not only what is seen, but also, and far more particularly and profoundly, the hidden and disagreeable offices. But it must go much further. The street must be kept as clean as the courtyard, the side lane and the gutter as clean as the broad road--and we must be prepared to go the length of feeling that ourselves and our own energies shall pay the forfeit. The old ideals of purity and repose were good in that life and place wherein they grew up. But to meet the new needs, it may be necessary to



RAMA THREATENING THE OCEAN-GOD.

from a photograph of the original
oil-painting by RAVI VARMA.

Photogram* by P. S. JAMES.

change the ideal. Instead of the 'don't touchism' of his fathers, the Brahman of to-day may well strive for a dynamic purity. 'Rather be I myself the scavenger, than live in the midst of putridity.' Better with one's own hands to remove filth, than to submit oneself and one's family to the presence of filth.

The cleansing of land and water that have been defiled, is as essential an act of worship as the choosing of clean land and clean water for the building of the new home.

It is essential that all the intelligence of our people should be concentrated on all the problems of their own country. And of these, there is none more important, or more our own, than that of the cleansing of the place, the purity of air and water, the sanitation of the town and the province, and the questions by whom and by what methods these things are to be brought about.

Genesis of Krishna-worship.

In our July number Sister Nivedita raised the question of the origin of Krishna-worship and of its connection with Mathura. The following extract will show how the problem has been approached most recently by European Orientalists:—

At the Royal Asiatic Society, June 18, Mr. Kennedy read a paper on 'The child Krishna, Christianity, and the Gujars.' The question of the supposed influence of Christianity upon the early development of Hinduism has been recently revived by Dr. Grierson. * * * Mr. Kennedy pointed out that the direct communication between Alexandria and India was severed in 211 A. D., when Christianity was not yet a *religio licita*, and that the few Christian colonies on the sea-board of the Deccan consisted chiefly of foreigners, and were small and insignificant. It was impossible that either Alexandria or the Persian Christians of the Deccan should have exercised any considerable influence upon the popular religion of Northern India. He considered that if Christian influences really affected Northern India, they must have proceeded from the numerous Christian communities which existed in Bactria, &c., from the third century.

Mr. Kennedy proceeded to show that the fundamental idea of the child Krishna as well as many of the legends of his nativity might be traced to this source. He contended that the ancient Krishna of Dwaraka was the Dionysos of the Greek historians, whose worship was confined in the time of Alexander the Great to the Kabul mountains and the Indus valley. The cult of Vishnu as the Supreme Deity was probably developed by the second century A. D.; but the Krishna of Dwarka, the Krishna of the epics, was not identified with Vishnu before the end of the fourth century. On the other hand, the cult of the child Krishna cannot be traced further back than the end of the 5th century or the beginning of the 6th [A. D.]; and it arose in Mathura, a Buddhist city, which had pre-

viously no connexion with Krishna. The youthful Krishna borrowed certain names and feats from the elder Krishna and from his Buddhist surroundings; but he was really suggested by the religious practices of certain pastoral nomads who had a tincture of Christianity. These nomads were to be identified with the Gujars, who founded powerful states in the N.-W. Punjab and in S.-W. Rajputana in the 6th century.

The constant and variable elements of British policy in India.

Indian Mussalmans rejoice at the British professions of patronage and friendship for them and Hindus of a certain type have begun in consequence to feel depressed and complain of the partiality of Government. We do not see any reason for anybody either to exult or feel dejected. For one thing, communities, like nations, "by themselves are made." It is not in the power of any government, least of all an alien government, to make any community really strong and great; and if it were in the power of an alien government, it would not, from selfish motives, use that power. As for the hostility of Government, we must bear in mind the adage, "he who wrestles with us strengthens us." The one constant element of British policy, arising out of the instinct of self-preservation, is the rule that in all walks of life, British domination must be maintained at any cost and by any available means. Britons cannot profess to be the friends of any particular Indian community consistently for any length of time. The profession (never quite so honestly frank as that of Sir B. Fuller) will last long enough to serve the purposes of the *divide et impera* policy. Then a new favourite will come in for caresses. We must beware of these caresses. Frowns tend to develop manhood and honorable conduct; caresses servility and effeminacy.

That British policy is inconsistent and variable is not a surmise of ours. It rests on the high authority of Lord Salisbury. In a minute written by him on April 23, 1875, he says:—

"The other and more serious difficulty is that we have not the power to give permanent force to a new policy. Can we enact that our successors shall do exactly that which we are not doing—forebear from altering their predecessor's work? Sir Louis Mallet notes a long series of inconsistencies in the course of the Indian Government. Have we any grounds for thinking they will cease? They are not merely subjects of reproach; they are a warring of the fashion after which our Indian Government is made. By the law of its existence it must be a government of incessant change. It is the despotism of a line of kings whose reigns are limited by climatic causes to five years. Whatever power exists in England is divided between a council of which the elements are

fluctuating, and a political officer whose average existence amounts to about thirty months. It would be absurd to expect from this arrangement a persistent and systematic policy, if the policy is to depend on the will of the Government. We might indeed commence a new policy with some confidence, if the state of opinion in the service and among Anglo-Indians here was such as to give assurance that it would be sustained; but of that security there is no appearance. Any sharp change of measures would not be a natural development. It would be "Octroye" by the present Government, and would be at the mercy of any succeeding Government to set aside; and another link would be added to the chain of inconsistencies that would present themselves to future criticism."—*Notes on Indian Land Revenue.*

The Press Prosecutions.

Mr. C. Lushington, who had served the East India Company for 27 years, was asked as a witness before the Parliamentary Committee, on 8th March, 1832:—

"988. Is it your opinion that the encouragement of native journals might be made the means of conveying information highly beneficial to the natives of India? Unquestionably; but I would exercise a very close supervision over them, for fear they should be the means of doing mischief to the native army; in fact, the native army is the only body which is to be considered now-a-days with regard to the press. I think the press may continue just as free and just as licentious as Indian politicians may desire, so long as the infection does not spread to the native army. Whilst we have the native army staunch, it does not much signify what newspaper squabbles take place at the presidencies. *** It is mentioned by Sir John Malcolm, in his History of India (1826), that for 35 years a most active circulation of inflammatory papers in the shape of letters, proclamations and prophecies, has been made to the native troops, causing a deep impression, but owing to the difficulty in multiplying copies, the emissaries of sedition did not do much harm. Surely they should be debarred the facilities of a press, under the very eye of Government, in aid of their designs! If the native army be once tainted the empire which we have taken so many years to consolidate may be lost to us in one day; " **

"995. Does it not appear to you that there should be some uniform system adopted with regard to it, [censorship of the press] throughout all the presidencies generally? Yes; I would remove the censorship, because it is hateful to everybody; the very name disgusts people; in fact, we have gone through the ordeal, and as I said before, *as long as the native army is not affected, it does not signify.*" [The italics are ours.]

Mr. James Sutherland, who had been occupied during his residence in Calcutta chiefly in connexion with the press, appeared as a witness before the Parliamentary Committee on the 16th March, 1832. He was asked:—

"1148. During your connection with the periodical press have you known any instance in which writings have been charged as having a tendency to promote sedition or revolt among the native troops? I am not

aware of any instance of the kind." [The italics are ours].

These extracts clearly show that restrictions on the liberty of the press in India have always been meant chiefly to prevent disaffection among sepoys. That is why some Panjab journalists and printers have had ferocious sentences pronounced on them. Let us now see whether at present there is any reasonable excuse for such restrictions. According to the new edition of the *Imperial Gazetteer of India* (1907), on the eve of the sepoy mutiny there were 311,038 native troops and only 39,500 British troops. The strength of the native artillery was 11,526 and that of the British artillery 6,769. The total number of regular British and Indian troops in 1903 was 74,170 and 157,941 respectively, with no native artillery worth speaking of. Mr. Arnold Lupton, M. P., in a paper on "India and Discontent" published in "India" (July 26, 1907) mentions the following as one of the factors which would enable the British to hold India with a much reduced force:—

"4. The improvement in rifles and cannon, making it impossible for any man not similarly armed to withstand our troops, whereas fifty years ago the native armourers could produce weapons equal to ours. Now the only effective weapons are in our hands. Twenty thousand British troops would now be as effective against the natives as sixty thousand fifty years ago."

The other strategic advantages mentioned by Mr. Lupton are railways, high speed steamships and the Suez canal.

Such being the case, sepoys must be mad to mutiny now. So, at present press prosecutions and sedition trials are only modern instances of the old saw, "conscience makes cowards of us all."

Brahman and Kshatriya.

For many centuries we have gone on constantly Brahmanising our society. For it is a fact that cannot be denied that as things are the lowest pariah hanging to the skirts of the Hindu society is in a sense as much the disciple of the Brahman ideal as any priest himself. Not all Hindus, perhaps, may claim to share the rank of the Brahman, but all alike may certainly claim to share his intentions. There appears, however, to be a consensus of opinion amongst us that the time has now come to exercise the other power of our organisation, and rouse to its full energy amongst us the heroic ideal, which must not be confounded with militarism. In proportion as we have all Brahmanised, that is to say, chosen or wished to choose the

life of calm thought, in the past, so, in the immediate future, it is essential that we should all *Kshattriya-ise*, that is to say, become men of courageous and energetic action. This is the cry of the age to us. Its recognition is a prime necessity for each life amongst us that would be active and straight and open and strong.

Thus all things take on new aspects. *Sannyás* is sought no longer in the mountain cave, but on the field of battle, before the gates may be of some doomed city: or in the plague-stricken city, fighting Death within the dark and squalid dwellings of the poor. Sacrifice seems greater than prayer. The joy of death intoxicates the hero. This is indeed the strength of the hero, that when he has suffered, he asks only, in reward, a greater suffering. And indeed we may ask whether all strength is not this,—no longer to fear pain, but rather to embrace it? In love, is it pleasure we ask to share? Or is it suffering? Surely the pursuit of pleasure occupies only a trivial and superficial part of our manifold nature, and equally, the desire for communion in pain may be an overwhelming thirst. When all fear is gone, when at the roar of the battle the flame of joy is lighted in the eyes, when a man runs forward at the call of death, to become one with the Terror, not dreaming of shrinking, then and then alone, have we achieved the worship of the heroic ideal. Then and then alone have we become worthy to be the offspring of that great Primal Force, that *Adya Sakti*, whence we come. *बन्धे मातरम्।*

The spirit in War.

It is the recognised and admitted conclusion in military tactics that *the energy and character of a people* is the final fact to be reckoned with in questions of military and political expansion. This is the factor, and the one factor be it noted, potent to stay the advance of hostile armies. For no army will advance, leaving a nation in its rear which is likely to take adverse action on the situation. The energy and character of a people, this is the supreme question, even for the military officer.

We have reasons to believe that the great problem of army administration in India, of which military authorities are aware, is what may be called the disappearance of the native army. It seems that they have great difficulty in recruiting. There are no doubt *material* reasons why this is so. But we cannot help seeing how even here it is the

spiritual that dominates. Even soldiers, even mercenaries, must be *called by an idea*, must feel the promptings of the heroic idea. They must be free to give, not a part, but the whole of themselves to that idea. When this is so, new races constantly become militarised. Man chooses his weapons in a moment and wields them with precision. Men do not want merely to obey. They cannot live by mere obedience;—that is mere slavery. They want to sacrifice. But in India they cannot have the right!

Rifles given to British and Native troops.

Our statement in the last June number (p. 518) that the sepoy "is not trusted with the same rifle as his European comrade," was challenged in some quarters, though prudently enough not in writing. To such critics we present the extract from Mr. Lepton's paper quoted in another note, as also the following extracts from the new edition of the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. IV:—

The re-armament of the British Infantry with the *Lee-Metford* rifle was completed in 1899 the cavalry having been armed with the *Lee-Enfield carbine* in 1897. In 1900-1 the '303' magazine rifle was introduced for the native army, and the re-armament of the regular troops was completed in 1903-4.

"The native infantry are armed with the *Lee-Enfield rifle*, and the cavalry with this rifle and with swords and lances."

The value of nationality for rich and poor.

We often feel that nationality is often more important for the sake of the rich than for the poor. From the poor it should remove famine. To the rich it ought to bring great opportunities: something to toil and sacrifice for—something for which they can never do enough—something that calls for thousands where they can lay down units—something that enables them to feel their own poverty and smallness and futility. The whole of spirituality is there. Until we have known ourselves poor and feeble, what have we known? How else can we recognise strength?

Law.

We admit the honorable and prominent part that lawyers have played all over the world in the constitutional fight for freedom. But that does not prevent us from thinking that law must cease to be almost the only free profession amongst us. Law unfortunately almost always represents the exploitation of others. It is a terrible thing that a crop of

law suits which bleeds a province to death, should be hailed by some of her most prominent citizens as for their good! It is a terrible thing to come to towns where lawyers and doctors form the bulk of the upper gentry. Yet hitherto theirs have been the only free professions. Therefore the people have chosen their leaders from amongst them.

It is amusing to see the measures by which the Government, noting these facts, has tried to suppress or partially suppress the race. Thinking that law and medicine furnish leaders, it has tried to make law and medicine more difficult! This is very funny. Is it supposed that thus the people will be made to live without leaders, without voice, without thinking organs! Alas, what disillusionment is before those who frame such schemes!

It would be well indeed if we could boycott the law in our civil and social affairs. When we think what even a small district contributes to the revenue yearly, in the form of legal stamps, we realise the need. In order to do this, we might form associations of persons pledged amongst themselves to settle mutual disputes by decision of the association. This being done, the common seal of the society would be stamp sufficient amongst its members, and a large element in our over-taxation would at once be eliminated. Fortunately, great changes like this are brought about step by step. Nothing is more important to India than this elimination of English law as a necessity between Indian and Indian. But along with it must go the exaltation of business, industry, commerce. We cannot afford to be ashamed of soiling our hands. To a far greater extent than is commonly supposed, indeed, we are not ashamed. Engineering and mechanics are professions to which many and many a son of Brahmans and Kshatriyas is proud to belong. The prejudice has been healthy that has kept such from being willing to sink into mere carpenters or potters, so long as these things indicated a want of education. When it becomes known, however, that a highly educated man can solve problems in pottery, in glass-making, in mechanics and in carpentry, that no mere workman could attempt, and when, moreover, it is seen what character and what substantial well-being is the result of such employment of faculty, the prejudice will yield to enthusiasm. Dirty-handed toil will seem the proudest badge of freedom and manhood. The effeminate ideal of shrinking back from impurity will give place to the manly ardour that grapples with every task. There is room in India for millions of fortunes to be

made in business, and in labour. Even a shop-assistant, by mastering thoroughly the standards necessary to his work, should rise to be a man of fortune. And the intensity that is thrown thus into the daily task, chosen with an eye to the national well-being, but carried to the heights of individual success, is none the less *tapasya*, and true *tapasya*, because it results in life instead of death.

The Controversy on Indian Art.

The following note from Mr. U. Ray reached us too late for publication in our last issue:—

"I do not feel called upon to write a formal reply to Mr. Ordhendra Coomarr Gangopadhyay's 'Rejoinder,' but I thank him for having furnished me with an opportunity to vindicate Mr. Tagore. It gives me much pleasure to be able to say that those words about the 'absolute disregard of the forms of the material world,' to which I objected strongly, as showing both Indian Art and Mr. Tagore in a false light, do not occur in Mr. Tagore's original paper in Bengali.

"As to Mr. Gangopadhyay's remarks generally, the only subject about which he seems to differ materially from me is the study of European Art. Mr. Gangopadhyay would not have anything to do with it. At the same time he is good enough to admit that "Indian Art can, with profit and impunity, borrow from her Western sister the mechanical skill—the mastery of draftsmanship." And he concludes with the remark that "If the old Art of India is decrepit or out-of-date, we may invoke the advent of a new form of art, transformed like the serpent from its old coat and bejewelled with rubies gathered from foreign shores." After all this I see no reason why we should not shake hands and be friends. On my part, I want nothing better than this. Only, it does not seem very clear to me, how we are going to take advantage of foreign arts without studying them.

"There is one thing in Mr. Gangopadhyay's 'Rejoinder,' which I have noted with much pain and surprise. He charges me with joking at the expense of sincere Hindus. I very much regret having said anything that could be looked at in this light. I can assure Mr. Gangopadhyay that nothing was farther from my intention than to show disrespect towards any section of my countrymen. And if Mr. Gangopadhyay will kindly point out the offensive passage, I shall be very glad to withdraw and apologise for it.

"I am also charged with trying to 'pour scorn on the idea of nationality in art.' I must confess myself unable to see the justice of such a charge. My idea of nationality may be different from other people's, and it may even be wrong. But such as it is, I honestly try to follow it, and of this any fair-minded critic can satisfy himself from my paper.

"The student of European art can be quite as national as the student of Indian art. But conceding to its fullest extent the importance of nationality in art, I strongly object to making the former the sole factor in determining the scope of the latter. The artist's primary concern is with his own feelings and ideals, and these quite as often as not may have nothing to do with the subject of nationality, but still

may be fit for the noblest artistic expression. Besides, it is quite possible to conceive of an artist whose ideals differ from those of his nation. If such an artist were to play false to his own ideals in deference to those of the nation, he would indeed have lost his birth-right and perhaps not got the proverbial 'mess of pottage' in return.

"Indians to-day are divided into various communities holding materially different views. If any of these communities were to insist on the acceptance of their peculiar views as a condition for the successful study of Indian art, they would thereby be inevitably preventing the others from having anything to do with it."

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

[The Reader must have observed that we publish reviews of books written in English and in a few only of the principal Vernaculars of India. The reason is not that we exclude the other Vernaculars or consider them unimportant, but that we have not been able to secure the help of competent reviewers who will do the work as a labour of love. It is to be regretted that it is not yet possible to place Indian journalism of the kind represented by this review on an entirely commercial basis.—Editor, *Modern Review*.]

ENGLISH.

Report of the Fourteenth Madras Provincial Conference held at Tinnevely, 1906. With an account of the Agricultural and Industrial Exhibition, the Industrial Conference and the Social Conference.

This is a well got-up Report. Many of the speeches are full of useful information. The four memorials to the Secretary of State for India are models of what such documents should be.

Nelson's Indian Readers. First, second and third books. We have not seen better English readers for Indian children. They are well bound, well printed and beautifully illustrated in colours. The lessons have been very carefully graduated and have particular reference to the pictures. The Hints for Teachers at the end are very valuable.

A Primer of Malayalam Literature.

Of the numerous vernaculars of India, Malayalam is one of the less widely spoken and less important ones in the extensiveness and richness of their literature. Even among the Dravidian languages which form the mother-tongues of the people of South India, Malayalam is spoken by not more than 5·43 millions persons. There is hardly any evidence on record which enables us to shed light upon its history. The recent researches of scholars have sufficiently proved that Malayalam had no existence as a separate vernacular in the early times but has been the outcome of the combination of Sanskrit on the one hand and the Dravidian languages, especially the Tamil, on the other. The literature of the Malayalam language is

meagre, extremely meagre when compared with those of the kindred languages, Tamil or Telugu, and there are only two or three Malayalam poets whose productions could challenge comparison with the works of famous Tamil or Telugu bards. These facts do not at all preclude us from making an attempt to understand the thoughts and sentiments, passions and prejudices as expressed in their literature, of a people who have shown a ready receptivity to the influence of modern civilization. In the light of this observation every work, however insignificant it may be, dealing with the history of a people's literature must be welcome to the public as a contribution of sociological interest. Mr. T. K. Krishna Menon, B.A., M.R.A.S., F.R.H.S., has this justification for the publication of his pamphlet entitled the *Primer of Malayalam Literature*. It is written in English and this, no doubt, suggests to our mind that Mr. Menon in introducing his work to the public has in view not so much the desire that his own people (the non-English-knowing Malabaris) should be benefited by it, as that it should be more or less appreciated by the English-knowing public, whether inside or outside Malabar. Having regard to the fact that the problem of educating and enlightening the ignorant masses and bringing them to a comparatively high level of intelligence, has animated the breasts of all thinking men in India, Mr. Menon would have done better if he had written his *Primer* in plain, simple Malayalam so as to be understood by his own people. Mr. Menon's pamphlet traces the origin of the language from a period as early as 3100 B. C. and deals with its subsequent developments and the various stages through which it had to pass. His treatment of the subject is only of a very superficial character. Still, as H. H. Kerala Varma in the introduction to the book says, "a lay reader will hardly miss in the following pages any information he may wish to have concerning Malayalam literature." Mr. Krishna Menon must have taken great pains in collecting materials and arranging the facts in order, and in this, we believe, Mr. Govinda Pillai's excellent work on "*Malayalam Literature*" might have stood him in good stead. In speaking of the growth of Malayalam literature, Mr. Menon observes that in the last hundred years it has had a rapid development. And this he ascribes to the peace and freedom from invasion which the Kerala country has been enjoying after the advent of English rule. Rapid growth, no doubt, there

has been, but we are inclined to believe that the growth has erred on the side of quantitative development rather than on the quality and purity of the productions. With one or two exceptions all the works of the recent poets and writers of Malayalam fall immeasurably below the standard of perfection attained by those of Thunjan and Cherusseri and others of their age. But there are at present healthy signs which indicate an antagonism to the growth of corrupt and trashy literature, and it can very well be hoped that the exertions in this direction of men like Mr. Menon will go a long way towards the uplifting and development of the Malayalam language.

Annual Report on the Search for Hindi Manuscripts for the year 1904. By Syamsundar Das, B.A., Honorary Secretary, Nagari Pracharini Sabha, Member, Asiatic Society of Bengal, &c., &c. Published under the authority of the Government of the United Provinces, Allahabad: printed at the United Provinces Government Press, 1907, Price Rs. 2-0-0.

This report, interesting and important like its predecessors, embodies the result of a "further examination of the Library of His Highness the Maharaja of Benares. In all 177 Manuscripts of 156 books were noticed during the year."

The author writes of the most glorious period of Hindi literature that "the combination of religious fervour with natural genius produced in Hindi the greatest poetic masters, who stand unsurpassed and even unequalled up to this time." It is noteworthy that religious revival was at the bottom of literary revivals in Mahārāshtra and Bengal, too. The student of literary history may enquire whether this was the case in European countries also or not.

We have noticed some misprints or wrong spellings here and there, e.g., 'Ramagyanodaya' for 'Rāmājñānodaya,' 'Kāsta Jihvā' for 'Kāstha Jihvā,' "Jakti Ramayana" for 'Jukti Ramayana,' 'Hanumata Bhukhana' for 'Hanumat Bhukhana,' &c. We do not think it correct to spell Non-Sanskrit names like "Usman," "Shekh Hasan," "Gulab," &c., as "Usamana," "Sekha Hasana," "Gulaba," &c.

The next report on the manuscripts found in Bundelkhand promises to be very interesting.

HINDI

Hamāri Pūrāṇin Jyotish.—This is a small pamphlet on the ancient astronomy of India by Babu Thakur Prasad Khatri of Benares. It professes to refute the popular notion that the ancient Indians owed their astronomy to the Greeks. Taking up the elementary principles and a few details of the science, the writer proves with the help of quotations from Sanskrit books written long before the advent of the Greek influence into India that these things were known to Sanskrit writers independently of any foreign

help. The author has also quoted the views of some western scholars in support of his theory. The book is full of useful information and Babu Thakur Prasad deserves encouragement for the pains he has taken in collecting all the facts and figures embodied in his pamphlet.

Sunārī.—This is another small book by the same author. It is a short essay on the art of the goldsmith. Methods of refining gold, of separating the genuine metal from its alloy and other kindred matters are explained in it. The chief merit of the book consists in the fact that the author attempts to induce the goldsmiths of his country to adopt the progressive methods known and followed in other parts of the world. Nothing is more needed for the progress, spread and stability of our Indian arts and industries than that we should be not lagging behind, but try to assimilate all that the progressive western countries have learnt and so usefully employed in their arts and industries. From this standpoint, if from none other, the book deserves all encouragement. Had the book been written in a simpler style it would have proved of immense value, as the goldsmiths of India as a class are illiterate, and it is necessary that the language should not be a bar in the way of their understanding the subject matter. We welcome the book and hope it will meet with the patronage it deserves.

Yuropiṇa Darshan.—This is a history of western philosophy written in Hindi by Sahityacharya Pandit Ramavatar Pande, M.A., and published by the Nagri-Pracharini Sabha of Benares. The printing is neat and the matter appears to be well arranged. It is a matter of regret that the author has thought fit to compress the whole history of western philosophy into a small Hindi book of some 200 pages. Although we plead for a larger volume on this subject it does not necessarily mean that the book is wanting in merit. The book is divided into three parts dealing with the ancient, the medieval and modern systems of philosophy and all the salient points of each period have been well dealt with. The book has been published under the patronage of the Raja Sahib of Bhinga and is the third of the series of books published by the Sabha on philosophical subjects. May we point out that the language is rather stiff from the standpoint of a popular book on the subject? Of course the technical words are mostly Sanskritic. It would have enhanced the value of the *Darshan* if the language had been simplified.

Vikramank-deva-charit-charcha.—Pandit Mahavir Prasad Dvivedi is an author of repute in Hindi and he has opened up a new phase in modern Hindi Literature by his critical essays of a high standard. Although there may be difference of opinion on certain points of criticism, yet it must be admitted to the credit of Mr. Dvivedi that he is, by these attempts of his, doing

a great service to Hindi Literature. This *charcha* is a recent attempt of his of a similar nature. It deals with the Sanskrit Vikramank-deva-charit of Vilhana.

Vikramank-deva, a prince of the Solanki race, ruled in the country of the Maharastras between 1076 and 1126 A.D. He had a liking for letters and was a patron of poets. The Kashmiri poet Vilhana flourished at his court and wrote this book to show his gratitude to the king. Although strictly speaking this is not a biography of the Solanki prince, like so many others, yet it no doubt throws some light on the social and political condition of that part of India during the eleventh century of the Christian era. From a literary point of view also the work is remarkable.

Pandit Mahavir Prasad Dvivedi has done ample justice to the Sanskrit poet. He has pointed out his merits, and to his defects also he is quite naturally not blind. In fact in some places he has taken the poet to task for his supposed plagiarisms. Quoting a number of parallel passages from Kalidas, the Hindi critic has attempted to show that Vilhana had drawn upon the elder poet for many of his images and similes. Every parallelism is not necessarily an imitation, it is not necessarily an evidence of conscious borrowing from the earlier poet. But perhaps Pandit Mahavir Prasad Dvivedi does not believe in such a thing as chance coincidence or an unconscious reminiscence. Mr. Dvivedi has also discussed in a scholarly way the historical value of the book, and on the whole we must congratulate him on his production.

Saw Ajan aur ek Sujan.—This is a small tale written in an easy, chaste and attractive style by Pandit Balkrishna Bhatt of Allahabad, the veteran Hindi writer of the old school. The tale is a tale with a purpose, and that purpose is expressly didactic. It is of the type of Edgeworth's moral tales and may well serve the purpose for which it is intended. But it must be said that the interest of Pandit Balkrishna's book suffers from dwelling too much on details. The story in brief is that two sons of a rich banker fall in evil society and in evil ways after the death of their father. They are on the verge of ruin owing to the evil consequences of their reckless actions, when they are saved by the timely intercession of an old and faithful friend of their father's.

It is a regrettable feature of modern Hindi that it has no literature worth the name for children. There are of course the Hindi text-books and a few others, but that is not sufficient. Books of the wrong kind and bad books are to be found in any number and they manage to find their way into the hands of the unthinking children and adults and do to their minds not a little injury. It behoves parents to encourage books of the type of Pandit Balkrishna Bhatt's tale. We commend the book to the attention of parents.

X.

GUJARATI.

The Niti Vachan of Manu (or the moral precepts of Manu) Part I, by Chhaganlal Vidyaram Raval: Printed by the United Printing Press Co., Ahmedabad. Paper bound. Pp. 48 : price 0-1-0 (1906).

This is a translation from the Marathi. It embodies some of the finest precepts of Manu on the various walks of Hindu life—both *Sansar* and *Samaj*. It is an extremely slender brochure, but for the truth it contains, it should be considered worth its weight in gold. We think all little boys and girls in schools should be made to learn and understand such precepts.

A History of the rise of the Muhammadans in political and literary matters, and the causes of their decline, by Mahbub Aliyan Imam Baksh Kadri, B.A., L.L.B., Subordinate Judge of Chip'ur, Ratnagiri District: published by the Gujarat Vernacular Society of Ahmedabad. (1906). pp. 70. Paper bound. Price 0-2-0.

The book is not of large dimensions, but we have thought fit to notice it for two or three reasons. We have had only very recently to review a small Gujarati book written by a Muhammadan gentleman of Ahmedabad, and the present work only adds to our gratification that in spite of the cry of sectarian "patriotism" of each one for himself, Hindu for Hindu, and Muhammadan for Muhammadan, it is possible to find gentlemen, who do not scorn to use the vehicle of the Hindus, Gujarati in this particular case, for the expression of their ideas. The second fact is that this book is one of a series, which has been financed by Memon Haji Suleman Shah Muhammad Zodhia, himself a writer, a native of Kathiawad, but long resident in Cape Town, South Africa, as a merchant. Here is a Muhammadan gentleman, giving money for the encouragement of Gujarati literature, followed happily by another, who gives him back the full value of his money. The Gujarat Vernacular Society, under whose auspices the book has been published, deserve congratulations on the selection of the writer. At the best the work is but an epitome of the subject, but what strikes us most is the remarkable way in which a complete survey is taken, in such a small compass, of the rise and fall of Mahomedan supremacy and civilization, in its different centres; Asia Minor, India, Africa, Spain, and Turkey in Europe. The civilizing work of the Moors as exemplified in the Universities of Toledo and Seville and Cordova or in the architectural beauties of the Alhambra, or the graceful influence of the Moors on the manners and customs of India, are all treated in such a connected and all-embracing manner and withal in such simple language, that one cannot grudge the author his meed of praise. The subject is very vast and volumes have been written on it in European languages. The present work is a digest, no doubt, of them, taken from Urdu sources, but in doing so Mr. Kadri has shown a strong grasp of his subject. The causes of the decline, viz., luxury, fanaticism, sloth,

indulgence, &c., are also unsparingly set out, and we have found the little book altogether a very enjoyable one.

Chandra Raman or the Labyrinth of Love. A comic drama in five acts, by N. Pranjivan Dave, M.A., Professor of Logic and Moral Philosophy, Samaldas College, Bhavnagar. Shambhu Printing Press, Palitana, pp 127. Stiff-paper cover, price 1-0-0 (1906).

Measure for Measure, or Do in Rome as the Romans do. by the same Author. (Illustrated). British India Steam Press, Bombay and State Printing Press, Bhavnagar, pp 114, stiff paper cover. Price 1-0-0 (1906).

Mr. N. P. Dave has already won his spurs in the field of literature under the *nom de plume* of "Kathia-wadi" as the first translator into Gujarati of Emerson's Essays, and the writer of "Chanda" and "Sundar and Vidyanand." He has now projected a series of translations of Shakespeare's plays into Gujarati. We possess an old translation of "Two gentlemen of Verona," and several adaptations have been made by Parsi writers of Romeo and Juliet, Othello, Hamlet, &c., but we have yet to get a complete series on the lines chalked out by Mr. Dave. We have had three plays from his pen till now, Julius Cæsar, Othello and Measure for Measure. The first of the two books under review is an adaptation of All's Well that Ends Well, and the second, a translation of Measure for Measure. The execution of both is good. The latter is prefaced with a learned introduction on the "plot" of the play and a discussion on the dramatic personæ, somewhat in the strain of the criticism which we see in Mrs. Jameson, Dowden, Gervinus, and other Shakespeare scholars. To purely Gujarati readers, the introduction and the discussion must prove very instructive. The books have been published through the support of the Maharaja of Bhavnagar and his Diwan, who take an interest in literary matters.

Silsilaye-uraiya zuja, or the first Islami Book, by Syed Burhan-ud-din Abdulla Mujan Uraizi, Jayanti Printing Press, Ahmedabad, (1907). Paper bound, pp 28. Price 0-2-0.

The Muhammadans of Gujarat and Kathiawad, although they learn Arabic and Urdu for religious purposes, are mostly conversant with Gujarati, the language of the province, and taking advantage of the circumstance Mr. Uraizi has thought of publishing a series of Books in Gujarati, treating of the practice and principles of Islam. He has transcribed the prayer or recitation portion of the Arabic text in Gujarati characters, and side by side explained the ritual to be followed. This is but the beginning of the series, and it comprises as yet the initial part of the practice only. We have our doubts whether it would prove of use to those for whom it is intended. Firstly because, much of what is set out here—as to the ways of ablution (*Wazu*), as to the genuflexions (*Rukaât*) at the time of the *Namaz*—generally forms part of the home or religious education of every Muhammadan child, and secondly because, with the foundation and prospering of the many Urdu Government Schools, which at present dot the province, any necessity which might be said to have existed some years back for such a Manual, has vanished now. But the reason why we have thought it proper to allude to it here, is that it adds one more book to the list—a very slender one—of Gujarati books written by Muhammadans, and that because, it gives an insight to the purely Gujarati reader, into the ritualistic practices of Islam. This itself is an interesting study, and even at the threshold of it, we find in this little Book certain practices to be observed, laid down with a minuteness, and required to be gone through with a fervour of faith, which would carry comfort to the heart of any Hindu, that he alone is not a stickler for forms, but that Islam too seems to lay some stress on the external side of religious observances.

K. M. J.

BENGALI.

Epictetuser Upadesh: or the Precepts of Epictetus translated into Bengali by Jyotirindranath Thakur. The Precepts of Epictetus require no new commendation, and Babu Jyotirindranath Thakur is a well-known Bengali author and the most eminent of Bengali translators. The book under review has been translated with his usual accuracy and felicity of style, and deserves a wide circulation.



CHRIST IN GETHSEMANE.

By HEINRICH HOFMANN.

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THE PLACE OF PHILOSOPHY IN EDUCATION

MANY misconceptions prevail as to the office of philosophy in life. To some it is an interesting pastime, an acquaintance with a few philosophical teachings being one of the elements which go to make up what is called "culture," that is to say, intellectual refinement and distinction. To others it is a useless playing with the facts of life, degenerating, in many instances, into hair splitting and mental gymnastics. To a third party it provides only another vent for the innate sectarianism and opinionative arrogance of mankind; while to others, again, there seems to be a fundamental and necessary separation between the active and the philosophic life. A man must be either an actor or a thinker. He cannot be both. We are living in a "practical" age, which calls imperatively for action; therefore philosophy has no place in modern life.

All these estimates show an imperfect conception both of the meaning and of the value of philosophy. The present writer would like to do something, if possible, to remove this mistaken idea, since he feels very strongly that India, which has been nurtured on philosophy for so many thousand years, stands in need, now more than ever, of the stimulus and uplifting power of philosophic thought, when she is called upon to face some of the most difficult and harassing problems of life. For it is in a crisis that philosophy is most needed. In the smoother hours of life we may progress without mishap, although we be conscious of no guiding principle. But when difficulties arise and the future is dark and uncertain, we desire to be led and we turn to the teachings of those who have meditated on life and striven to solve its riddles, or, better still, to our own minds.

There will be some of my readers who will imagine at this point, perhaps, that as an Englishman I naturally desire that Indians should be thinkers rather than actors. A thinker is harmless; a man of action may be dangerous.

Such a view rests, once more, on the mistaken conception of philosophy which I desire to remove. A man of action is not weakened but strengthened, if his activities be founded on a clear and sound basis of thought. If there be any question of "danger," such a man becomes a thousandfold more dangerous, because he rests his claims on truth and on the common consciousness of mankind. The world is ruled by ideas. In the present age new ideas are battling against the old. It is absurd to identify national movements with particular individuals or particular events. To do so is to lose sight of the wonderful rhythmical ebb and flow of the world-spirit, which carries one nation forward and another back and bears society on its flood into new and strange environments, to which it must needs adapt itself. What Darwin said of the individual organism is true of societies and nations. They are constantly being called upon to accommodate themselves to new conditions; and, when we analyse these conditions, we find that they are simply new ideas.

To accommodate oneself to an idea is to understand it and so master it. For the human mind is by nature greater than any idea. The leaders of men have always been those who have penetrated the secret of their age. And so they naturally seem to us to be the generators rather than the mediæ of great movements. Yet, all the while, they are only the agents in which the idea has manifested

itself. Through understanding they have become masters.

To look with the eye of a master on life, to grasp the trend of events and see them all as parts of an orderly scheme, is the privilege of the true philosopher. Philosophy does not mean a study: study is only the means to an end. It does not mean floating in abstractions when the feet should be firmly planted on the ground. It means simply understanding, comprehension. If we remember that all our actions depend upon principles, expressed or implied,—that the practical syllogism of the pleasure-loving man, for instance, is "pleasure is the highest aim of man: this thing is pleasant; therefore I will do it"—it will be seen how the whole value of a man's life depends upon the proper ordering of his first principles. Philosophy consists first of all in self-analysis; we must bring to light the latent principles of our lives: and then in reflection and comparison; having brought those principles into consciousness, we must see if there be not others which are higher, which we ought to substitute for them. We must also see if on any given principle a complete and satisfactory philosophy of life can be founded. This is the reason why philosophers, as a class, have rejected such generalizations as "fame is the highest end" or "wealth is the ultimate desideratum"; for they realize that no all-embracing theory of human life can rest on such foundations. This severance between the philosophic and the common consciousness of mankind,—between the multitude of seekers after pleasure, or fame, or power, or wealth, and the few who, through reflection, have realized the worthlessness of these things—has brought about a quite fictitious separation between philosophy and practical life. Philosophy has come to be thought "unpractical." It is the province of "dreamers." Philosophers, themselves, have perhaps aided the separation by insisting on the contrast, rather than on the essential union between the two lives. Wearied and disgusted with an unperceptive world, they have too often urged the complete severing of all worldly ties. The true philosopher, they say, must lead the life of pure contemplation;—the real solution being that contemplation only attains to its full actualization and reality when it becomes the moulding influence in daily life.

It is of philosophy as such a moulding influence that I would speak. It has often struck me that half the difficulties experienced by the young generation of Indians at the present time is due to the fact that

events and movements, which call for philosophic interpretation, are stirring all round them and yet the interpretation is not forthcoming. It is a truism to say that we stand too close to contemporary events to be able to judge of them, that we need distance and perspective in order to form a correct estimate. Yet this is only true, if we would judge of events in detail. There is one method of approaching them, and that is to "get behind" them, to found our philosophy of life on principles so broad that they will include all the particulars which may arise. The man who stands on the plain can see only a little way. He who stands on the hill-top may carry his eye over the surrounding country and see everything in its right relation. In the same way the man who lives from moment to moment has no correct perception of the relations of things. He is swept away by every passing breeze. But the man who founds his philosophy on the whole of life, in its relations to eternity and the destiny of man, will see with a calm eye, like the Greek poet of whom it was said that he "saw life steadily and saw it whole."

Perhaps in India, too, there has been too great a separation between the life of thought and the life of action. The common conception of the philosopher in India is of the *Yogi*, who has foresworn the life of men. Meditation has been put above action. The reason, of course, is simple enough. It is held that, unless a man withdraw himself from all worldly ties, he cannot attain to the highest insight; that the life of the body and the life of the spirit are incompatible. The reaction towards more practical views of life, which we observe at the present day, is, in many cases, the direct outcome of this attitude towards philosophy. Practical interests demand our attention, it is said. The philosophic life will have nothing to do with matters practical. Therefore we must devote ourselves to action and cease to philosophize.

I think I am not wrong in saying that this is the position taken up by most young men to-day. The pressing problems of the day are practical—political, commercial, economical. These belong essentially to the "world." Any suggestion, therefore, which seems to hint at activities, which popular conception associates with the *Yogi* and the hermit, is met with a not unnatural impatience. "We have work to do. We have no time for these things," is the response.

In answer to this, we have only to dismiss the conventional ideas of philosophy, which suggest a dreamy remote existence and a

fondness for abstruse metaphysical subtleties, and substitute for them the conception of it as that which provides men with firm, ennobling and reasoned first principles of conduct, and the difficulty disappears. Metaphysical hair-splitting may well be left to the professional Pandit or Shastri. The world will not be the poorer. But I do insist that the present apathy shown towards their magnificent ancestral philosophy by young Indians rests on an entire misunderstanding of the meaning and office of philosophy. I have seen enough of Indian boys and young men to know that they are not unreceptive of ideals. On the contrary, not only are they most of them by nature idealists, but they are ready, in many cases, to sacrifice personal comfort and advantages for the sake of an idea. I have seen many instances of men who have consented to live on a miserable pittance in order the better to help on some public cause. Some of these men are household names in India. It is not to such that I would appeal, for such are the true philosophers, the "precious life-blood" of a nation. If the feeling which animates such men spread itself through the nation, then all our talk about philosophy becomes idle, because that feeling is the essence of all philosophies. Simply to shout with the majority and to break through law and order out of bravado commands no respect. Why not? Firstly, because such conduct is due to the absence, rather than to the presence, of thought; and secondly, because it entails neither pluck nor self-sacrifice. It is the easiest thing to do and it is likely to gain a cheap and flattering esteem. But before the man who sacrifices his own interests for the sake of an idea every head must bow.

This is the spirit which makes a great nation and the only way in which it can be cultivated is by putting before young men from early boyhood such teaching as will show them, in the clear light of reason, what are the true ideals. Let them, as I said above, have the right principles placed before them from the beginning. Let them see things in their proper proportions, so that they may be able to distinguish the relative value of different ends of life. In this way they will see that what we commonly call "self-sacrifice" is only self-sacrifice from the vulgar point of view, because that which is gained is really nobler than that which is lost.

The task of anyone who would endeavour to impress these views upon young men is rendered far easier when he is addressing Indians. In the first place, he has the best of

materials on which to work, a nation which has been accustomed for ages to the atmosphere of high thought and high ideals, and which, more than any other nation has enriched and ennobled the thought of the world. In the second place, in pleading for philosophy, he has not to provide them with a philosophy; for they have one already which is capable of proving a guide and a strengthener to them in all the vicissitudes of life. Much has been written in praise of Indian philosophy. The greatest of European thinkers have drawn from its stores. The history of Idealism is almost the history of the percolation of the Vedanta through the world. One thing only would I like to emphasize, which distinguishes Indian philosophy from all other philosophies, and that is its insistence upon the law that purification of the Self is the only preparation for the attainment of truth. Thus in India alone the saint has been the philosopher and the philosopher the saint by a natural process of causation. The thoughts which are embodied in the philosophical books of their country are, therefore, the fruit, not only of the profoundest minds, but of the greatest characters. To imbibe those thoughts cannot, then, but have an ennobling influence on the character of the student. Following the same process of cause and effect, it is clear that, in order properly to comprehend them, he must endeavour to rise to the spiritual level of their authors. Thus it is in India that philosophy and religion are one and the same thing. In the West the thinker is the enemy of religion. In the East he is its friend; more than his friend, rather, for the two things are one.

What I should like, therefore,—and what the various schemes for National Education, which are being put forward now-a-days, show that many thinking Indians would like,—is that the simple principles of the great philosophy of India should be taught to all boys from the earliest years. What better preparation for life could there be if a boy were impressed from the commencement of his education with the teachings of *Karma yoga*? If he be of a devotional frame of mind, let him be taught early to find some object of devotion and to practise towards it the precepts of *Bhakti yoga*. If he learn, too, the value of control of mind and senses, he will try to put it into practice. Above all things, the study of philosophy should be made easy, not difficult. Broad principles should be inculcated and the chief and first attention should be paid to character. In this way

the philosophy of India might still do to-day what it has done for many ages, namely, breathe into the minds of Indians high and inspiring ideals of life. After all, it is the greatest of national possessions. Take away the thought and the spirituality of India, and what is left? Encourage it, and this will be the surest and swiftest way to effect that end for which all Indians are longing, that India should once more be a great nation.

There is a perceptible reaction now-a-days in India towards old ideals of life. The temporary revolution of thought, caused by the first introduction of Western education, is beginning to subside, and on all sides we see a recrudescence of essentially national ideas. In the *Gurukula* academy at Kangri we have an attempt to revive the ancient Aryan system of education; in the Central Hindu College, Indian philosophy is being daily taught. Only in Government Colleges has there been up to the present no response to this new spirit. It is to be hoped, however, that before long a definite move will be made towards the nationalising of all education according to Indian principles and Indian ideas. At present most of our boys, who wish to get on in life, prefer to go to a Government College. Supposing nothing is done for these in the way of philosophic and religious instruction on Indian lines, still much might be done by the organizing of lectures and classes. There are thousands of men sufficiently well versed in Indian philosophy to be able to give instruction on the broad and ethical lines which have been here suggested. Many could do a useful work, in their leisure hours, by

writing simple text books in the vernaculars. The establishment of central agencies, too, for the diffusion of religious and philosophic knowledge would be no difficult task.

Whatever may be the means, which may suggest themselves as the most suitable to those who are interested in the upbringing of youth, there can be no doubt as to the benefit to be derived by all young students from a proper realization at an early age of the problems and ideals of life. Let it once and for all be understood that a study of philosophy does not conflict with, but enormously assists practical life; that, in short, practical life becomes a meaningless and haphazard thing without the help of a larger reflection. If India is ever to be great practically, she will become great by resting her national life on broader principles than those of other nations. The principles are there, thought out and confirmed by hundreds of great minds. They only need to be applied and used. The possibilities of human nature are as great now as in the days of the *Rishis*. Where there is philosophy (in the broadest sense) great men will be sure to be found. And great men, by one of the unalterable laws of the world, not only enforce respect but control events. First be, and all things will come to you. Such is the teaching of the Indian sages. But if we neglect character and do not strive to base our life on noble ideas, how can we expect anything? The same law applies to all nations. It is especially important in the case of a nation which is striving to burst out into a new life and to take an honoured place in the world.

E. A. WODEHOUSE.

“HOW TO HELP”

FROM—RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE, Editor of the *Modern Review*, Allahabad, India.

TO—WILLIAM T. STEAD, Esq., Honorary Secretary and President of the League of Help, and Editor of the *Review of Reviews*, London, England.

SIR,—Ever since I began this *Review*, in January last, I have had under consideration your scheme of *How to Help*, and have been desirous of writing to you that both my *Review* and myself were whole-heartedly at

the service of the noble ideals which your pamphlet of appeal so ably propounded.

But as I read and re-read your formulation of necessities, I feel more and more strongly and clearly that you have only been in a position to state the case of the West, and in the West that of the English peoples. That statement would need considerable re-modelling and expansion, in order to represent the programme which an Indian Editor, as sincere and as progressive as yourself, might, in his different circumstances, be willing to take as his banner of advance.

I here repeat your synopsis of the Fivefold Ideal of the *Review of Reviews*:—

1. International brotherhood on the basis of justice and national freedom, manifesting itself in universal *entente cordiale*, Anglo-American re-union, inter-colonial intimacy and helpful sympathy with subject races; and international arbitration.
2. The Re-union of all Religions on the twofold basis of the Union of all who Love in the Service of all who Suffer, and the scientific investigation of the law of God as revealed in the material and spiritual world.
3. The recognition of the Humanity and Citizenship of Woman, embodied in the saying, Whatsoever ye would that woman would do unto you, do ye even so unto her.
4. The Improvement of the Condition of the People, having as our guiding principle, "Put yourself in their place and think how you would like it."
5. The quickening and inspiration of Life, by the promotion of reading, physical training, open air games, and the study and practice of music and the drama.

1. Let us take the first of these, the ideal of international brotherhood. As Indians, my readers and myself can but feel that the very mouthing of so large a principle is too ambitious for us. The utmost to which we might venture to pledge ourselves would be **Nationalism for all nations as a means to Internationalism**. That is indeed our ideal, and in saying "Our," I believe I speak for every member of my own vast race throughout the length and breadth of India, every member, that is to say, who has political consciousness at all, no matter to what religious creed, or to what political party, he may belong. As to how that Nationalism is to be achieved, as to precisely what it shall mean, we look confidently to the divine leading to show us. Some expect it through one means, and some through another. But as to the ideal itself, all are agreed. We hold that there is a great international life of thought and action, of whose glory Humanity as yet has caught but faint and feeble glimpses. To this life belong religion, science, art, education, the ennobling and intensifying of civilisation, and the progressively wise and just use of all the material resources of the earth in the service of all men. This internationalism would necessarily be non-militant. It could not be realised at all without first forgetting the whole code of militancy. But this part of the ideal must be asserted by militant and organised peoples, who have a militancy to renounce, not by those who are at present denied recognition as a nation.

You must remember here that we are not only a disarmed, we are also an unrepresented people. There are 300 millions of us, and yet one whole division of the means of help which you point out to your readers, is shut off from us. We have no member of Parliament, whom we might bombard with suggestions. In the Council of the English Viceroy we have, it is true, often eight Indian members but they are all nominated by the Governor-General; though, no doubt, four of them are nominated on the recommendation of the non-official members of the local Legislative Councils at Madras, Bombay, Calcutta and Allahabad, and are known as 'elected' members. And there is only one occasion in the whole year—the day on which the year's budget is laid before the Council, when these members have an opportunity of voicing the opinion of the nation, as to what are, from our point of view, the most desirable channels of expenditure. And when all this is done, it is not the Executive, but only the Legislative, Council, before which even so impotent a statement can be made! The Government is always in a majority in the Legislative Council, and no member can propose any resolution or divide the Council.

A few years ago (1904), an educational measure was before this Council, a measure which the whole of politically conscious India was bitterly united in opposing. Day after day, inch by inch, point by point, the measure was contested in committee by one 'elected' Indian member (the Hon'ble G. K. Gokhale), backed by some other 'elected' and even nominated members. The official side generally counts sixteen members, however (besides the Viceroy), to eight 'elected' and nominated Indians and so it can always count on a standing majority. Did the Indian opposition then, rob the bill of any of its terrors? Not one tooth or claw the less for all our fighting it went through. And can you blame our nationalists if they tell you that after this sinister object-lesson India knew that her so-called representation was a farce?

I have mentioned this, merely to show you the divergent view which we must necessarily hold regarding the exercise of much that seems to you the natural right of every human being. There is no need, I believe to refer to the Partition of Bengal carried out in the face of a national opinion unprecedented for its volume and its intensity, in any country in the world. There was only one point of radical difference between our political demonstrations and those which might have occurred

in the West. Ours were rigidly orderly and constitutional. They showed no violence. We are indeed a unit; and so far we have been an elephantine unit,—as large, as powerful, and as docile as that animal. But even the elephant may have his hour of exasperation and madness. **It is whispered that your people have yet another intention. They will divide India herself into two viceroyalties. The exploitation of Burmah proceeds apace. Possibly the exploitation and ultimate annexation of Independent Siam must be arranged for. The business at the centre is too much for a single head. Assam, carrying East Bengal, and Burmah, will be made into one Government, while the rest stands as at present. Two Indias, with two Viceroys, to be the answer to our assertion of the unity of India! But this may never be carried into effect; for after all the sanity of the elephant is an unknown quantity.**

Yes, though the sanity of the elephant is an unknown quantity, on the 1st of November, 1907, "The Prevention of Seditious Meetings Act" has been added to the Indian Statute Book, effectually gagging public opinion in proclaimed areas, and, in a country where the privacy and sanctity of the home are most jealously guarded, making every private dwelling where more than twenty persons are assembled liable to be raided by perhaps the most corrupt and tyrannical police in the civilized world!—on the 1st of November, on which date forty-nine years ago Queen Victoria proclaimed all Indians, subject to her sway, free citizens of the British Empire.

As we see ourselves, we have all the essentials for the making of a nation. We do not believe that a greater depth of the moral instincts is any real drawback in the evolution of communities. We have been taxed as one, for a hundred and fifty years, more or less. It was hardly to be expected that we should remain permanently blind to our own unity in other respects. We have one home. We are brought face to face daily with one common economic circumstance. One language, and that not English, carries a man from end to end of the country. We have not one religion, but neither are we noticeably wanting in common sense. We belong to a single great civilisation. We are of a common turn of mind. Your race has held our country for a century and a half, knowing how to use *our* courage and *our* arms. We have everything that should be stimulating to national pride, great literature, great history, great architecture, great systems of thought.

In what are we deficient? Nay, we have more than all this. We believe that as in the past, so also in the future, the Indian people have a great part to play in the Evolution of Humanity. We believe that noble duties await us. That without INDIA, the world must remain for ever infinitely poorer. Thus you will understand that, whether by means of a political struggle, or by industrial and commercial warfare, or by other self-organisation not embraced under these heads, or, as some think, by all such processes together, the achievement of Indian Nationalism, is the only ideal to which, under your first head, I could sincerely pledge my paper and myself.

2. With regard to the second of the ideals which you propound, we believe with you that the organizing of religion into a vast aggression upon the sphere of human sorrow and need, without detracting from its ancient power to include seers and saints—the apostles of science and the apostles of love—may be accepted as a statement of the main purpose of our striving. We believe that this is the programme for all faiths, as much as for our own. The Mohammedan is as capable of consolidating his church for the good of its own children and the world outside, as the Hindu, and the Hindu as the Christian. This is a duty and a call which to our mind concerns the old orthodox party in each faith as closely as its young sects of reformers. And it is a form of self-organisation which in all cases equally is detached from any idea of propagating the faith as such. The best propaganda that can be employed by any creed lies in the volume of effort which it can dedicate to Humanity.

In India at any rate we have never had a period in which the growth of science was regarded askance as possibly dangerous to truth. It is our prayer as a people that we may never lose this glory of regarding all knowledge as beatitude.

3. In your statement of the ideal as regards woman, we are at one with you. The deepening and modernising of the education of woman, not because she is woman, but because she is a human being,—with all the needs and rights and dignity and powers of a human being,—we believe to be one of the great problems of our time. This education will make woman more deeply and variously serviceable to Society as a whole. Yet we do not hold that such service constitutes the reason for her claim to it. A human being, as we believe, is primarily soul and mind, and only secondarily body, and the first and chief of human rights

is the right to be the highest of which we are capable. As regards citizenship, we believe, for the matter of that, that only in the apprehension of the civic ideal by woman can man himself come to realise the true meaning of citizenship.

We do not quite enjoy your way of framing the climax of your desires for the good of woman. "Whatsoever ye would that woman should do unto you, do ye even so unto her also," has a touch of the egotistical and a touch also of the grotesque about it, to our Oriental ears. But we think we understand your meaning, and in that we are heartily with you.

4. In your fourth principle, the enunciation of the ideal as regards the Condition of the People, we note with interest your very curious omission of the animal world. We cannot but think that this, too, deserves some place in the scheme of constructive ideals which you propound. And this is the more true of us in India, since we are here entering on the era of organised and consolidated problems, when any act of cruelty will be multiplied by the vast extension of whatever circumstance first gave it birth, and when at the same time the long decay of our old civic habits, under a foreign bureaucracy, has deadened in us both the feeling of responsibility and the knowledge of how to act.

With regard to the Condition of the People, we cannot permit ourselves to think of ourselves as separate from them. We belong to the People. As such we are hurling ourselves upon the great new developments of modern industrial life, as fast as may be. It is our poverty and our defencelessness that compel us. Only too well do we know some of the cruelties and perplexities that await us beyond the Rubicon of Transition. Yet the cry of our land and her need drive us into the struggle. Who can see how it is to end? How blind is Humanity at the best of times! Nevertheless, there is but one battle-cry—"For God and the People!"—but one order, 'Forward!'—and for each one of us but one vow to be taken—the sweeping away of privileges, so far as in us lies. 'Here do we stand. We can no other. So help us God!'

5. In so far as it is your aim to make life deeper and higher, by the promotion of reading, physical training, open air games, and the study and practice of music and the drama, we are entirely agreed. Yet again I venture to think that your formulation of these aims is somewhat limited by the knowledge of your local needs and problems. In India, we rather require the freeing and extension of education than the promotion of reading. We need the cheapening and democratising of all the highest opportunities. We require, in short, the re-nationalising of our life, according to our own conceptions of what that process may involve. And this, I take it, is only a more comprehensive way of stating what you also want.

If, then, the ideal be in truth five-fold, the *Modern Review* in India may well join hands with the *Review of Reviews* in London in the pledge of a common effort to serve those ideals, provided only they be stated with some modification, perhaps as follows :—

1. Nationalism for all nations as a means to internationalism.

2. The self-organisation of all faiths for the conscious pursuit of the secular good of man, and the assertion of the intellectual and spiritual freedom of all.

3. The effective recognition of the humanity which is in all that lives, and can love, suffer, and enjoy. This includes the right of the dumb animal to protection, and that of both man and woman to the highest development, whatever it may be, to be manifested in the highest ways, of which they may be capable.

4. The elimination from society of all privilege, as such, and the opening of equal opportunity, on equal terms, to all.

5. For us as Orientals, the re-nationalising of our life, taking the words in the widest sense that can be given to them.

Yours faithfully,

RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE.

Editor, *The Modern Review*.

November 8th, 1907.

THE REFORMS THAT WE REALLY WANT

I

THE much vaunted 'reform' scheme has at last proved to be a worthless and even mischievous production of the bureaucratic mind. The officials took a long time in hatching it and have succeeded in producing something after their own heart. It cannot be believed that Mr. John Morley had much to do with it. Very probably his share in the business was simply to listen to the explanation which Sir Herbert Risley must have favoured him with when he was recently in England, and to bless it; as he has been unfailingly doing, almost every thought, word and deed emanating from the civil and military mandarins of Simla. One feels some hesitation in describing Mr. Morley's career at the India Office in the terms it deserves, on account of the profound respect one cannot but have for his noble past. We can only express our sorrow as well as indignation at the virtual abdication of his functions as Secretary of State for India in favour of every reactionary official who can be glorified as 'the man on the spot.' It was our belief that if the Liberals did not shower favours upon us, they at least refrained from smiting us with an iron rod as the Tories did. But Mr. John Morley—he of all people—has shattered even this faith by consenting to act as the unquestioning mouthpiece of Simla and the India Office at a time when these are more than ordinarily busy in forging new fetters for the people. He may rest assured that in the process of writing himself down as unworthy of the high office he holds, he has done and is doing not a little to shake the faith of the people of India in the good intentions of the British. The impartial historian of the future will hold him responsible to no small extent for the growth of a new species of Indian politicians who are frankly hostile to British rule. The day when he declared that the partition of Bengal was a 'settled fact,' saw his descent as a statesman. He did some good things, most conspicuous among which was the sending away of Sir Bampfylde Fuller, and expressed many nice sentiments last year, and hopes ran high that at least some liberal reforms would be introduced. But subsequent events have falsified every sanguine expecta-

tion. We can have no complaint against attempts to put down real disorder and sedition where they may be proved to exist, provided the ordinary law and constitution of the land are not departed from in so doing. But Mr. Morley ought to have recognised that if there was sedition in the land it was largely the product of Government's own policy during the last half a dozen years, and that the campaign against it to be successful must consist not only of Press prosecutions, etc., but a resolute and honest endeavour to remove genuine grievances. In failing to recognise this he has committed a gigantic blunder of far-reaching consequences. By readily sanctioning deportations without trial and the prohibition of public meetings, Mr. Morley has shown that he has no grasp of the Indian problem. Still, hope lingered in the Indian breast that the reform scheme for which we had been waiting patiently would be fairly satisfactory and that after a short spell of reactionary regime Mr. Morley would return to the better way. In the event, the 'reforms' have proved to be of an empty and illusory character and, as I am convinced, ever positively harmful, while there is apparently to be no end to measures of reaction, as we may not unreasonably conclude from the passing of so monstrous and shameful a law as the Public Meetings Bill. The country is thus passing through a grave crisis in the relations between the Government and the people, and where the present troubles will end perhaps nobody can tell.

I do not feel the least hesitation in saying that the 'reforms' proposed are not worth the paper on which they are printed. In fact they are not 'reforms' at all, but move backward admirably calculated, and possibly designed, to diminish what little influence educated Indians may now have in the Legislative Councils. The letter of the Government of India in which are embodied their proposals abounds in *obiter dicta* most of which are fallacious and apt to produce mischief. These have been clearly pointed out and effectively criticised by the more capable among our publicists, and I do not propose to cover the same ground. Confining ourselves to the specific proposals, we have first the Advisor,

Councils, Imperial and Provincial. These we have not asked for and do not want. If their constitution and functions are to be what have been proposed for them, they will not merely be superfluous but harmful. They are to be composed exclusively of ruling chiefs and zemindars; they are to be purely nominated bodies; the nomination will be for five years; they are to meet when called upon to and express their opinion when invited to do so on such subjects as the Government may choose to place before them; these opinions may be published or preserved as State Secrets at the option of Government. We do not know why ruling chiefs should come in as members of Councils which will concern themselves with the affairs of British India. Nor is there any special reason why zemindars should be given a preferential treatment and they alone consulted on affairs of the administration. These will be nominated by Government, and if they are rash enough to speak or vote against their measures or wishes, it may be they will not be nominated for a second term. Even within these limits they can only express an opinion on matters placed before them. Where their expressed opinions will conform to the wishes of the Government, as they will be as a rule, they may be published to the world with a view to belittle the educated middle class and minimise the value attached to their opinions, while in the unlikely event of the Advisory Councils daring to be hostile to a Government measure or proposal, the opinion may be treated as an official secret. But many words need not be wasted on an exposure of these proposed Advisory Councils, as the ablest man among living Indian publicists, my distinguished friend Mr. G. Subramania Iyer, proved their inutility in the October number of this review.

If the Legislative Councils are at present little better than farces, they will come perilously near to frauds if the Government of India's proposals be carried out in their entirety. At present on the Supreme Legislative Council there are 14 official and 11 non-official members, of whom five are 'elected'—four by the non-official members of Provincial Legislative Councils and one by the Bengal Chamber of Commerce. In future there are to be 29 official and 25 non-official members, the strength of the Council being raised to 54. Of these 25 non-officials, two are to be elected by the Chambers of Commerce of Bengal and Bombay, two by Mohammedans and seven by zemindars, and two Mohammedans, one ruling chief and four others nominated by the Government, leaving seven to be elected by the

non-official members of the Provincial Councils of Bengal, Bombay, Madras, the United Provinces, the Punjab, Burma, and Eastern Bengal and Assam. From the standpoint of independent and informed criticism of the legislative and financial proposals of the Government the position will be distinctly worse than at present, as a moment's reflection suffices to show. The representatives of the Chambers of Commerce will be Europeans. Recent events make it more than doubtful whether the Mohammedan representatives will care to speak out fearlessly against the Government when occasion calls for outspokenness; unless they get into the Councils as representatives of the general public as in the case of the late Mr. R. M. Sayani and the Hon'ble Nawab Saiyid Muhammad. In regard to the zemindars, the question may be asked 'how many acres make a wiseacre?' The nomination of a ruling chief will, besides involving a degradation of the political status of the Chiefs, add a vote on the Government side. The Central Provinces and Berar will continue to be represented by a Government nominee. Under ordinary circumstances the seven members elected by the non-official members of the Provincial Councils, reinforced it may be by three or four other non-official members, will represent the independent middle-class. Which means, they will be as one to five. But we cannot be sure of this much either, as the reconstitution of the Provincial Councils threatens to involve something not very far from exclusion of this essential element from them. Not only is there to be no direct election by the people, but men will have to be richer than they are at present before being allowed to vote at municipal and local board elections, or sit on these bodies, or vote at Legislative Council elections, or be returned to them. It really seems as if a Gokhale can no longer aspire to a seat on the Councils. Nor is this all. Elections to the Provincial Councils will be by and from among separate interests, separate creeds and castes, etc. In short, everything is proposed which will effectually shut out the independent middle class from the Councils. Nor are the powers of the Councils to be increased. More time will be allotted to the miscalled debate on the Budget, but non-official members will have no power to move amendments to, or divide the Council on it. This is the 'reform' which we are politely invited to welcome as a 'generous'—it is a pity that the Home Member did not feel diffident to use this word—concession to Indian reformers. Of course, we refuse to

do anything so ridiculous and suicidal. If we are wise in our generation we will so agitate against this deception of a 'reform' scheme, in England and in India, as to lead to substantial modifications of its essential features. The resources of constitutional agitation are not exhausted. It is for Congressmen to do their duty by the country now, by giving their whole-hearted attention to the subject in all its aspects and details, to expose with convincing force its unacceptable and dark features, to state clearly and definitely the irreducible minimum of our demands, and to do whatever the law and constitution authorise us to do to obtain at least a fraction of what we want. If we let slip the opportunity in a moment of wounded pride and sit still and look helplessly on, or content ourselves with abusing all and sundry in impotent wrath, the proposed scheme will become an accomplished fact and be a block in the way of future progress.

II.

I will now make an attempt to state in brief what it is that we do want.

We do not want these Advisory Councils but in their place we insist upon a few Indians being appointed as members of the Executive Councils. A fourth of these bodies may consist of trusted and representative Indian gentlemen of proved merit and ability. The Governor-General's Council consists of eight members. Two of them must be Indians. One of these might be the law member and the other might be the Home, or Finance, or Revenue or Agricultural member as the case may be.

The Executive Councils of the Governors of Bombay and Madras now consist of three members each. A fourth one should be appointed and he should be an Indian. In the case of provinces where there are no Executive Councils, one of the Secretaries to Government should be an Indian.

We first urged the abolition of the Council of the Secretary of State as the necessary preliminary to all other reforms. It is a pity that this has not been pressed by the Congress. The alternative demand made by the Congress was that Indians should be appointed to the Council. What exactly Mr. John Morley has done to satisfy this demand it will not be perhaps quite relevant to discuss here. It is enough to say that he has not made the right appointments in selecting the Hon'ble Mr. K. G. Gupta and Mr. Syed Husain Bilgrami. They have not our confidence; they will not

be our spokesmen. As it is in the power of the Secretary of State to appoint more Indians, one or two more Indians should be selected to fill the vacancies that will occur next, and they must be selected from among men who have been in public life and won the regard and confidence of their countrymen.

We are anxious that the Parliamentary control over and responsibility for Indian affairs should not be nominal and theoretical as at present, but should be real and effective. This can be secured only by (1) India being given direct representation (each province may be allowed to elect one member) in the House of Commons; (2) the salary of the Secretary of State being placed on the British estimates, and (3) the old periodical Parliamentary enquiries into Indian affairs being revived.

As the most certain means of securing justice to Indians in the matter of their appointment to high executive offices in their own country, the examinations for the Indian Civil Services should be held simultaneously in England and in India. Judicial and Executive functions should be separated and a distinct Indian Judicial Service created from which Civilians should be excluded altogether and which should be recruited from among practising lawyers, in the proportion, say, of three-fourths Vakils to one-fourth Barristers. And Indians should not be excluded from the commissioned ranks in the army.

Local Self-government should be extended and made more of a reality. There is no reason why Municipal Councils should not be made wholly elective bodies and Local Boards should not have, say, three-fourths elected members, with elected Chairmen or Presidents; nor why they should not be made financially more independent and more free from official control in other matters too. Many knowing men with experience of the working of these bodies are persuaded that they will prove much more efficient if they are allowed more independence. We must press this important, essential, and considerable reform on the Decentralisation Commission.

The suggestion made by the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale in his Benares Presidential address should be carried out in respect of the creation of Advisory Boards in Districts. This is what Mr. Gokhale said:—

"The creation of Advisory Boards in all Districts throughout India, whom the heads of Districts should be bound to consult in important matters of administration concerning the public before taking action.

For the present their functions should be only advisory, the Collector or District Magistrate being at liberty to set aside their advice at his discretion. Half the members of a Board should be elected representatives of the different talukas or sub-divisions of the district and the other half should consist of the principal District officers and such non-official gentlemen as the head of the district may appoint. These Boards must not be confounded with what are known as District or Local Boards. There is at present too much of what may be called Secretariat rule, with an excessive multiplication of central departments. District administration must be largely freed from this and reasonable opportunities afforded to the people concerned to influence its course before final decisions are arrived at. If such Boards are created we may in course of time expect them to be entrusted with some real measure of control over the district administration. The late Mr. Ranade used to urge the importance of such Boards very strongly. If ever we are to have real local government in matters of general administration, the creation of these Boards will pave the way for it. One great evil of the present system of administration is its secrecy. This will be materially reduced, so far as district administration is concerned, by the step proposed."

The Hon'ble Sir Steyning Edgerly speaking in the Viceregal Legislative Council in March last said that such Boards should be not merely advisory but exercise real control in the matters placed before them.

Not less important than any of the foregoing, highly important as every one of them is, is the introduction of free primary education throughout the country with compulsion by way of a beginning in selected areas; and larger expenditure on secondary, higher and technical education, the education of backward classes, and the education of women; besides a relaxation of official control over education, which is proving so irksome and detrimental.

I am conscious that I have so far been dwelling on matters with which the 'reform' scheme has nothing to do. But they are all reforms of immediate and highest importance which must be introduced without delay and hesitation, if Indian discontent is to be allayed, if justice is to be done to Indians' claims and aspirations, if the administration is to be improved, and if British rule itself is to be popularised and thus made more enduring. However, I will now come to the Legislative Councils, which I have purposely reserved to the last.

The Supreme Legislative Council should consist of 56 members made up as follows:—

(a) The Governor-General and Members of the Executive Council	8
(b) The Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal (or the Punjab)	1
(c) One official member from each of the important provinces (Bengal, Bombay, Madras,	

the United Provinces, the Punjab, Burma, Eastern Bengal and Assam and the Central Provinces and Berar)

(d) Heads of Imperial Departments, e.g., Inspector-General of Education, Sanitary Commissioner with the Government of India, Surgeon-General with the Government of India, Director-General of the Post Office, Director-General of Telegraphs, President of the Railway Board, Inspector-general of Irrigation, Director-General of Commercial Intelligence, Inspector-General of Agriculture, Director of the Geological Survey

(e) The Advocate General of Bengal

Total official ... 23

(f) To be elected by the Bengal and Bombay Chambers of Commerce

(g) To be elected by the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce and the Bombay Mill-owners' Association

(h) To be elected by Zemindars of the several provinces by rotation

(i) To be elected by Mahomedans*

(j) To be elected by the elected members of the Municipal Councils of the eight provinces named in (c) above, meeting at their respective provincial head-quarters

(k) To be elected by the elected members of the District and Taluk Boards of the eight provinces as in the case of (j)

[None who is a member of any two or all the three bodies referred to in (j) and (k) to have more than one vote.]

(l) To be nominated by the Governor-General at his discretion, but from among non-officials only

Total non-official .. 28

Total strength of the Council ... 53

In the Supreme Council as proposed to be constituted by the Government there will be 29 officials and 25 non-officials. As proposed above there will be 28 officials and 25 non-officials. In either case the Governor-General will have the right of veto. According to the Government scheme 18 out of the 25 non-official members will be elected members: according to the above there will be 24 elected members out of 28. In either case the elected members will be less than one-half. Provision is made in the above for separate zemindari and Mohammedan representation as in the Government scheme, though not to the same extent. We wish to have separate representation for Indian industry and commerce. And we wish the elected members of the Viceroy's Council should be returned, not by

* I am not personally in favour of separate Mohammedan representation. But as even many Mahomedan Congressmen wish to have it (vide Mr. Mujibar Rahman's articles in the October number of the *Modern Review*) I think we must agree to it; but subject to the important reservation that they must be free to elect even non-Mohamedans.

the non-official members of the Provincial Councils but by the elected members of Municipalities and local boards, so that they may be more truly representative of the people, although there will be no direct representation. According to the above scheme we shall have 16 men who can be said to represent the independent middle class as a whole and not any section or class merely. On the whole, a Council constituted as urged above will mark a decided advance in the association of the people with the Government unlike the Council proposed by the Government, at the same time that it will be no revolutionary or daring innovation, as the officials will still be full one-half of the Council and the elected representatives of the people will still be in a minority, as 16 : 56, while the veto of the Governor-General is retained.

In regard to the Budget discussion, the improvement foreshadowed in the Government scheme is welcome; but it will be useless unless the members have the right of moving amendments to and dividing the Councils on the Budget. This power can be very safely given to them, as the elected members will not be in a majority.

In regard to the right of interpellation members should be allowed to put supplementary questions at the same meeting of the Council as is done by members of House of Commons. This will be a fairly good safeguard against the evasive and misleading, curt and oracular, answers which not a few of the official members delight to give to the questions of non-official members.

The above suggestions in respect of the Budget discussion and the right of interpellation apply to the Provincial Legislative Councils as well.

Now remain the Provincial Councils to be considered. It is obvious that identical privileges cannot be extended to all provinces. But as far as possible uniformity should be aimed at, a Legislative Council should be established for the Central Provinces and Berar. And the members of the Punjab Legislative Council should be given the same rights as the members of the other Councils. Broadly speaking I would have one elected member for every district, or one for two districts, as the case may be. And this member should be elected directly by the people, of course on a restricted franchise. As has been proposed by the Government of India in the case of a Mohamedan Constituency, those who contribute a certain amount in the shape of land revenue, direct imperial taxation, or

Municipal rates, graduates of Universities of a certain standing, etc., may be formed into a constituency in every district. We should not tolerate the very idea of caste, creed, and sectional representation. I do not think separate Mahomedan representation will be necessary in the case of the Provincial Councils even if it be in respect of the Supreme Council. For, other things being equal, Mahomedan candidates will stand as good a chance as Hindu candidates in their own districts. It is impossible to enter into details in regard to the Councils of all the Provinces as I have no personal knowledge of them, but I may make an attempt at definiteness in the case of my own Presidency of Madras and the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, of which I happen to know something.

MADRAS.

The Provincial Legislative Council may be constituted somewhat as follows :—

(a) The Governor and the Members of the Executive Council	...	...	3
(b) Members of the Board of Revenue	...	...	4
(c) Secretaries to Government	...	...	4
(d) The Advocate General	...	...	1
(e) Heads of Departments :—	Director of Public Instruction, Inspector-General of Registration, Inspector-General of Police, Registrar of Co-operative Credit Societies, Director of Agriculture, the Surgeon-General, the Sanitary Commissioner, Director of Technical and Industrial Enquiries, Inspector-General of Prisons		
(f) The Collector of Madras	...	...	1
(g) Five District Judges and five District Magistrates	...	...	10
Total official			32
(h) To be elected by the districts at the rate of one member for each district, the representation to be direct as already stated	...	...	24
(i) " by the Corporation of Madras; the University; the Chamber of Commerce; the Trades Association, one by each	...	...	4
(j) " by the zemindars	...	...	2
(k) To be nominated by the Government	...	...	2
Total non-official			32
Total strength of the Council			64

THE UNITED PROVINCES.

It must be thankfully admitted that the proposals of Sir John Hewett for the constitution of the United Provinces Legislative Council are more liberal than those of the Government of India in regard to the Supreme Council. Still they do not go far enough to meet what the reform party rightly regard as the requirement of the situation. In my

humble opinion the Council should be constituted as follows :—

(a) The Lieutenant-Governor	...	...	1
(b) Members of the Board of Revenue	...	...	3
(c) Secretaries to Government	...	...	4
(d) The Legal Remembrancer and the Government Advocate	...	...	2
(e) Heads of Departments :—Director of Agriculture, Inspector-General of Civil Hospitals, Registrar of Co-Operative Credit Societies, Director of Public Instruction, Inspector-General of Prisons, Sanitary Commissioner, Inspector-General of Police, Inspector General of Registration and Commissioner of Excise and Stamps, and Director of Industries *	...	...	9
(f) Commissioners of Divisions	...	...	9
(g) One District Magistrate and one District Judge	...	...	2
		Total official	30
(h) To be elected by the district at the rate of one member for two districts	...	...	24
(i) " " by the University and by the Chamber of Commerce, one each	...	...	2
(j) " " by the Landholders of Agra and of Oudh, one each	...	...	2
(k) To be nominated by the Government	...	...	2
		Total non-official	30
		Total strength of the Council	60

Surely there is no extravagant demand here. The Government will be in no fear of

* This post will be created according to the Resolutions of the Naini Tal Industrial Conference.

being defeated; the Governor and the Lieutenant-Governor will have their power of veto; at the same time it will be a distinct step in advance in the recognition of the claims and aspirations of the educated Indians. The Councils of other Provinces may be constituted more or less on the same lines.

One thing is certain, and it cannot be too often repeated. The Government will not only be committing a great blunder but insulting the commonsense of the Indian reform party if they flatter themselves with the belief that their own proposals, miscalled reform proposals, are received with any favour by those who can think for themselves. Let the Government persist with their scheme and refuse to make any concessions to the demands of the Congress party and they will be doing their utmost to strengthen the party of absolute Swaraj and passive resistance in Indian politics. Contrariwise, let them pay due heed to the voice of fairness and reason and make the reforms a reality and a blessing by suitably modifying them, and they will assuredly break the back of this new party, as the commonsense of the country will then assert itself against them. Persistence in reaction, unwisdom and injustice can only bring disaster on all concerned.

C. Y. CHENNAI.

NATIVE OFFICERS OF THE INDIAN ARMY

EVERY native regiment contains a certain number of men known as native officers—the senior ones being called Rissaldars or Rissaldars in the Cavalry and Subedars in the Infantry, and junior ones as Jemadars. These officers are neither educated men nor born gentlemen. They rise from the ranks. It has been the policy to keep these men always uneducated, if not quite illiterate. Alexander Dow in his History of Hindostan, wrote :—

"At present, the black officers of the Sepoys must rise from the ranks. This is sound policy, and ought to be continued. Men of family and influence are deterred, by this circumstance, from entering into the service. These officers are, therefore, entirely our creatures, and will never desert a people, among whom alone they can have any power, for no acquired discipline will give weight to a mean man, sufficient to bring to the field an army of Indians."

This has been the guiding principle of the military authorities in the selection of native officers. But after the Mutiny of 1857, it was contemplated to abolish the ranks of native officers altogether. When the Indian army was going to be reorganized, the following were the questions put to the distinguished civil and military officers to answer :—

"Should the grades of native commissioned officers be continued or discontinued in the native regiments?"

"Is the substitution of our European serjeant or corporal to each company of a native regiment, in lieu of its native officers, advisable?"

These questions were differently answered by the officers. There were some who would not have any native officers at all.

Major-General Sir Sydney Cotton said :—

"I recommend that they (the grade of native commissioned officers) should be abolished."

He also considered the substitution of an European serjeant and corporal to each company of a native regiment, in lieu of its native officers, very advisable.

Brigadier Colin Troup was of opinion that the grades of native commissioned officers should be

"discontinued most certainly."

And he believed that the substitution of an European serjeant, &c., would be

"most advisable; a system which I have long since advocated; but instead of being supplied from the European troops serving in India, to answer the object in view, they should be of a superior class, educated and sent out from England for the express purpose."

In a letter to Colonel Durand, dated Bareilly, September 9, 1858, he wrote:—

"That the highest grade in the native army should be that of havildar, * * * that the European serjeants so required should be a superior class of men, educated and trained for the purpose in England * * *. That by this means we would have, for the infantry alone, fifteen hundred Europeans always present with native regiments that could be depended on so that it would have mattered very little how many officers were withdrawn from regiments for staff employ, * * *."

He also thought

"that without European example and constant European supervision, native troops are simply cowards in the field, mutineers in quarters, and in action far more dangerous than the enemy to whom they are opposed."

It is a wonder why he did not advocate the abolition of the native army altogether.

The gallant Major-General J. B. Hearsey was of opinion that

"the highest rank a native can attain to be havildar or serjeant; 2 (two) European serjeants to be appointed to each subdivision of a company, i. e. to 10 privates. * *

"These 16 serjeants to be constantly amongst the men of their companies, so that no intrigue or conspiracy could go on without its coming to their knowledge."

Except the above-mentioned officers, all the rest to whom these questions were put, were in favor of continuing the grades of native commissioned officers. Thus Sir John Lawrence, Brigadier Nevil Chamberlain and Colonel H. B. Edwardes in replying to the questions said:—

"Continued, certainly, but on a better system. Unless human nature can be altered, there must either be prizes for ambition or discontent. Besides, we regard the native officer as an indispensable link in the management of a native regiment.

"European serjeants and corporals could not, in the climate of India, perform the multifarious duties of native officers, nor would they have influence with the men, or know anything wrong that was going on in the regiment. Instead of being an element of

strength, we fear they would prove one of weakness and dissatisfaction."

Sir Bartle Frere answered:—

"I consider it essential to the very existence of a useful native army, that native officers should be continued very much as at present, but they should be differently treated. The number of European officers with a native corps should be diminished; they should be all selected men. The work of officers of companies should all be done by the native officers, and they should not be the puppets of a formal system of drill and paper returns. * * *"

"If we would keep India, that we should allow none but educated European gentlemen in feeling and principles, and if possible, by birth and station, to have any immediate connexion as officers with our native army, * *

"The substitution of two European non-commissioned officers for the native officers of each company would, if the Europeans were not superior to the generality of that class at present, exclude all the best native soldiers from our ranks, and add infinitely to the hostility of race, * * I can conceive few single measures better calculated speedily and irretrievably to ruin our native army, and however individually excellent the Europeans may be, it is morally and physically impossible that they should ever supply the place which the present race of native officers fills in the * * army, by forming a link between the European commissioned officer and his men.

"* * * There is not work enough to afford full regular occupation for even one active-minded European in a well-disciplined company of natives, and the two Europeans must, like all half idle men, become actively mischievous to an extent directly proportioned to their capacity for fuller employment.

"* * Our best native officers and soldiers do not serve simply for pay but for distinction; and would not enter at all if debarred promotion to posts of influence and honor."

General John Jacob also considered that

"Native soldiers should not be commanded by any Europeans but gentlemen."

Sir Mark Cubbon, K. C. B., Commissioner for the Government of the territories of His Highness the Rajah of Mysore, said:—

"The native commissioned officers should certainly be retained; the grade is in itself a most useful one, both as regards the discipline and interior economy of regiments and as regards public policy. There is no doubt but that the native officer is a great aid to the European officer of the Company, as a channel of communication with his men. If the grade of native commissioned officer were abolished, the service would be deprived of its only prize, and it would then become most unpopular.

"* * I fear the conduct and language of these serjeants and corporals, generally speaking, would be such as to engender a feeling of disrespect, if not a worse feeling towards them, on the part of the men; there should be no European authority exercised over the sepoys inferior to that of the commissioned officers."

"I think no scheme that the financial state of the empire would ever afford, would compensate for the abolition of the grade of native commissioned officers."

The other officers who had been questioned expressed themselves also in language similar to the above, as to the expediency of retaining the grades of native commissioned officers. These grades were not, therefore, abolished. It would have been a great political blunder had these grades been abolished.

The prestige which was attached to the grades of native officers in pre-mutiny days has been lowered and they are now considered no better than those who serve as warrant and non-commissioned officers in the British army.

Sir John Malcolm, in his *Political History*, speaking of the English officers, says:—

"They were most particular in their conduct to native officers, towards whom they behaved with a regard and respect proportionate to the responsibility of their situations. One of these native officers, who held the rank of Native Commandant, often possessed an influence in the corps nearly equal to the European Commander. As a strong and convincing proof of this fact, it is only necessary to mention that many of the oldest battalions of the Native Army of the Company are known to this day by the name of their former Native Commandants."

The same author then traces with great clearness the causes which led to the decline of the native troops, and attributes it to the increase of English officers, until at last the corps became bad imitations of English regiments. He says, speaking of the English officers:—

"They had concurred in attempts to imitate too closely a service opposite in its very nature to which they belonged; and had lost sight for a moment of those principles on which the native army was formed, and by attention to which its fidelity and efficiency can alone be preserved."

It is necessary to say that the above was penned by Sir John Malcolm several decades before the occurrence of the mutiny.

There was only one English gentleman the Hon'ble Mr. H. Ricketts who suggested that certain numbers of Indian regiments should be entirely officered by Indians. In a minute dated February 24th, 1859, he wrote:—

"I would have two corps of cavalry and four corps of infantry officered entirely by East Indians and natives, * * * *."

"I would allow young East Indian and native gentlemen to enter these corps as ensigns, and I would give commissions in them to deserving men from the ranks. The objections to such native corps will be, encouragement given to a warlike spirit among our native subjects, especially the practice it would give them in command; the inefficiency of corps so commanded for any really difficult service. The advantages will be the hope of advancement held out to all the clever and ambitious men in the army, and the consequent increased attractions of the

service, and the increased inducement to loyalty and fidelity, the cheapness of a regiment so officered compared with the cost of a corps officered with Europeans.

"It is my belief that the absence of any promotion beyond that of a subadarship, and the monopoly by Europeans of all offices and emolument and command, were among the many causes of the estrangement of the army. Clever and able native officers, of whom there must be a few, though certainly not many, chafed at finding escape from a position inferior to that of the boy ensign, hopeless, and all the young and ambitious longed for something more attractive than a subadarship, procurable only when their strength was on the wane, and their time for stirring service had passed. * * Our army has lately seen native colonels, brigadiers, and generals, and it is impossible that they should not, among themselves continually talk over the grievance of being debarred from all participation in posts of rank and consideration.

"It is my belief that a native corps may be brought into a state of excellent discipline, and that conduct in the field will depend on their confidence in their own skill. * *"

"Of course it would be necessary to provide that these native officers should habitually be treated with courtesy by the European officers with whom they may be brought in contact. As far as may be practicable, the employment of a native officer in command over a European officer should be avoided but when circumstances bring them together, I would not interfere with the rules of the service."

The Hon'ble Mr. H. Ricketts was crying in the wilderness and no one paid any attention to his cry.

Just before the occurrence of the Indian Mutiny, Sir Henry Lawrence, brother of Lord Lawrence, wrote:—

"Legitimate outlets for military energy and ability in all ranks, and among all classes, must be given. The minds of Subedars and Ressoldars, Sepoys and Sowars, can no more with safety be for ever cramped, trammelled, and restricted as at present, than can a twenty feet embankment restrain the Atlantic. It is simply a question of time. The question is only whether justice is to be gracefully conceded or violently seized."

He wrote further:—

"Native officers should be really officers, in emolument, authority, pension, on a lower rate of pay, suited to their habits and expenses, but still as gentlemen. We should have a proportion of our Army with only two officers, commandant and second, the officers to be native gentlemen and picked non-commissioned officers."—*Merivale's Life of Lawrence*, I., 389.

The Hon'ble F. J. Shore, a fighting civilian, wrote:—

"While Government are at length throwing open to the natives civil offices of responsibility and trust, it is much to be hoped that the same enlightened policy will be adopted regarding military situations. The local corps, both cavalry and infantry, present a field for the employment of the native gentry. It is in these corps that commissions equivalent to our majors, captains and subalterns, might be given to the native

gentry retaining the present number of English officers (two). As the existing native commissioned officers could not be turned out of the service, the best plan would be to raise two new regiments one cavalry and one infantry, and give the experiment a fair trial."—Shore's *Indian Affairs*, II, 429.

Sir Henry Lawrence writes (*Calcutta Review*, Vol. X, 375, 403):—

"Many suppose that without the European portion of the force, the native is not to be depended upon, such is by no means our opinion—but we must give them their due meed, not only of pay and allowances, but of honour and trust. Were it not, then, madness on the part of Government to shut their eyes to this plain fact, men of spirit demand to be trusted, powers and responsibility according to their rank must be conceded to them, and Europeans and natives of the same rank must be treated with perfect equality."

Lawrence writes again:—

"There is no doubt that whatever danger may threaten us in India, the greatest is from our own troops. We should open a wide field for the legitimate ambition of the natives. For the superior character, the bold and daring spirit that disdains to live for ever in subordinate places, we firmly believe there is absolutely required some new grade, where, without risking the supremacy of European authority, he may obtain command and exert on our behalf the energies and talent which are now too liable to be brought into the scale against us. Subadars and amadars are commanded on all occasions by even the junior ensign in the Army or even an English non-commissioned officer."

We find in the *Calcutta Review* Lawrence again: (Vol. III, p. 47, 49, 50, 52, 70.)

"We should divide the native infantry into three classes—have a fourth of the Army on the footing of the Khelat-Gilzai corps and say an eighth forming a third class, the officers commanding companies being solely natives, and from them should be selected commandant, second-in-command and adjutant, one of which corps should be in every brigade. Native officers have nothing to do but brood over their position, to feel that they are nominally officers and yet that the sergeant-major is liable to command them and that beardless boys are every day put over them. There are many commandants in the Mahratta and Sikh service who were privates in our Army."

But inspite of what Lawrence and other statesmen wrote, the native officer remains exactly where he was. We need not say why.

Major-General Sir Thomas Munro, one of the builders of the British Indian Empire, who died in 1827, wrote:—

The strength of the British Government enables it to put down every rebellion, to repel every foreign invasion, and to give to its subjects a degree of protection which those of no native power enjoy. Its laws and institutions also afford them a security from domestic oppression unknown in those states; but these advantages are dearly bought. They are purchased by the sacrifice of independence, of national character, and of whatever renders a people respectable. The natives of the British provinces may,

without fear, pursue their different occupations, as traders or husbandmen, and enjoy the fruits of their labors in tranquility; but none of them can aspire to anything beyond this mere animal state of thriving in peace; none of them can look forward to any share in the legislation, or civil or military government of their country. * *

"With what grace can we talk of paternal government if we exclude them from every important office, and say, as we did till very lately, that in a country containing 150 millions of inhabitants no man but a European shall be entrusted with so much authority as to order a punishment of a single stroke of a rattan? Such an interdiction is to pass a sentence of degradation on a whole people, for which no benefit can ever compensate. *There is no instance in the world of so humiliating a sentence having ever been passed upon any nation.* * *

"Even if we could suppose that it were practicable, without the aid of a single native, to conduct the whole affairs of the country, both in the higher and in all the subordinate offices, by means of Europeans, it ought not to be done, because it would be both politically and morally wrong. The great number of public offices in which the natives are employed is one of the strongest causes of their attachment to our Government. In proportion as we exclude them from them, we lose our hold upon them; and were the exclusion entire, we should have their hatred in place of their attachment; their feeling would be communicated to the whole population, and to the native troops, and would excite a spirit of discontent too powerful for us to subdue or resist."

According to the biographer of Munro—Rev. G. R. Gleig, these words contain a "philosophy" which "applies to all time and to every people." But with the growth of that spirit of latterday imperialism which is rampant everywhere, no heed is paid to Munro, Lawrence or Ricketts. Perhaps the best exponent of the creed of Imperialism, as far as India is concerned, was one Sir Henry Russell, who held about a century ago the situation of Resident at Hyderabad. In his evidence before the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the 19th April 1832, he said:—

"If we raise the natives to higher offices in the civil department, it will be difficult to maintain the exclusion of them in the army. But in this as in every other attempt to enlarge the field for the employment of the natives, it must be remembered, that although they are calculated to improve their condition, they are so many steps towards the extinction of our own authority. If we both give the natives power, and teach them how to use it, they will not much longer submit to our control. On this subject there is a preliminary consideration, which I am afraid we overlook. In what character, and for what purpose do we appear in India? If we are to act as mere philanthropists, and to consider only how we can best improve the moral and political condition of the Indian population, we may govern them as we would govern one another, and the sooner we can make them wise enough and strong enough to

expel us from the country, the greater will have been our success. If we go as subjects of England, for the extension of English power and the improvement of English interests, a different course must be pursued. We may govern them as kindly as we can; it is our interest as well as our duty to do so; but we must

retain all substantial power in our own hands, and must remember that, be our objects what they may **the natives of India can never stand upon the same level with ourselves; they must be either above us or below us.**"

NARRATIVE OF THE INCIDENTS OF MY EARLY LIFE

III

Sir Alfred Croft, M.A., LL.D., K.C.I.E., Director of Public Instruction, Bengal, in one of his official letters to the Government of Bengal, wrote in the following terms :—

"Sarat Chandra's first journey* was made in 1879, when he proceeded to Tashi-lhunpo, where he resided for six months in the house of the Prime Minister, as the guest of the Tashi Lama, and whence he brought to India a valuable collection of Sanskrit and Tibetan manuscripts; having explored, in the course of his travels, the country north and north-west of Kangchen Junga, of which nothing was previously known.† Of this journey Major General J. T. Walker, R.E., C. B., Surveyor-General of India, to whom I communicated Babu Sarat Chandra's notes and observations, wrote in the following terms:—'His journey has been fruitful of information; the observations of bearings and distances have been carefully taken and recorded, and are of much value for the requirements of mapping.' (General Report on the Operations of the Survey of India, 1881—1882, paragraph 196.)

In the prefatory note attached to the first account of my journey to Tibet entitled "Narrative of a journey to Tashi-lhunpo in 1879," Sir Alfred wrote as follows :—

"Babu Sarat Chandra Das, the writer of this Narrative, was, in 1874, while a student of the Engineering Department of the Calcutta Presidency College, appointed head master of the Tibetan Boarding School, then opened at Darjeeling under the orders of the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir George Campbell. Babu Sarat Chandra Das applied himself assiduously to the study of Tibetan; and paid several visits in subsequent years to the monasteries and other places of interest in Independent Sikkim, where he made the acquaintance of the Raja, his ministers and other

* It may be noted here that I performed this journey at my own hook and expense, the Government contributing not a rupee to it. As Deputy Inspector of Schools, I used to draw Rs. 150 a month. I got only a month's pay in advance, which I took with me.

† I made a present of these books to the Government Bhutia (Tibetan) Boarding School.

‡ See the Map of the Province of Tsang and Sikkim.

§ Equipments, &c., for the journey.

1. One Bhutia guide from Jongri (in Sikkim) to Kang-lachen in Nepal territory at the foot of Kangchen Junga.

persons of importance. In 1878, Lama Ugyen Gya-tsho, a monk of the Pema Yang-tse monastery, who held the post of Tibetan teacher in the same school, was sent to Tashi-lhunpo and Lhasa with letters from the Pema Yang-tse monastery; and advantage was taken of this opportunity to find out whether it would be possible for Babu Sarat Chandra Das to visit Tibet, as he much desired to do. The Lama met with little encouragement at Lhasa; but at Tashi-lhunpo the Prime Minister of the Tashi Lama, with the permission of the latter, sent by the hands of Ugyen Gya-tsho an invitation to the "Indian Pandit" Sri Sarat Chandra to visit Tashi-lhunpo, where his name had been inserted as a student in the grand monastery; offering him his choice of routes, and commanding all *Jong-pons* (District Magistrates and Collectors) or other persons to whom the letter might be shown, to help forward the Pandit with all his baggage. In accordance with this invitation Babu Sarat Chandra, accompanied by Lama Ugyen Gya-tsho and taking with him a few scientific § and other presents, together with a photographic camera, set out for Tashi-lhunpo in June 1879. The travellers returned to Darjeeling towards the close of the year, after a residence of three months at the capital. They were hospitably entertained by the Prime Minister, who gave Babu Sarat Chandra Das a cordial invitation to return to Tashi-lhunpo in the following year. This, however, he was prevented from doing, owing to the disturbed state of Sikkim in 1880.

1st August 1881.

(Sd.) A. V. CROFT.

Besides the letter of invitation mentioned above Lama Ugyen Gya-tsho brought with him a Tibetan *Lam-yig* or Road-letter from the Tashi Lama's Court called *Gyal-tse-tso thonpo*, (in Sanskrit, Uccadhvajā) which afforded us facilities for travelling from the Tseto-Sikkim

2. Two Sikkim coolies from Darjeeling to Jongri.
3. One pocket sextant.
4. One prismatic compass.
5. Two hypsometers.
6. One field-glass.

|| I took a copy of Tassendiers' Manual of Photography with me. The Prime Minister made a verbal translation of this work in Tibetan. I taught him the old "Wet process photography" with collodion film.

¶ At the time of my returning to India, the Minister gave me a loan of money, in Tibetan coin, sufficient to cover the expenses of my journey back.

liable to be cut up at any moment that no traces of him will be found. Yes, I may exclaim in the language of general Prejevalsky, the late Governor-General of Siberia, who explored with all the prestige of the Russian Government at his back, only about one-half of what I intend doing:—"Farewell, my country, a long farewell! shall we ever see thee again or shall we never return from that distant land." I am prepared to undertake the proposed task in my own humble way, if I get sufficient encouragement.

It is known to you that the celebrated travellers referred to, spent large sums of money, supported though they were by their own Governments in exploring small portions of regions, which presented far less difficulties. But I do not require as much help as they needed. I shall go not with the prestige of the British Government, publicly upholding me, not like General Prejevalsky who while exploring a portion of Mongolia, in which the arms of the Czar were long felt, had guards of armed Cossacks to escort him to put to flight hordes of marauding Gheult Tartars, or savage Tungyuts of Eastern Gobi. It is my desire to travel like Abbe Huc and Gabet, subjecting myself to all the perils and privations of exploration in wild and unknown regions and to the inclemencies of nature as well as those of man. My knowledge of the language of Higher Asia, of the ways and manners of the Tibetans and their brother races, will, I hope, help me very much. I feel sanguine of being crowned with success.

3. I have obtained an excellent and most experienced guide in the person of Lama Sherab, the old Mongolian teacher of the Bhutia School. He says that the journey will take full two years to complete in the way that I propose and the expenditure will be large and uncertain, that it is impossible to make an estimate even approximately now. According to his rough calculation, the least sum of money with which we should Rs. 20,000.* He advises me to set out from Peking, in preference to the route *via* Lhasa from Tashi-lhunpo. Lama Ugyen Gya-tsho, who accompanied me in my last journey, has also consented to join me in my proposed expedition.

I have explained to you the outlines of a scheme grander than which it is hardly conceivable at the present time; its magnitude and importance you are well aware of.†

I have the honour to be

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,
SARAT CHANDRA DAS.

On the recommendation of Mr. Croft the Government of Bengal, with the consent of the Government of India, sanctioned an altogether different scheme, discouraging geogra-

* The cost of passage of three persons from Calcutta to Peking by P. and O. Company's Boat was estimated at Rs. 2,000 at the time. Lama Sherab did not accompany me in my journey to Lhasa.

† A part of the work comprised in this scheme was done by Krishna Singh, nephew of Pandit Nain Singh. He is known by the initials (A—K) in Survey Reports.

‡ I did not however lose sight of the real object of my original proposal i.e., the exploration of a large tract of *terra incognita*. Accordingly, I surveyed the country from Sakya to Zang-ri-Khamar,

physical exploration. They made the following agreement with me:—

The conditions upon which Babu Sarat Chandra Das, Deputy Inspector of Schools, Darjeeling, will proceed to Tibet are the following, as agreed on by Mr. Cockerell, Mr. Croft, and Babu Sarat Chandra Das —

1. He should start for Tashi-lhunpo in the north of September 1881, and thence for Lhasa at some subsequent date, either this year or next spring at his discretion, according to circumstances and the opportunities that may present themselves for a safe journey. Arrived at Lhasa, he will endeavour to place himself under the protection and to cultivate the friendship of influential persons, and he will avoid general observation as much as possible. He will keep a diary and record in it from day to day any points of interest that he may come to with regard to place and people. He will also pursue his investigations into the religion, literature, and history of Tibet, with regard to which separate instructions will be given to him. With this object he is authorized to purchase books, manuscripts, or whatever else may throw light upon the subjects of his inquiry, and also to employ natives of the country for the same purpose. He will exercise his discretion as to extending his journeys beyond Lhasa; but journeys for the mere purpose of geographical exploration are discontinued, as likely to create suspicion. He may, however, find it advisable to visit a distant town or monastery, for the purpose of his investigations and in such cases he will take the observations necessary for a route survey, but he should make no map of the country. No limit is fixed as to the duration of his stay at Lhasa; but, special reasons apart, he should endeavour to return to India within twelve months. He should also endeavour to maintain regular communications with India during his absence; reporting his proceedings, from time to time to the Director of Public Instruction and making arrangements for the safe transmission of letters to himself.

2. A sum of Rs. 5,000 (five thousand) will be placed at his disposal in gold, pearls, corals, or other objects of value in Tibet. With this sum he will defray all necessary expenses of himself and of those who accompany him, including any purchases that he may make in relation to the objects of his journey. He will keep a strict account of all his expenditure, and will submit it on return, together with the balance remaining in his hands, to the Director of Public Instruction. §

Signed—HORACE COCKERELL,
Secretary to the Government
of Bengal.

DARJEELING,
September 4, 1881.

A. W. CROFT,
Director of Public Instruction.
SARAT CHANDRA DAS.

exploring the lake country of Yam-do, on a scientific basis. This was so accurately done that the late Tibet Mission, under Colonel Younghusband, did not consider it necessary to resurvey it. The proposal to send a Survey Party eastward was rejected by the Government of India.

§ On my return to India I paid Rs. 2,000 to the Comptroller-General of Indian Treasuries, it being the unexpended balance out of Rs. 5,000 that was advanced to me for our expenses on the journey, which extended over four months.

Passport for returning to India.

THE Physician Lama and Pandub|| of the incarnate Seng-chen the retired President of the Ngag-pa (Martra) College, having applied for leave to return to their own country, the Commanding Officer and his staff have granted this Pass; moreover, they having met the Lama for service, no obstructions (of the kind of stopping or making inquiry, suspicion), should be raised in their way through Darrgyas, Gur-me, and Gam-pa, on our side of the boundary. They having personally appeared before the Chancellor, this (passport) has been issued, under his seal, on the 4th day of the 9th month of the year *water-lark*. (October, 1882).

CHAPTER I.

In the morning of the 17th June we set out for Jong-ri (from the monastery of Dub-di in Sikkim). At 10 A. M. we reached a zone where we met with new families of trees. The vegetation changed abruptly and varieties of rhododendron, juniper, and birch displaced the oaks and chestnuts of the lower zone. The leeches had disappeared. This slope, from 8,000 to 12,000 feet above the level of the sea in height, is known by the name of Mon Lapcha.* The scenery was exquisitely beautiful, chiefly owing to the profusion of flowers, amongst which the varieties of rhododendron (red and pink) were conspicuous. The beauty and variety of the vegetation made me deeply regret my ignorance of botany.

Midway between Bakhim and Jong-ri I met Dr. Inglis, a venerable old gentleman, who had come out from Darjeeling to see Jong-ri—the mountain of Nature's cultivation. Owing to the stubbornness of the coolies and the improvidence of his guide, he had been reduced to great straits for want of provisions, and was unable to proceed further towards the snows. Dr. Inglis told me that he had taken a fancy to visit the Himalayas on his way to New Zealand, where he was going to take charge of his estate. I was sorry that I could not give him all the assistance he required, but I did what I could for him to the best of my power and means.†

At 5 P.M. we reached Jongri, and took shelter in a yak-herd's house, the walls of which were built with boulders piled one above another without any mortar. Its roof

| The minister used to call me *Pandub* (*Pan* being an abbreviation of *Pandit* and *dub* that of *Dub-chan* or *Siddha*). By this title Indian Pandits were formerly known in Tibet.

* Mon La-tsa, the foot of the mountain rising above (*Mon*) the sub-Himalayas.

was made of planks cut out of firs by the axe, and kept in position by the weight of boulders laid on them. People here do not know the use of the saw nor have they any idea of iron or wooden nails.

Water boiled at 187°; giving a height of 13,700 feet; the temperature was 49°F. in the shade. I was much struck with the extreme beauty of Jong-ri. Sir Joseph Hooker the great Botanist and Himalayan traveller, who is now alive, visited Jong-ri in January 1849, *i.e.*, six months before my birth. He described the place in the following language:—

"I sat at the entrance of my gipsy-like hut, anxiously watching the weather, and absorbed in admiration of the moonrise, from which my thoughts were soon diverted by its fading light as it entered a dense mass of mare's-tail cirrus. It was very cold, and the stillness was oppressive. I had been urged not to attempt such an ascent in January, my provisions were scanty, firewood only to be obtained from some distance, the open undulating surface of Jong-ri was particularly exposed to heavy snow-drifts, and the path was, at the best, a scarcely perceptible track. I studied every change of the wind, every fluctuation of the barometer and thermometer, and the courses of the clouds aloft. At 7 P.M., the wind suddenly shifted to the west, and the thermometer instantly rose. After 8 P.M., the temperature fell again, and the wind drew round to the north-east, when the fog cleared off. The barometer rose no more than it usually does towards 10 P.M., and though it clouded again, with the temperature at 17°, the wind seemed steady, and I went to bed with a relieved mind."

The slopes were neat and trim to the eye, with flowers and dwarf shrubs scattered over them, and a few yaks (*chamari*-cow of Tibet) grazing here and there. The trees were in full foliage, and the valleys below were a mass of rhododendrons and other flowering plants. The evening breeze was cool and bracing; and the parting rays of the sun gave a crimson tinge to the peaks of snow and the whole atmosphere. The Hindu poets tried in vain to describe these regions which they had never seen; but even when seen, language fails to convey any idea of their beauty. To my right Kha-bur raised its snowy peak; in front the great Kangchan-joi-nga looked down on me; to the left were the icy cliffs of Kang-La (Nangma); while behind me the Rathong kept up its ceaseless roar as it rushed away to the south. Here we spent a whole day.

† Dr. Inglis, after reaching Darjeeling, spoke to me in high terms of Sarat Chandra's readiness and resources and of the great help he had given him.—A. W. Croft.

(To be continued.)

THE HINDU VIEW OF ROYAL RESPONSIBILITY

GOVINDA Bhagavat has said :—

“Realising that the enjoyments of wealth and of the body are not permanent, one should strive after emancipation, but emancipation results from knowledge, knowledge from study, and study is only possible in a healthy body.”—*Sarvadarshana Sangraha*.

Thus the health of the body is the first condition of attainment of *mukti* or salvation. Those who confine salvation to a purely spiritual attitude of the soul, ignore the great fact that that condition is unattainable when the physical conditions are unfavourable. The regulation of physical conditions is the first and primary task of civilisation. No civilisation is worth the name that does not rise superior to the natural conditions of the climate and seasons. Want of seasonal rains and consequent drought are natural phenomena, but that does not mean that there should be consequently famine and starvation in a civilised community. The duty of the sovereign power in every civilised country has been to provide against such natural contingencies. In all agricultural countries like India people came to know very early that there must arrive periods and seasons when rains would fail, and if cultivation depended entirely on the clouds, the people must die of starvation when the heavens failed to send their fertilising showers. Very early in the history of India we find it, therefore, as a well recognised duty of the sovereign power to take steps against such calamities. A wise king would see that the agriculturists did not depend solely on the rains. He would dig tanks and sink wells to make agriculture independent of the seasons, as far as possible. Thus we see in the Mahabharata the sage Narada asking King Yudhisthira “are thy peasants helplessly at the mercy of the rains, or has thy foresight provided against the failure of the rains?” and Yudhisthira proudly answers, as every wise ruler of a civilised people should answer, that his peasant and agricultural classes are not dependent upon the rains: but that there are enough ponds, tanks, wells, and other reservoirs of water to fall back upon in seasons of drought.

So a civilised government in ancient India was that in which famines were amply pro-

vided against in case the heavens held off their rains for a season.

Similarly, diseases and epidemics are natural phenomena. The germs of disease were always present in the air, water and earth in ancient India, as they are now. But people never fell victims to them *by millions* as they do now. They had plenty of good and health-giving food—milk, ghee, sugar, rice and wheat. All had their two meals a day. The consequence was that though the germs of disease were there, the resisting power of the human frame was more than in these degenerate days. And so the people suffered less from epidemics than now when their bodies are weakened by privation and despondency, and they fall an easy prey to every bacillus of plague or cholera. That a well nourished physical frame can remain immune in the midst of epidemics has been amply illustrated by the practical immunity of the Europeans in India from plague.

It was, therefore, looked upon as the duty of the king in ancient India to see that his country was not ravaged by epidemics.

The king was, therefore, primarily held responsible for national calamities like famine and plague. In the language of Sanskrit politics, this truth was expressed by saying that for the *sins* of the king the people suffered. If the king by his avarice or policy had kept the masses of the people always in a state of semi-starvation, such a people would fall an easy prey to all diseases; for which the king was primarily responsible. If through neglect and want of foresight, the king failed to sink wells, dig tanks and erect national reservoirs of water to fall back upon in seasons of drought, and there was consequently famine in the land, it was said that the sin of the Raja had caused the famine. In short, while all private sufferings were rightly attributed to the sin of the individual, public calamities were attributed to the sin of the king and the king alone; and *never* to any individual sin.

The ancient sages of India, however, did not rest content with the surface causes of things. They penetrated deeper, and with the universal formula of monism they declared that all partial laws whether laws of nature or laws

of morality—the *ritam* and *satyam*—were manifestations of one Supreme Law; and were inextricably interwoven with each other. You could not break with impunity a moral law without bringing confusion in the working of the physical laws—for both these laws were worked by the same divine agency of the Devas. The harmony of the seasons would be broken if there was discord in the moral world. A selfish and self-seeking people must suffer from the whims of a fickle and variable nature. Even the history of Hebraic nations affords many proofs of this truth. The moral sins of Sodom and Gomorrah brought about the physical destruction of those cities. The same was the case with Babylon and Nineveh. In modern times the partial destruction of San Francisco is attributed to the same cause,—moral corruption, by some pious souls.

A wise king, therefore, looks not only to the physical welfare of his people, but to their moral welfare also. A Government that neglects the religious and moral education of its people, must suffer from chronic plague and famine, if there be any truth in the saying that *ritam* and *satyam* are the same—physical and moral laws are but different aspects of the one Law.

We quote the following from the *Shanti Parva*, chap. 141, to show that diseases and famines have their root in the maladministration of the state :—

“O mighty-armed one, the peace and prosperity of subjects, profuse and seasonable rain, disease, death and other calamities, all depend on the king. I (Bhishma) have no doubt also in this that the setting of Krita, Treta, Dvapar, and Kali, all depend on the king's conduct.”

Thus a virtuous king brings *Krita Yuga* (the golden age) among his people, and a tyrant the contrary. The four ages are nothing but symbols of good or bad administration by the king.

Thus in chap. 69 of the same *parva* we find :—

“When the king rules according to Danda Niti (the constitution laid down by Brahma for the state) the *Krita* age is then said to flourish.”

But when the king violates any portion of this constitution, other ages set in according to the extent or degree of violation.

This Danda Niti or Indian constitution was the real Magna Charta of our liberties in ancient times. The mode how this constitution was first obtained from Brahmá is mentioned in chapter 59 of the *Shanti Parva*. The Rishis Vrihaspati and Kavi abridged the voluminous work of Brahmá. All kings, however despotic, were bound by this constitution; and there are cases recorded in the Mahabharata where the kings got into trouble by their disregard of the constitution. Thus King Vena was the first who was killed by the Brahmans because he broke this Divine constitution.

“Vena, a slave of anger and malice, became impious and tyrannical towards all creatures. The Brahmavadin Rishis killed him.”

“When the king abandoning the constitution in its entirety, oppresses his subjects, then the age that sets in, is called Kali. Then diseases appear and men die untimely. Wives become widows and people become heartless. The clouds do not rain in season nor the crops grow in abundance.”—*Shanti parva, Ch. 69, verses 91-95.*

This also shows that epidemics and famine are due to maladministration, that is, they rage when the sovereign does not act constitutionally.

“If the sovereign acts unconstitutionally, then even the seasons get out of joint; summer months become cold and *vice versa*. There are droughts, floods and pestilential epidemics.”—*Ch. 90, verse 37.*

In modern times, weakness is considered a sin, but not so in Ancient India.

“Weakness is really a great elemental force in which every thing is firmly established.”

“अवलं तु महद्भूतं यस्मिन् सर्वं प्रतिष्ठितम् ।”

“The eyes of the weak, of the Muni and of the venomous snake should be considered as unbearable. Do not, therefore, meet the weak as you would meet an enemy. Weakness is more powerful than even the greatest power. That power which is scorched by weakness is absolutely rooted out.”—*Chap. 91, verse 17.*

A HINDU.



SUMMER

(From the Ritusamhara of Kalidasa.)

From the original painting by
MR. ABANINDRA NATH TAGORE.

By the courtesy of the artist.

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ORIENT AND OCCIDENT

RECENT events in the world's history show that the Oriental and Occidental civilizations have met face to face, and the future constitution and ideals of society are in the balance. Whenever the Orient and the Occident met before, it was always in a life and death struggle for leadership in civilization. It was at Marathon that the West first saved itself from Oriental dominion; later Alexander carried Western influence far into the Orient; but the wave swept back with vengeance, and the European nations were in their turn forced to fight for existence against the Moors, Tartars and Turks, in the battle-fields of Tours and Wahlstatt. The struggle continued under new and more portentous circumstances and was renewed with vigour when the alarming weakness and the total helplessness of the Chinese Empire was revealed in the Chino-Japanese war. The aggressive and selfish policy of the European nations who were all bent upon territorial aggrandisement by the partition of the Celestial Empire or for securing the exclusive privilege of trading with that Empire, received an unexpected and effective check on finding that a power had risen in the East which proved itself more than a match for the greatest military power in Europe.

The Japanese after their glorious victories over the Russians, showed statesmanship of the highest order, and by adopting a wise and conciliatory policy concluded such treaties with the European powers as would secure the peace of the world at least for some years.

Western civilization fully developed and rich in the accumulated wealth and wisdom of centuries, stands panoplied in all the glories of history. The Orient, which believes that it has learned ages ago the sum of knowledge and the essence of truth, is still animated with the same spirit and still has in great measure the same social and political institutions that existed at the beginning of the Christian era. Though here two civilizations have in some degree re-acted upon each other, they still maintain a distinct character with little real mutual understanding. The Orient has the pessimism of completed knowledge and disillusionment; it is

quiet and serene, because it sees nothing worth striving for; individual existence is unimportant. The West on the other hand is intensely individualistic, and filled with an optimistic energy which leads it to believe in an evolution of higher form and in progress to a higher civilization; not always clear as to the final aim, it yet believes above all in upward struggle and takes for granted that humanity can progress. The meeting between the two civilizations has long been foreshadowed in philosophy and in general thought. The opening of India to the nations of Europe introduced the Western mind to the treasures of Eastern philosophy. With the growth of philological studies the influence of Oriental thought has become pre-eminent in many fields. Schopenhauer, the philosopher, who best represented the Continental thought in the middle of the nineteenth century, was a Buddhist and derived from Oriental ideas the life and spirit of his pessimistic philosophy. Even Nietzsche, standing though he did for a revival of Western individualistic energy, had not escaped the same influence. His individualism was after all an individualism of genius, of the select few. Russia, the chief Western exponent of Orientalism, has a strange power and influence in the modern political life of Europe, and it is due in no small measure to the anti-individualistic tendencies of her civilization.

Certain pessimistic spirits have already prophesied the conquest of Western civilization by Oriental ideals. They believe that it is becoming untrue to itself and is beginning to worship at the shrine of Oriental fatalism. There has, it is true, been a deepening and broadening of Western thought within the last few decades. The influence of Indian philosophy and religion on Western life can have escaped no one. The days of the shallow rationalism and utilitarianism are over, and there is instead a return to reverence for the deep, mysterious forces of nature and of life. Unhappily along with this there has been an impatience with liberal ideas in the field of politics. The imperial idea is invoked in a movement to endow nations with world dominions through marifestoes supported by brute force. The simple

ideals of democracy, of social equality, of the co-operation of the governed in matters that most concern them are in some quarters beginning to be brushed aside and to give place to a claim of the right of the stronger to govern as he pleases. Western civilization has certainly lost its harmony and cohesion.

At the present juncture, the East with its swarming hordes living a listless life from century to century; the West with its energetic, individualistic impulses, but without any consistent philosophy of civilization,—meet each other. This collision threatens to accentuate the reactionary forces, to strengthen autocracy and brute force and to weaken every thing that bases itself on reason, reflection and individual right. While some pre-saging spirits cherish the hope that Eastern thought will yield a harmonizing principle to the life of the West, others abandon themselves to the fear that the world is destined to be driven back into another period of darkness in which intelligence will slumber and brute force reign supreme.

The first effect of this collision has been the raising of a spirit of nationalism in all Asiatic countries and Japan has led the way in this matter. A peaceful union of the civilization of the West and East appears to have been combined into a higher harmony in the Land of the Rising Sun. Japan has adopted the best part of the Western civilization and utilized it to her best advantage. China, Persia, Afghanistan and India are emulating her example. The question of greatest moment at the present time is the conflict between the Nationalism of the East and the Imperialism of the West.

Expansion of population necessitates expansion in territory and so to Nationalism the European nations have added Imperialism—a desire to control as large a portion of the earth's surface as their energy and opportunities will permit. This attitude in international politics became paramount during the end of the nineteenth century. England took the lead in building up a national Empire. The moral basis on which expansion is justified by its advocates is the claim that large portions of the earth's surface are in the hands of nations or tribes who are guilty of an under-development of their natural resources. As the world becomes more and more densely populated—so runs the argument—the natural wealth of the remoter regions must be utilized for the benefit of mankind, and if any nation or tribe, by the use of anti-

quoted methods of production, or by total neglect of certain parts of its resources, such as mines or forests, stands in the way of this great need, that nation or tribe must pass under the political power or tutelage of a nation that will draw from the earth the utmost quantity of produce. At any rate the world must be policed, so that in every part of it investments of capital may be made securely, and so that industrial works may be carried on without annoyance or molestation from the natives. Few nations, however, stop with this demand. Most of them frankly regard the world as the inheritance of the most powerful races, which have a right to re-place those that are more barbarous or less well-endowed with force of mind and character. An advocate of radical methods of colonization says:—

"It is an inexorable law of progress that inferior races are made for the purpose of serving the superior; and if they refuse to serve, they are fatally condemned to disappear."

If animated by such principles, national expansion, it is apprehended, may lead to dreams of world-empire. There is considerable danger of a revival of the Roman idea of imperialism. When the nations shall have appropriated the surface of the earth and shall stand fully armed, facing each other, the elemental force that compels expansion will bring about among the strongest a great final struggle for dominion so that from out of the group of struggling nationalities there may again arise a leader who will enforce upon the world that alarming peace within which there is no progress but only stagnation. The national state, as its advocates claim, is at present a necessary condition of progress; but if its aim is exaggerated it will ultimately defeat the very purpose by which its adherents justify its existence. The ideal of modern national imperialism is different from the ideal which animated the Roman Empire. The latter was the comprehension of all civilized nations under the sway of a world-empire. National imperialism on the other hand takes as its basis a national state and respects the political existence of other nationalities; it endeavours to increase the resources of the national state through the absorption or exploitation of undeveloped regions and inferior races, but does not attempt to impose political control upon highly civilized nations. Napoleon indeed strove to revive the Roman form of imperialism, but the rising spirit of nationalism was too strong for him, and he failed.

In the birth struggle of national imperialism, just as centuries ago in the birth struggle of

nationalism, Machiavellian thought and Machiavellian means are characteristic of political action. Ordinary rules of morality cannot be held binding upon a statesman, whose sole duty is to secure the existence or expansion of a state within which alone he presumes morality and civilization can thrive. Force consequently rules, manipulated by art and craft. That force, indeed, need not be mere brutality. Every thing that makes a nation strong, its knowledge, its mechanical skill, its industrial capacity, will contribute to its force.

The most momentous political actions and reprisals are based upon claims that would hardly justify more than a demand for indemnity under the pretext of exacting satisfaction for the murder of missionaries. Germany entered the territory of China and obtained there a permanent foot-hold and most valuable concessions. Britain, desirous of securing its paramount control in South Africa seized upon the pretext of Uitlander grievances to make the Boers of the Transvaal acknowledge their dependence on the British Empire.

It was Russia who first drew practical consequences from the demonstration of Chinese weakness. By a series of exceedingly shrewd moves, she undermined the English influence at Peking and gaining access into Manchuria, extended her railway into that province, assumed virtual control over a large part of its territory, realized her ambition of having ports permanently free from ice, and a vast and inviting field for Russian colonization and expansion of Russian industry was opened. But Russia was not destined to enjoy these privileges permanently. Victorious Japan dealt a tremendous blow on the aggressive policy of the Czar, and Japan now occupies the same place and exercises the same influence in China which Russia would have done if there had been no Russo-Japanese war. But Russia is still an important factor in Asiatic policy. Her expansion in the East is extensive. There are, however, certain peculiarities in her policy which should be noted. Russian expansion is not so much a struggle for markets, - since Russian manufacturers have already within the dominions of Russia herself a larger market than they can supply, - but rather a struggle for soil to afford room for the constant agricultural expansion of the Empire. There has been practically no effort on the part of Russian manufacturers to gain markets beyond the borders of the Empire.

Russian Nationalism is based on the writings of Pobedonostseff, the spiritual adviser of the Emperor and the administrative head of the Greek orthodox Church. The elements

which in his eyes make Russia great and are bound to make her the saviour of the world, are autocracy, religion and the village community, the last named being, to his mind, the best antidote to social agitators, since it contains within itself all that is reasonable and healthy in the Socialistic propaganda. Unity, harmony, subordination, reverence and simplicity are to him the watch words of Russian civilization. There comes from him no word about the dignity of human nature, the independence of the individual, the right of the individual to develop his aptitudes and powers, the hope that vast masses of humanity may be raised to a higher level by general education and participation in Government. All these ideals, which are the professed characteristic of the British Empire, are to be avoided, according to the Russian sage, as poison.

Economic considerations are of primary importance in British expansion; in the expansion of Russia they are only secondary. A Russian diplomat says:—

"The Russians are not a commercial nation, the people have aspirations toward higher ideals than those of commercial gain."

The unconscious instinct of the masses has been a foremost guide in Russian politics; Russia has the capacity of assimilating the masses, which England scarcely possesses. In judging of the respective positions of the two powers in Asia, it should be observed that Russia assimilates, while England merely superimposes her authority. Russians are fond of likening their Empire to Rome; the acid by which national and local organisms are dissolved into their elements, to be precipitated again in the form of a higher unity, is the Russian national spirit. If Russian advance had been allowed to go on naturally and gradually, if it had not been unexpectedly checked by the rise of an Eastern power, Russia's power in Asia would have become almost irresistible. England in opposing her would have had the unfortunate position of Carthage. She would have had to rely for her defence on unassimilated subject nations, while Russia could summon against her the vast masses that would have become penetrated with the spirit of Russian policy and civilization.

The little kingdom of Japan stands to-day in the proud position of a teacher on the continent of Asia. The eyes of all the different peoples of this vast continent containing over half the population of the globe are now eagerly turned towards the land of the rising sun. The magic-like material

progress of Japan in recent years has strongly drawn the attention of the world towards it. The Asiatic countries, specially China and India, long for a touch of that light and heat—the knowledge and the power—which have wrought a wonderful transformation in Japan and have made the quondam lotus-eaters of that land a sturdy and powerful nation in the world. Burdened with an ancient civilization; surrounded by hoary traditions and immemorial customs, India stands as a venerable sage with eyes amazed looking towards Japan, a young man glorying in his struggles, full of daring and enterprise, instinct with energy, possessing great determination and unbounded perseverance. The greatness of Japan is due also to the culture of her inhabitants, to their simplicity in life, to their loyalty to their King, country, and leaders, and above all to their burning patriotism. In Japan we see the imagination of the East wedded to the activity of the West. She has shown a wonderful combination of the East and the West and has amalgamated their chief characteristics in herself.

Dozens of Indian boys and thousands of Chinese students are now prosecuting their studies in Japan and learning useful arts and Great Britain was proud to make alliance with her for the protection of the Indian Empire from the invasion of the Northern Bear. The example of Japan has naturally roused a spirit of nationalism in Asiatic countries and a conflict between the Nationalism of the East and the Imperialism of the West has already begun, and the twentieth century will witness and record the history of this conflict.

Russia and Great Britain are the two European powers who have ruled for a long time the largest oriental countries in Asia. It is worth while to examine how far oriental ideals have influenced their national character. Some decades ago, the Russian aristocracy was considered the most cosmopolitan in the world and St. Petersburg was a second Paris. But with the growth of a native Russian literature, there also began a distinct feeling of separate nationality. The political and social party which advocated this tendency was in the sixties given the name of *Slavophiles*. The sect was discredited for a time. But with the more conscious expansion of Russian influence, and with the discovery that Russian advance is irresistible, the whole society of that great empire has become practically *Slavophile*. In line with this change a recent edict by which the education of the official classes is sharply separated from that of the common people,—in this way emphasizing the caste

system which is rapidly taking a firm hold on Russian Society, conscious opposition to Western ideals, firm allegiance to the idea of autocracy, emphasis laid upon the distinctions of a caste system, employment, for political ends, of the methods and teachings of a theocracy—all these indicate that oriental influences in Russia are becoming more and more predominant.

Eastern influences are not so pronounced in England, as she has to deal with a large European population in her colonies who are all imbued with Western ideals of democracy and liberty and who would not tolerate any kind of personal despotism. But imperial policy has certainly modified her national characteristics, specially in her dealings with the subject nations.

When the mailed fist of young Japan was striking blow after blow at the huge Russian Bear, England was glad that Japan was fighting not only in her own interest but in that of England and the latter had been spared the danger and difficulty of meeting such a formidable foe who could amass some eight lacs of troops in such a distant region as Manchuria. England, however, was secretly dismayed along with other European powers at the rise of an Eastern power which could vanquish the greatest military power in Europe both on land and sea. The European powers, however, consoled themselves with the idea that Japan was only an exception which proved the rule of Eastern worthlessness. Somehow or other inconvenient facts cropped up to challenge their favourite theory. Persia and Afghanistan began to raise their heads. The introduction of the parliamentary form of Government in Persia with the consent of the Shah was a significant fact. China which excels all other countries as a field for industrial development and commercial expansion appears to have thrown away her phial of laudanum and opened her eyes to the rays of the rising sun. The Chinese authorities appear to be conscious of the present situation of their country, as the following extract from a circular issued by them will show:—

"Those who are able to promote agricultural enterprises, mechanical arts and handicrafts, trade, mines or any other kind of business or aid merchants to subscribe capital for industrial enterprises, and succeed in them—such officials or gentry who work to such an end will be rewarded by the throne to an extraordinary degree. Should any one be able to show that he has succeeded in starting a manufactory or industrial work with a capital of over ten million taels, where the workmen number several thousands, such persons will be even more greatly rewarded—even to the extent of being raised to the peerage."

A more recent development in China is the issue of an Edict appointing Prince Pulin and another as presidents of the projected Government Council which is to be formed as a preliminary to a regular parliament.

England and other European powers have to confess that the Eastern nations have secured a fresh lease of life and have begun in right earnest to set their houses in order. The Eastern Renaissance has dawned. The true spirit is abroad and India cannot lag behind.

In India signs of unrest due to a national awakening are visible. The difficulties which have arisen in governing India are due to the rulers remaining alien and a dominant race and no attempt was ever made to remove the distinction between the rulers and the ruled, by bestowing on the latter the rights and privileges of the former. The British rulers cannot assimilate the subject population to the body politic. They do not know the Russian method by which national and local organisms are dissolved into their elements to produce chemically as it were a higher unity, a higher nationalism.

British statesmen were no doubt sincerely actuated with the desire of raising the vast masses of the Indian community to a higher plane by education and participation in Government when Sir Charles Wood's Education Despatch and the Queen's Proclamation were issued. They were equally sincere in their desire to allow lofty principles of national emancipation to have a free and fair trial when men like Lord Macaulay proclaimed that it would be the proudest day of England when the people of India would be sufficiently educated to ask for Self-Government. But long exercise of absolute power has made the present rulers narrow-minded and prejudiced. They hesitate also to carry out the policy of their predecessors, when they find tremendous British interests at stake on their hold on India. Englishmen are fully aware that they have more than £60,000,000 worth of trade with India; they are aware that every second or third day's work of the Lancashire cotton spinner is done for the Indian market or for other Eastern markets which they control on account of their position in India, and the Lancashire spinner is a keen political thinker when his bread and butter are concerned. The Dundee jute worker is a radical, but he is not likely for that reason to forget that his daily wages depend on the hold which the British Empire keeps upon Bengal. Lord Dufferin after giving the statistics of England's trade

with India observed in his address before the London Chamber of Commerce as follows:—

"These figures should be enough to convince the least receptive understanding what a fatal blow it would be to our commercial prosperity were circumstances ever to close, either completely or partially, the Indian ports to the trade of Great Britain; and how deeply the manufacturing population of Lancashire, and not only of Lancashire, but of every centre of industry in Great Britain and Ireland, is interested in the well being and expanding prosperity of our Indian fellow subjects. Indeed it would not be too much to say that if any serious disaster ever overtook our Indian Empire, or if our political relations with the Peninsula of Hindoostan were to be ever partially disturbed, there is not a cottage in Great Britain, at all events, in the manufacturing districts, which would not be made to feel the disastrous consequences of such an intolerable calamity."

The Indian Nationalist who is now asking for Self-Government on colonial lines must reckon the difficulties which stand in the way of the British Government granting Self-Government which is likely to bring ruin on the labouring class in England and to 75,000 to 1,00,000 men who find well-paid employment in carrying on the Government, defence, and industrial development of the country. The estimate that the people of the United Kingdom draw from India, sixty or seventy millions sterling every year in direct income, is probably a moderate one. Britain's stake in India is enormous. It is estimated that no less than £350,000,000 of British capital has been invested in India, to which must be added other large sums employed in various forms of industrial activity; the profit and interest of all this capital flowing back steadily to the United Kingdom and evidently secured by British dominance.

The idea of the Marquis of Hastings is more reasonable and practicable than in the fulness of time, the extraordinary anomaly of a country enjoying popular representation ruling as an imperial power over some hundreds of millions of people without representation in their own government may be abandoned and Self-Government bestowed England retaining the present commercial and trading relationship with India as a favoured and friendly power. The prophecies which were made in regard to the impending competition of Japan in the world market have failed to be realized in any but the slightest degree. On the contrary, Japan through her commercial and industrial development has become a far better customer in European and American markets. In the inevitable course of evolution which is a materialised ethical process unfolding itself in its various phases through the different

nations and races of the earth, there must come a time when a subject people awakens to a supreme sense of necessity for freedom, for the self-determination of its political problems and issues as the only possible guarantee of its further progress in the world. The subject people thus come into collision with the ruling power. The monarchies of Japan, China and Persia have saved this conflict by the ready espousal of the cause of popular liberty. They did not by opposing the movement bring about a bloody revolution.

These facts serve to bring out prominently the essential difference that there has been between Orient and Occident. No great truth or idea either in religion or politics has been able to win its way to victory in Europe without drenching the ground behind it with the blood of its votaries. In Asia, on the other hand, no religion or ideal has ever had to count its martyrs, and it is the same innate and intense humanity of her sons, from the king to the humblest subject, that has made the bloodless revolution possible in three of her great countries. In India the ruling power is European and not Asiatic, but the facts that this European power comes with a tradition of an age-long and innate ideal of representative Government, and that the characteristics of the Indian people, generally peace-loving and humane, with greater capacity of suffering than the western people possess, inspire confidence that the present conflict, which is inevitable, may be amicably settled to the satisfaction of both parties and will not be allowed to end in a bloody revolution.

The European powers which a few years ago had been intriguing and meditating as to the best means of partitioning China, without running the risk of a war among themselves, are now frightened at the vision of a "*yellow peril*" which may sweep away the western civilization from the globe, when the full possibilities of the Chinese race come to be realized and the Japanese and Chinese join together in alliance.

When we picture to ourselves that there is in China one third of the world's population crowded into eighteen provinces, many of which in their natural wealth surpass by far countries like Germany and France, there is little room for doubt that when the industrial forces of this region have once been set in motion, China will in truth become the "realm of the centre." Unlike Japan China is most abundantly provided with coal and iron in close proximity to each other, so that the distance and cost of transportation of the raw

material will be reduced to a minimum and factories can be established in localities where fuel, material and labour exist in greatest abundance.

The development of manufactures and mines has commenced in China. In Shanghai, alone, five great foreign cotton mills, and three owned by Chinese have begun operations since 1895. The Hanyang iron foundry, the first movement towards the new progressive spirit in China, is now turning out large quantities of rails for the Chinese roads. There is no doubt that China will soon become a great manufacturing centre for cotton, woollen and iron goods.

The cheaper grades of cotton goods are already manufactured in large quantities and for these grades, Chinese raw cotton is adequate in quantity and quality. Little raw cotton, therefore, is imported from America or India for Chinese manufacture. In Japan the case is quite different. During 1899 about twenty-two million dollars of raw cotton was imported for the Japanese cotton mills and one-third of this came from the United States.

With the growing importance of China and Japan in the world of industry, the Pacific is becoming a most important highway of commerce, promising to outstrip the Atlantic as a centre of maritime interest at no distant date. The countries that immediately border upon the Pacific contain a population of about 550 millions of inhabitants, well-nigh one-half of the total population of the globe; and this mass of humanity is more directly dependent on the Pacific Ocean for transport facilities than are Atlantic peoples on that body of water, because railways and canals have not been as fully developed in the Orient as in the countries bordering on the Atlantic. The whole perspective of the industrial world will thus be changed; what formerly seemed almost the back-yard of the world is now to become the very centre of interest. Japan bids fair to rival the island kingdom of the West. The American republic and the British dominions which face on the Pacific Ocean, are beginning to feel their neighbourhood to the Oriental world, and Chinese, Japanese and Hindoo emigrants are seeking fields of activity in those regions.

The vast material resources of America and the English colonies are practically undeveloped, because of the jealousy of alien yellow or black labour and the almost prohibitive cost of native white labour. Great schemes of railway construction, and agricultural and mineral development, cannot be

taken in hand without employing labour cheap and efficient enough for the purpose. But the white labourers are highly organized and command an absolute majority of votes in the local legislative bodies. The employers of labour are powerless against the labour union, which continues to impose its own terms as to wages, hours of work, &c. The policy of exclusion of alien labour had long been determinedly pursued in America and the British colonies. A considerable body of legislation directed against the immigration of Asiatic labour had come into operation. Most servile conditions of labour and of existence had been rigorously imposed on British Indian subjects in British Colonies in cases where the white colonists thought fit not to exclude them. The British Indian subjects appealed to the Imperial Government, and the Imperial statesmen "*sympathised*" and remonstrated, and there was an end of it. The Chinese resented strongly and violently the attitude of America in respect of Chinese immigration into the States. They proclaimed a boycott of American goods in China and enormous loss was inflicted on the American trade in the Pacific. The boycott was partially successful and President Roosevelt saw that the Chinese were justified in resorting to reprisals. The Chinese exclusion laws were accordingly modified and Chinese *amour propre* satisfied.

The rise of Japan to the position of one of the world's great powers and the Anglo-

Japanese alliance recently concluded have now forced the question of the colonial exclusion laws, so far at any rate as the Japanese are concerned, to the fore front. In America and in British Columbia—in fact all along the Pacific Coast—white labour is up in arms against the Japanese. The recent trouble in California and the present trouble in British Columbia have their origin in the determination of white labour to exclude the Japanese altogether at whatever cost. Serious riots have occurred at Vancouver, scores of Japanese have been injured and the property destroyed. These are the first fruits of the anti-Japanese movement in British Columbia and there is naturally great anxiety in Ottawa. A Tokio statesman says: "You cannot treat the Japanese as you do British Indians." India is eager to know how the matter is finally settled.

There are signs in fact throughout the West of the possibility of a war of classes in which one side would be naturally drawn to turn to the Asiatics as the most effective weapons of resistance to trace unionist tyranny and if the economic laws prevail. Asiatic labour is bound to triumph over European labour. But in an atmosphere charged with race-feeling and selfishness, passion is liable to be served at the expense of prudence and it would be impossible to predict on what lines an ultimate solution will be obtained.

ASIATICUS.

THE OUTLOOK

'IDEAS rule the world' is a phrase coined in the West, but its truth is felt more keenly by Eastern than by Western minds. For in the East ideas so dominate, that the impracticable becomes often the most fascinating. To-day, however, in India the practical is gaining ground, and germinating thoughts are taking shape which will rule not only the imaginations but also the actions of the new generation. The birth is being witnessed of what has rightly been called New India. A study, therefore, of nationality in modern European history, combined with the recent experiments in nation-building in the new Continents may present suggestive thoughts as to the problem of the

Indian future. The present paper will contain a brief historical record of the factors which made for nationality in the West and will then apply them to the present outlook in India.

The Europe of the middle ages was a magnificent attempt to construct a great Western Commonwealth or 'Christendom,' in which the different nations were to be provinces owning a common allegiance to a temporal and spiritual Head. Orington has called it a 'precocious age,'—an age in which, with the impetuosity of youth, the young nations of the West, emerging from the darkness of barbarism, leapt forward under the Christian impulse to achieve great ideals. The greatest of all was the ideal of the Eoly Roman

Empire. The framework of its constitution covered Western Europe and government and jurisdiction became nearly international. The citizens of each nation were citizens also of a greater Commonwealth. They owned temporal and spiritual allegiance, not only to the King and Archbishop, but also to the Emperor and Pope. The Papacy itself was open to the whole West. The humblest citizen in Christendom might rise to be Universal Bishop and wear the triple crown. There were English and French Popes as well as Italian, German and Spanish. The binding forces of the Empire were also of an imposing order. Roman law, both civil and ecclesiastical, covered all the West. Latin was the common language of politics, education and religion. Each University had its 'quarters' or colleges for the 'nations.' Religion itself was the most powerful of all unifying factors and became in the time of the crusades an enthusiasm which nearly obliterated race distinctions. Still further, the common feudal system spread like a network over Europe and bound the whole of Christendom together into one organised society.

Yet each one of these great bonds and the whole majestic structure was shattered and broken asunder in a few generations. Both the conception and the attempt were too ambitious and premature to be realized at so early a stage. The revolt against the Papacy was the immediate cause of the disruption, but, as historians have pointed out, the Reformation itself was more than half a national movement. Patriotism seemed as it were, to spring up from the ground ready armed against both the Papal and Imperial dominion. The rise of separate nations was the dominant factor of the sixteenth century in the West. Modern Europe dates from that period and can only be explained by that event. The age of smaller and intenser nationalities then began.

In India a similar disruption of a highly organised spiritual and territorial dominion took place soon after the reign of king Asoka. The binding forces of the Asokan Empire,—religion, law, language and personal sovereignty,—were as strong as those of mediæval Europe. But in India the disruption which followed was only partly due to inner and reconstructive forces. The normal development into smaller and intenser nationalities was continually checked and hindered by foreign invasions. It is true that in the course of centuries of oppression distinct patriotic bodies of men have sprung up and maintained a separate existence of the strong

national type. Among these the Rajput, Sikh and Mahratta powers come nearest to the form and organisation of distinctive nationalities. But the whole of India was never mapped out into separate nations, nor did the smaller kingdoms, which arose from time to time, remain highly organised for a period long enough to develop marked national characteristics. Thus it has come about that only among a very few of the races of India has an intense national spirit of the western type emerged. It is noticeable that the tribes or clans which were able to evoke this spirit still remain the most virile and independent in the whole of India.

We may pause here to consider the effects upon European civilisation of this intenser and more local nationalism, which took the place of the mediæval cosmopolitan spirit. When we examine a map of Europe we are almost startled to find how tiny were the areas of the most progressive nations. England, Scotland, Holland, Switzerland, names ever to be associated in history with the national struggle, were none of them as large or as populous as many districts in a modern Indian province. Holland, which spread its colonies over half the globe and successfully resisted the world-empire of Spain, was but a few square miles of land reclaimed from the sea, with a population that scarcely reached a million. Yet in these smallest areas the national spirit was intensest. What special qualities did this spirit bring? The answer is clear. It brought individuality, initiative, sacrifice, along with an extraordinary power of organisation. Each nation was struggling for its very life and was threatened continually with danger. Each nation depended on the individual, each individual was responsible for the nation. Character was the result. Independence and organisation tingled in the blood and became an instinct and an inheritance. The conflict was indeed terrible, as nation clashed with nation. Wars of religion mingled with wars of conquest. The larger European Powers more than once attempted to bring back an Empire of the mediæval type, but the smaller and intenser nations struggled for their freedom and not only defeated the imperial spirit but at last converted it, so that nationalism, as a living permanent principle, became firmly fixed throughout the length and breadth of Europe. Out of that great turmoil and upheaval immense reserves of strength were stored up in every nation for the use of future generations.

The splitting up process was, therefore, necessary. It quickened the ignorant and

unenlightened masses and gave them forceful and penetrating ideas combined with active work of citizenship.

But as soon as the separation into smaller nations has effected its object, we see a new and wider process starting. Separatist tendencies begin to ebb and centralizing forces gain ground once more. Nation begins to combine with nation and state with state. The United Kingdom and modern Germany are the first clear expressions of the wider process in Europe. Each of these two units now consists of a series of nations within a larger nation. The great Italian struggle of the nineteenth century was as much a fight for unification as for independence. When we turn to the new Continents the whole trend of events is towards the building up of larger nations. A Canadian Dominion now stretches for thousands of miles from the Atlantic to the Pacific. An internecine war was not considered too great a price to pay in order to preserve the Federal Union of the United States. Australia has now a commonwealth of her own and a South African Federation is near at hand. The tide of modern civilization is set towards larger nations. These larger nations (this is the point to keep clearly in mind) now carry with them all the forces acquired in the narrower sphere. They are not made up of inarticulate and undeveloped masses of people who have remained stationary for centuries, but of men who have been trained in the hard school of modern Europe. The American and Canadian to-day are nation-builders, because the national instinct has already been acquired.

We may now consider some of the forces which favour the formation of larger rather than smaller nations in modern times. They are on the one side external and material, and on the other side inner and spiritual.

The first external favouring condition is the rapidity of modern communication which makes large areas manageable for government and administration. The old mediæval State broke down owing to the difficulty of keeping the centre in touch with the circumference. Distance was in the past an almost insuperable barrier. This barrier now no longer exists under modern conditions. The steamship and railway, the post and the telegraph, have almost obliterated distance. It is hard to estimate the political value of this one simple factor. Compactness and concentration are now possible over a large expanse of country where other favouring conditions also are present.

A second external factor making for unification in modern times is the growth of industry and commerce. A wide field is now a necessity for organised labour and capital. Between separate nations the difficulties of custom barriers and hostile tariffs still remain; but within the larger state such hindrances are absent and trade organisation and labour federation become most powerful unifying forces. Germany affords one of the most remarkable instances of this factor in nation building. When every other means had been tried and failed, a common Customs Union succeeded in uniting the German petty States. Modern Germany, it is true, is now bound together by spiritual bonds of love of Fatherland, but the humble instrument of union at the outset was commerce.

On the inner side of thought and culture, primary education becomes a most powerful favouring condition. We are apt to forget how modern this condition is, and what a strength it gives to larger unification. Where the great bulk of the people can read and write a common language and use modern appliances, such as the press, for obtaining information, the wide spread of national sentiments becomes feasible. There are newspapers to-day with a daily circulation of over a million copies. No modern State is regarded as efficient in which education is not only free but compulsory. The interests of the country are watched by every citizen and the formation of public opinion becomes a force more potent than the sword. In the United States we see a striking example of the effects of this process. Foreign families who land with foreign ideas and instincts become patriotic citizens in the second and third generation owing to the common training of the children in the public schools of the land. Japan has risen so rapidly into the first rank of World Powers in a great measure owing to her thorough educational system.

Religious tolerance combined with a common moral standard is a second inner factor which has made possible the larger modern State. In India of the past under King Asoka and the Emperor Akbar religious tolerance brought peace and unification to a divided country: the intolerance which followed caused division and decline. The Asokan inscriptions are still one of the beacon lights of the past and a priceless possession of the Indian People. They represent the first distinctive Proclamation of tolerance in the history of the world. In the West, in spite of the clearest commands of the New Testament itself, toleration of religious

differences only slowly won its way.* In modern times, however, the universal spread of education has given permanence to the principle and it has become an axiom of constitutional Government. It is true that the combination of different religious views within a single nation has brought with it a separation between Church and State, the State remaining neutral as to religious differences while maintaining a common moral standard. But this has not meant a weakening of religion. Rather the Church has gained by the loss of State patronage, and religion has become more personal. To-day in all the larger modern States religious tolerance is a fixed possession of citizenship. The common moral standard moulding customs, laws and ideas has so far been Christian: as yet no wide and lasting experiment has been tried on any other basis. It may be argued that modern Japan has been built up apart from the Christian standard of morality. This is partly true, but it is also true that Christian moral ideals have been largely adopted. Japanese statesmen have been the first to acknowledge how much they owe to Christianity in the past and with what satisfaction they look forward to its spread in the future. Japan has opened her doors widely and generously to the new religion and she has never repented her action. She has achieved religious tolerance and will soon, if the forecast of her most famous writers is correct, acquire a common moral standard mainly Christian in type. Such a standard instead of denationalizing her will strengthen still further her nationality.†

The rough outline here sketched of the circumstances which make possible the larger states of modern times is by no means adequate, but it will serve as an approach to the problem with which this paper deals, namely, the outlook in the Indian Peninsula.

* The reader is referred to Creighton's *Persecution and Tolerance* for a masterly historical treatment of the subject.

† Non-Christians contend that there is no moral ideal or truth in Christianity whose independent existence in some other system or systems of faith cannot be shown. As regards 'world-ethics' and 'world-politics,' the following extract from an address on "Religion and Empire" by Mr. Graham Wallas, M. A., of London, may be found interesting:—

"If I were asked, whether there is any one of the great established religions from which it is possible that a conception of the world-problem could, in our time, come, I should look perhaps to Buddhism. Certainly, the only sane, kind, and, as it seems to me, true argument concerning the Chinese question that has been issued by the officials of any State or Church, is that which has been issued by the Buddhists of Japan. And I will add, that the only sane and kind and true thing done, in all that welter of stupidity and cruelty, was done by the Buddhists of Japan, when they refused to take any compensation for the destruction of their sacred buildings. It seems to me, again, that Buddhism has an advantage in that it is not anthropocentric, and does not treat the universe merely as a painted background before

If will be seen at once that India starts with one great advantage. She possesses the large expanse, the great population and the geographical boundaries which are so important in modern times. No difficulty presents itself from narrow and cramped surroundings. There is no necessity to found over-sea colonies or conquer neighbouring states in order to expand. She is self-contained and can organize from within. In this way she is admirably equipped for the march of the future and escapes many of the difficulties of such a country as Great Britain.

But on the other hand her population has experienced in the past what science would call an 'arrested development.' India, as we have seen, has never been split up into separate nations and national life has never become vividly intense. The village peoples have hitherto remained nearly stationary. They have accepted rather than resisted foreign migration and invasion. They have never yet been stirred and quickened by generations of forceful and insistent progress. There have been struggles, it is true, but these have not led to the attainment of ever-increasing rights and privileges; rather they have issued in further subjection and depression.

Sismondi in his exhaustive description of the Italian Republics of the middle ages has drawn an illuminating distinction between the power of 'active' and 'passive' liberties in quickening national achievement. The 'passive', he declares, are those imposed from without: the 'active' are those which citizens claim as their own and acquire by self-dependent enterprise. He shows, how all the greatness of mediæval Italy and its creative genius was due to those 'active' liberties. The same fact may be noticed in the brilliant period of the tiny Athenian state. In India, passive liberties§—the liberty of remaining in a stationary condition, the liberty of letting

which is acted the tragedy of human life. A religion which looks on human life in its relation to a living universe, presents some possibility of overcoming the apparently instinctive hatred that divides the white and black races of mankind. Certainly, in this war in South Africa, he would be most likely to think of the Kaffirs, whose crops we are burning, who also had a thought for the hundreds of thousands of oxen and of horses which we are torturing to death."—(*Liberal Religious Thought at the Beginning of the Twentieth Century*, 1901, pp. 266-267).—Ed., M. R.

‡ The reader is referred to the concluding chapter of Dr. Nitobe's book *Bushido: the Soul of Japan*.

§ That in ancient times republics existed in many parts of India, that in others there was limited monarchy with constitutions founded on custom and sacred law and that there was municipal self-government of a better type than what exists in British India, are now admitted by students of ancient Indian history. Whether these facts point to the enjoyment of 'passive' or of 'active' liberties cannot be discussed in a foot-note;—nor whether ancient India was like a stagnant pool.—Ed., M. R.

the legions thunder past and plunging back into repose, the liberty of being ruled from without and left alone on payment of tribute—these liberties have been allowed to the village population for many centuries. But the 'active' liberties,—the liberty of full and vigorous citizenship, the liberty of self-dependence and self-government, the liberty of indigenous enterprise and initiative—these have been so often denied or crushed out of existence in the past, that even when granted in some measure to-day they can scarcely be appreciated,—witness the present condition of municipal and district administration.*

Two facts, however, modify this general statement. First, there already exists in the Indian village communities an indigenous organisation of a simple type which has never been destroyed, and there is present also some of the finest raw material for nation building in the world. There are qualities in the peasantry of simplicity and abstemiousness, of toil and endurance, which may be of incalculable value in the future. The village people do not represent a decayed and dissolute population such as brought about the ruin of the Roman Empire, but a hard and sturdy stock from which great things may be expected. Secondly, the educated classes have sprung forward at a bound and already obtained a remarkable grasp of the political ideals and methods of the West. This inner circle of the educated is as intensely national as Japan or England, though their practical experience is yet small. Powers of intelligence and initiative are increasing rapidly among them. They are a company of select men who have won their way upward by a self-sacrificing struggle against heavy odds.

India is now face to face with the most critical struggle of all,—the awakening and enlightenment of the masses. How can multitudes so vast be moved 'a hair's breadth from the actual'? How is the energy of intensive patriotism to come to them, which is the secret of individuality and initiative? Will such a struggle towards light and freedom be quickened by the present peaceful condition of the country, or will that very peace bring more and more passivity? Will the end be a true Indian Commonwealth of active citizenship or will the unprogressive attitude remain unchanged?

We turn back to the four favouring conditions already mentioned which make for larger

nationalities. As we apply them to India the prospect is on the whole encouraging. We see at once that the gain has already been great under British rule, and if the progress has been slow, yet so far it has been sure. With regard to facility of communication the village people have already been brought closer to the great cities. The advance of railways, postage and telegraph, with their concomitant the cheap press, has changed the face of the country. Centralized law and government has been made possible and a great step in unification has been accomplished. In the political sphere the effect has been most apparent and the ferment greatest. Centralized Government has brought within the range of practical politics the national ideal and the struggle of the educated classes towards this ideal has brought with it that 'intensity' which we have witnessed in the West and has been one of the chief factors in their training. Along the new channels of intercommunication, the railway and the press, new political thoughts are spreading in wider and wider circles. The barriers of caste are being broken down; political leaders themselves are repudiating them and reform from within may be expected on a larger scale. Just as in England the Chartist movement was the beginning of an era of social reform, so it may be in India. But though the political impulse given by the external unification of the country is thus vigorous, other lines of development must take place at the same time if the masses are to be levered.

The next external constructive force of the modern State, *viz.*, commerce and industry, may play a still larger part in building up the Indian nation. Up to the present in this sphere development has been imposed mainly from without, taking the form of foreign exploitation rather than indigenous enterprise. But the tide has already begun to turn and if the present economic Swadeshi movement is successful, results on a large scale may be witnessed. Here is a line of progress which would directly affect the village population. The transformation, for instance, of 10,000,000 out of 260,000,000 Indian villagers into artisans, if such were possible, would mean the contact of this large number with the strenuous life and thought of cities. Intelligence, skill, initiative and powers of combination would be developed and citizens of the modern type would exist at least in embryo.

not fully realised expectations, are we not entitled to ask whether it is possible for "self-government" under the thumb of the civilian bureaucrat to rouse much enthusiasm or public spirit?—Ed., M. E.

* Perhaps municipal self-government was *over-appreciated* in Calcutta and Bombay, at any rate. The strangling of self-government in Calcutta, and the Justices' election imbroglio in Bombay cannot be forgotten. Elsewhere, if municipalities and district boards have

There would also come, in the process, something of that struggle which produces character; for industries advance by competition. The village districts would be split up, not, as in the case of Europe, into smaller progressive nations, but into progressive industrial areas with great railway cities as their capitals. The prospect from one point of view is not altogether pleasing. There is much that is sordid in modern commercialism, and one can hope and trust that this side will not be reproduced in India. But the gains in the long run will be immensely greater than the losses. The breaking up of the mass of stagnant village life, the introduction of a whole world of new ideas and sentiments into millions of minds now steeped in ignorance, the bringing of vast numbers of Indians into the main current of national aspiration,—these will be large compensations for any possible evils. There must be one clear principle throughout—industry must become more and more indigenous.

With regard to the inward causes of national progress, free primary education for boys is now promised by Government in the near future, but there is very little prospect of its becoming universal and compulsory without the goodwill and co-operation of Indians themselves. On the side of female education, which is of equal, if not of greater, importance to the nation, nothing whatever can be done without a great inner revolution of thought and custom. There is, therefore, a struggle for progress impending, which will tax all the energies of those who desire to press forward. The Arya Samaj, the Brahmo Samaj, the Parsi community, together with the Christian educational missions have already broken up the ground, but the bulk of the work yet remains and only Indians can accomplish it. The main work will be within the family, removing prejudice, combating ignorance, spreading the new ideas. When barriers in the home are broken down and children of both sexes come in large numbers to be taught, every effort must be made here also to develop on indigenous lines. In season and out of season the need of an education more in keeping with the condition of the country should be pressed home. It will not be sufficient to stand apart from Government in this matter. This would be a counsel of despair, and up to the present there has not been any such unwillingness on the part of the State to co-operate as would justify separation. The new scheme of national education, by means of private funds, will be a valuable object lesson on a small

scale, but it can hardly expect to cover the whole ground, or to compete seriously with the State's unlimited resources. The Senates of the Universities, the Professors in Colleges, the Masters in Schools are now mainly Indian; even the courses of study are in a great measure within Indian control; it will be the fault of Indians themselves, therefore, if the history, literature and traditions of India do not form a prominent part in every college and school curriculum. In the present generation and for many years to come the practical course for Indians to take will be to co-operate heartily with Government in educational affairs, to help on the one hand to bring about such a revolution in the country that it will be considered a disgrace for any boy or girl, however poor, to remain illiterate, and on the other hand so to improve the present course of study and supply of teachers that the love of India, the motherland, shall be instilled into every Indian boy and girl from the very earliest years.* The work will require persistence and struggle but it is only out of such struggles that nations are made.

I have left till the last the religious side of Indian national life, which is on the one hand the most complex, and on the other hand the most important in its bearing on the future. The subject requires much fuller treatment than can be given at the end of a paper already long and I hope to be able to return to it on some future occasion in the pages of the *Modern Review*. Here I shall only deal with two important considerations. First, far more progress has already been made towards the solution of the religious difficulty than is sometimes imagined. Perhaps the greatest of all the benefits of the strong central Government is the religious peace which has now existed practically unbroken for more than a century. Men have had time to think of India as a whole and to cease from wasteful conflict. The idea of a patriotism which must be inclusive rather than exclusive is now gaining a firm footing and will become a fixed principle in Indian politics in the near future. Secondly, it is being recognised that this principle of inclusive patriotism is not to be promoted at the expense of religion but by the removal of religious bigotry; that it is not to be cultivated by a depreciation of religion in comparison with politics, but rather by a purification of religion until there

* We are not against co-operation with Government where it is possible. As for the love of India, is it not a rule (whether written or unwritten, does not matter) for the guidance of Text-book Committees that books inculcating patriotism and things of that sort should not be approved?—Ed., *M. R.*

is nothing left which is contrary to the highest political aspirations. While on the one hand no man with a real faith in God can put his country before his religion, on the other hand no religion can be true or worthy which contradicts that love of country which is itself divinely implanted. At times there may seem a final contradiction between country and religion, in which case, if the dignity of conscience is to be upheld, religion must come first. For instance, the Pilgrim Fathers loved England better than life itself, yet when religious conviction was at stake they were ready to be banished rather than give up their faith and we honour them for their choice. Mazzini was one of the greatest patriots who ever lived and his life was one long martyrdom for his country, yet there is nothing on which he lays more stress in all his writings than the fact that faith in God must come first, if love of country is to be established on a sound and permanent basis, or, to state it in his own words that 'the worship of God and Truth' is the 'foundation of all true national life.' The expression, therefore, "we must be Indians first, and Hindus, Musalmans, etc., afterwards," needs modification. It should rather run, "we must all set to work to purify our religion, so that nothing remains that is directly contrary to high national aspiration." What is needed to-day is not the consignment of religion to the second place and the setting up of nationalism above it, but the advancement of religion to such a point that the highest national ideals have themselves a religious sanction. We do not need less religion in India, but religion of a purer and more enlightened type, we need in short a Reformation as well as a Renaissance. For such an event to take place among the village populations, with their present ignorance, idolatry and love of formal ceremonial and custom, with their caste observances and primitive superstitions, will mean a struggle far more arduous than that in the sphere of politics, commerce or education. Yet if the struggle be arduous, the reward will be proportionate; for when we touch religion we touch the very heart of the nation. Moral and spiritual character is the great reward granted to every true and worthy seeker after God. May India's religious faith and spiritual aspiration become

not less but greater than in the past! Then only will she fulfil the high destiny in the world which seems marked out for her by Providence.

From this outline of the favouring conditions which make for Indian nationality, three things will be noticed. First, in each field up to the present the impulse has come in the first instance from the British Government itself. Whether it be rapid communication and centralized government, whether it be commercial enterprise and industrial development, whether it be religious tolerance and the overthrow of bigotry, the change has for the most part been brought about by contact with the West. Secondly, a new spirit has now come into being, which aims at self-dependence and self-help. We see this in Swadeshi enterprise, national education and similar movements. Thirdly, the change from the old order to the new is only being accomplished through much conflict and struggle, and every year the struggle is becoming more intense and is affecting wider and wider circles. Paradoxical as it may appear, the very difficulties and disappointments, the very conflicts and struggles of the present crisis in Indian History seem to the writer of this paper the most hopeful feature in the situation. Young India may say with Browning to-day:—

Then welcome each rebuff
That turns each smoothness rough,
Each sting that bids nor sit, nor stand but go!
Be our joys three parts pain,
Strive and hold cheap the strain.
Learn, nor account the pang : dare, never grudge
the three !

For thence—a paradox
Which comforts while it mocks—
Shall life succeed in that it seems to fail.

Temporary reverses and partial failures may occur, but the old passivity is gone for ever and the new spirit has come to stay. The change denotes a silent revolution. There is needed strong leadership and strong self-discipline. Mob-rioting and internal party-strife can only lead to fresh disaster. The country is too divided and distracted already to be able to endure them. But on the other hand a generation of strong, earnest workers united in one aim and acting under a common leadership for the good of their country, co-operating with Government where possible,

cies being indirect and incidental results, often brought about against the real object of Government. Did not Mr. John Morley exclaim only the other day in his *Arbroath* speech: "Is India with all its heterogeneous populations—is it moved really to new and undreamt unity?" Undreamt not by us, but by Mr. Morley and the Government he represents.—ED., M. R.

* The fact may be as it is stated here; but the inference (if it be implied at all) hardly follows that Government has consciously and deliberately helped in Indian nation-building. On the contrary, it seems abundantly clear that everything done by Government that has favoured the awakening of a national consciousness and the process of nation-building, has been done mainly and directly for purposes of administration and exploitation, the nationalizing tenden-

keeping strictly to constitutional lines in their endeavours, pressing forward every side of indigenous development, appealing to all classes of the Indian people, undaunted by apparent failure, inspired by high courage and unselfish hope,—such a body of men will find a response in the heart of their own people and still further in the heart of every true Englishman, and without outward violence or anarchy, though it may be through much pain and travail, a new India will at last be born.

Postscript. In talking over the subject of this paper with an Indian friend, he made the following comment:—

“You have stated the problem correctly; there can be no question that the creation of a progressive spirit in the masses is the great need of the future and until that is accomplished India can never be a nation. But your methods seem to me to be too Western and progress on those lines will take centuries. In the East the idea is everything and advance is not made by material circumstances merely but by personal devotion of multitudes towards the *guru* who sacrifices himself for the idea. Consider for a moment how a true *swami* is followed who comes forth from solitude and introspection with his whole spirit absorbed in one single object. Consider how when a real *sadhu* appears, whose manner of life corresponds with his principles, he is almost worshipped. Our masses are not dull and unintelligent, but they are *idealists* and will only move in a body for an ideal. You Christian missionaries have failed, pardon me, because your European dress and great imposing buildings and institutions obscure the ideal of your Founder who had not where to lay His head. If you had begun at the other end by living such a life as Nilakantha Goreh, you might have won India by now, and the Indian people themselves would have built your institutions. We ourselves need to-day leaders who are living for an ideal, leaders with the spirit of self-negation carried to the extreme limit, leaders who will make no compromise with the comforts and the luxuries of the West and who will have no other object in life except their love of country. If this ideal can be sung in story, linked with old traditions, personified in national heroes of the past

and lived in the present before the eyes of the common people by enthusiasts of the ascetic type: if the ideal can in this way be brought home with every religious sanction and association to the minds of the masses, then advance can be made all along the line; but otherwise reforms will be stillborn; there will be no atmosphere for them.”

I pointed out to my friend that I had refrained from entering fully upon the religious side of the new movement. I could not help feeling, however, that his criticism on the general drift of my paper was a fair one and that I had been looking at the path of forward progress too much through western spectacles. In India it is probably true that advance can be most readily effected along the pathway of the imagination, for there is unquestionably an idealism latent in every Indian mind which in the past has worked wonders and may work wonders to-day. At the same time while fully recognizing this aspect of Indian life, I still feel strongly that such appeals to the imagination may themselves run to waste and become abortive, unless the dull, prosaic work of foundation-laying and material advance is also taken in hand. How many mighty spiritual movements have come and died away in India! May not their transitory effect itself be due to weak economic, educational and political foundations, nay, even to such a simple cause as lack of communication and difficulty of travel? While, therefore, I would wish to acknowledge the justice of my friend's criticism, and hope to deal with it on a future occasion, I still cling to the opinion that the western scientific method of advance, by utilizing every material circumstance which makes for progress, has its place in India, and that permanent results can only be obtained when these proved and tested scientific methods of progress are followed. It is this solid foundation work which is being accomplished by the British administration. Without this preliminary substratum the very idea of an Indian Nation would scarcely have existed. It would seem to me little short of madness to neglect the substance of this practical gain for the shadow of an impracticable ideal. The need is rather to idealize the modern development and spirit and thus make it indigenous.

C. F. ANDREWS.

PEARLS

PEARLS are a peculiar product of certain marine and freshwater molluscs. Most shell-bearing molluscs are provided with a secretion with which they line their shells, and give to the otherwise harsh granular material of which the shell is formed a beautifully smooth surface, which prevents any unpleasant friction upon the tender body of the animal. This secretion is laid in extremely thin semi-transparent films, which in consequence of such an arrangement, have generally a beautiful iridescence,* and form in some species a sufficient thickness to be cut into useful and ornamental articles. The material itself in its hardened condition is called *nacre* by zoologists and by dealers mother of pearl. Besides the pearl lining of the shells, detached and generally spherical or rounded portions of the nacre are often found on opening the shells, and there is great reason to suppose that these are the result of accidental causes, such as the intrusion of a grain of sand, or the frustule of one of those minute siliceous vegetables known as diatoms, or a minute parasite, or even one of the ova or eggs (which has not properly developed) of the pearl-oyster itself, which by irritating the tender body of the animal, obliges it in self-defence to cover the cause of offence, which it has no power to remove. Around this foreign body thin layers of nacre are deposited one after another, like the successive layers of an onion, until the object is completely encysted, and a pearl is formed. The formation of a pearl is an abnormal or morbid process, comparable to that by which any foreign body, as a bullet, may become encysted in animal tissues and so cease to cause further irritation. The pearl is formed of concentric layers of carbonate of lime of extreme thinness, interstratified with animal substance, and is hence easily dissolved by acids or destroyed by heat. These layers are

of the same general character as those composing the shell. Fine pearls have frequently been found in working the mother-of-pearl shell.

The chief sources of the supply of pearls are the pearl oysters and pearl mussels, and foremost among the former is the pearl oyster of Indian seas. Pearls are generally of a satiny, silvery, or bluish white colour, but also pink, copper-coloured, purple, yellow, gray, smoky-brown, and black. The finest white pearls are from Ceylon, the Persian Gulf, Thursday Island, and the western coast of Australia. The yellow are from Panama. The finest black and gray pearls are obtained in the Gulf of California along the entire coast from Lower California to the lower part of Mexico. There are two distinct varieties of pink pearl; those from the common conch-shell of the West Indies, and those from the union or fresh mussels found in Scotland, Germany, France, and the United States (the finest being obtained principally from Ohio, Tennessee, Kentucky, Texas, and Wisconsin) also from the small marine shell *Trigona pectenensis* of Australia. River pearls are produced by fresh-water mussels in Scotland, Wales, Ireland, various parts of Russia, Germany, Canada and the United States. Pearls are also obtained in the Ichhamati river near Bongong in Bengal. Purple, light blue, and black pearls are found in the common clam. The yellow colour of oriental pearls generally results from the decomposition of the molluscs in which they are found.

The value of a pearl depends entirely on its size, perfection of form (which must be either round, pear-shaped, or a perfect oval), on its lustre or "orient," freedom from defects, and on the purity of its colour, a tint of yellow or gray detracting very much from the value. Pearls are sold by the pearl grain, four grains equalling one carat. From 1831 to 1890 the demand for pearls and the rarity of their occurrence resulted in an advance in price of from 250 to 300 per cent., the larger pearls having advanced more, proportionally, than the smaller ones. Until about 1865, pearls were generally valued as multiples of a grain. The value of a pearl larger than

* The sheen of mother-of-pearl and other objects possessing a finely-grooved surface. It is due to interference between the waves of white light reflected from different levels in the grooving; some of the wave-lengths are more completely abolished by interference than others are; the result is that the residual vibration which reaches the eyes contains a preponderant proportion of the rays which have been less affected by interference, and the reflected light accordingly presents colours which vary according to the angle of reflection.

one grain was estimated by squaring its weight and multiplying this by the value of a one-grain pearl: thus a two-grain and a five-grain pearl were worth respectively 4 and 25 times the value of a one-grain pearl.

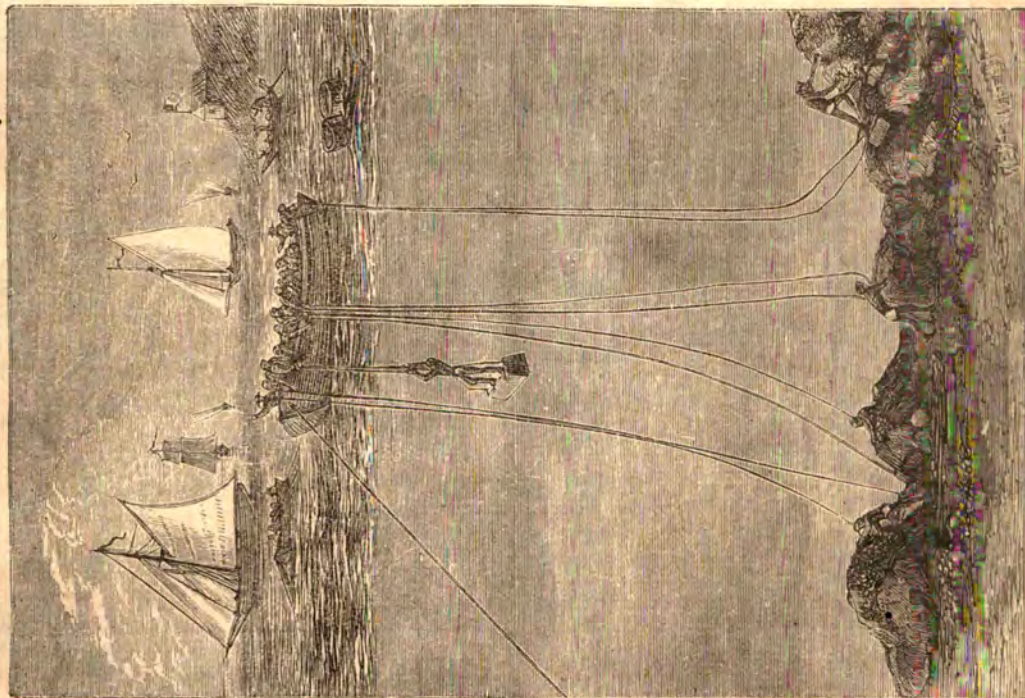
In Ceylon, the season of the fishery, when permitted, lasts from four to six weeks. For each diver there is provided a diving-stone, weighing about 40 lb., which is fastened to the end of a rope long enough to reach the bottom, and having a loop made for the man's foot. To each boat there is usually allotted a crew of 13 men and 10 divers, five of whom are descending whilst the others are resting. This work is done very rapidly; for notwithstanding the stories of divers who can remain below for four minutes, the best divers cannot, as a rule, remain longer than eighty seconds below, and few are able to exceed sixty. The greatest depth they descend is thirteen fathoms, and the usual depth about nine fathoms. When the diver gives the signal by pulling the rope he is quickly hauled up with his net and its contents. Probably the rarity of accidents from sharks, usually so abundant in tropical seas, is to be attributed to the bustle and to the excitement of the waters during the fishery frightening away those dreaded creatures. The divers are sometimes paid fixed wages, others agree for one-fourth of the produce. When a boat-load of oysters has been obtained it returns to shore, and the cargo, sometimes amounting to 20,000 or 30,000, is landed and piled on the shore to die and putrify, in order that the pearls may be easily found. In Ceylon, in 1889, in 22 days 50 divers brought up 11 million oysters, which sold for 24s. per 1000 shells, the Government receiving £10,000 and the divers £3200. When the animals in the shells are sufficiently decomposed the washing commences; and great care is taken to watch for the loose pearls, which are always by far the most valuable; the shells are then examined, and if any attached pearls are seen they are handed over to the clippers, who, with pinchers and hammer, skilfully remove them. Such pearls are only used for setting; whilst the loose ones, being usually quite round, are drilled and strung, and can be used for necklaces, &c.

Pearls vary much in size; those as large as a pea, and of good colour and form, are the best; except unusually large specimens, which rarely occur, the most extraordinary one known being the pearl in Mr. Beresford Hope's collection at South Kensington, which measures two inches in length, and four in circumference, and weighs 1800 grains. The

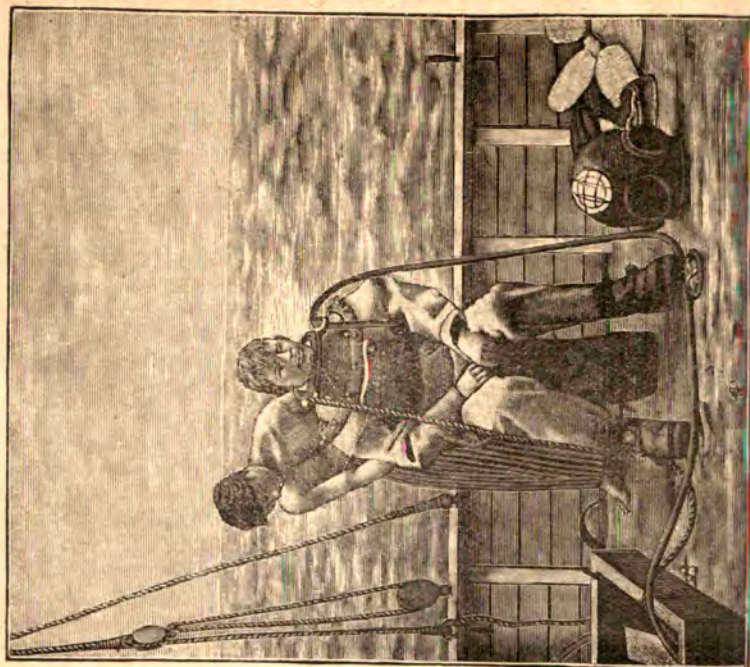
smaller ones are sorted into sizes, the very smallest being called seed-pearls. A considerable quantity of these last are sent to China where they are said to be calcined and used in preparing medicines. Amongst the Romans the pearl was a great favorite, and enormous prices were paid for fine ones. The single pearl which Cleopatra is said to have dissolved and swallowed was valued at £80,729; and one of the same value was cut into two pieces for earrings for the statue of Venus in the Pantheon at Rome. Of the pearls recently obtained in Australia, the most famous is the cluster known as the Southern Cross. It is a natural cluster of nine pearls grouped in the shape of a cross. After changing hands several times it sold ultimately for a little more than a lakh and a half rupees.

Pearls are found in an infinite variety of forms, and the consecutive layers vary in brightness, colour, and perfection. The most highly prized pearls are quite spherical, and it is evident from their shape that these must have been formed free in the mantle or in the soft tissues of the mollusc, and not cemented to the shell. Some pearls show defects caused apparently by the contact of new foreign substances, organic or inorganic, such as a grit or film of weed: and in some cases it requires a number of layers to completely hide these defects. Thus every new layer secreted, changes the value of the pearl.

Pearl-oysters frequently renovate their shells, and are in the habit of burying such intruders as they cannot otherwise dispose of. Stones, mud, small shells, wood, and especially layers of weed are found thus embedded in shells forming unnatural excrescences on the surface. These protuberances are gradually removed by the oyster secreting thinner layers of nacre on the top of them than on the base until the surface becomes again level. Slowly, but steadily, the exterior surface of the shell decays and disappears, until the foreign substance, of whatever nature it may be, comes within the reach of advancing dissolution, and thus the oyster literally passes a stone or other intruder through its shell. In the Natural History Museum, South Kensington, and in the Museum of Practical Geology in Jermyn Street, there are specimens which clearly illustrate the processes of relining the shell and of burying foreign substances. They are flat shells (the lower valves), with a number of the figures of Buddha lying embedded at equal distances apart, on the upper portion of the



PEARL FISHING BOATS.



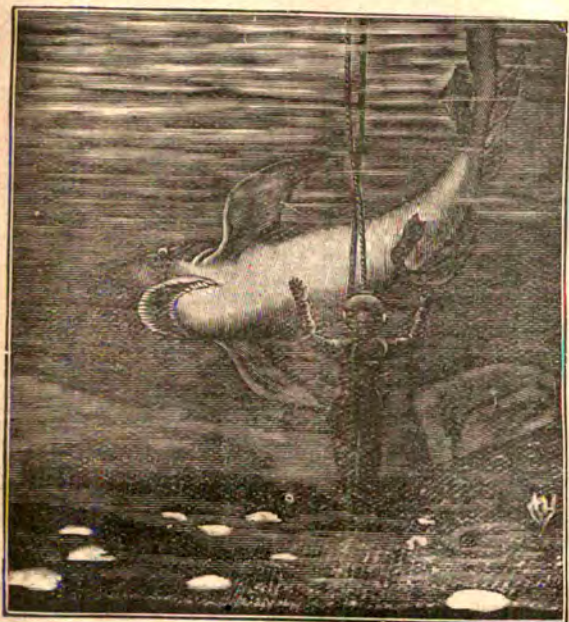
A DIVER PUTTING ON HIS DRESS.



THE DIVER READY TO DIVE.



SCENERY AT THE SEA-BOTTOM.



A DIVER IN THE PRESENCE OF A SHARK.



A DIVER ATTACKED BY AN OCTOPUS.

INDIAN PRESS, ALLAHABAD.

shell near the lips, but not so deeply buried as to be hidden. These are produced artificially in China; the little figures are slipped carefully below the mantle of the oyster, and the process of deposition covers them with nacre.

Button-shaped pearls rank next to the perfectly round in value, and then comes the drop or pear-shaped pearl. Perfectly round pearls over 25 grains in weight are extremely scarce, and secure high prices. They are greatly sought after to form the centre of necklaces, and large pearls of this character are safe and very profitable investments. The varying tints and colours of pearls are less difficult to understand than some of their eccentricities of growth. The changing condition of the sea, both as regards purity and temperature, the health of the oyster, accidents, such as the discharge of the inky fluid of the cuttlefish in the neighborhood of the oyster, all will probably affect the colours of the successive growth-periods of the pearl. Pearls, when of extraordinary beauty, size and brilliancy, will sell for sums which appear extravagant.

The accounts of the exploits of divers have often been very extravagant. Thus, it is sometimes affirmed that the pearl-divers of the East acquire by practice the power of remaining under water from 15 to 20 minutes, or even to hours. It need scarcely be said that these accounts are absurd, no such endurance being possible. The more skilful divers may remain under water for 2 or even 3 minutes; and 4 minutes 29½ seconds is claimed to have been attained in a glass-tank. Most divers suffer severely from the continual efforts in holding the breath; blood-shot eyes and spitting of blood are common among them. Their profession does not conduce to good health. They generally suffer from deafness, rheumatism and paralysis. Those who have a predisposition to diseases of the heart or lungs, die in a few months. It is noteworthy that if one about to dive breathes hard for a short time, he is then able to hold his breath much longer under water. The rude mode of diving is now but little used except for pearl and sponge-fishing. Even for these purposes the diving apparatus is now largely used, the diver thus collecting, it is computed, as much as twenty naked divers under the old primitive regime, and being able to remain from two to four hours under water.

The modern diving dress is water-proof. The diver first puts on two flannel suits, which soak in perspiration. Over these he

wears the diving dress. The soles of his boots are of lead, each weighing 15 lb. The diver carries back and front weights each about 40 lb. The boots made of stout leather with leaden soles, weigh about 20 lb. each. The helmet weighs about 40 lb. To the part of the helmet covering the eyes a magnifying glass is attached. The diver in using the dress has usually two weights of about 40 lb. each on his shoulders. A life or signal line enables the diver to communicate with those above. The air-pipe which supplies him with air is made of vulcanised India-rubber with galvanised iron-wire imbedded. The cost of a dress with all essential apparatus is about £140.

A kind of marine telescope is used for finding pearl beds or banks. As soon as these beds are discovered the diver in his diving dress plunges from the boat into the sea. Now-a-days pearls are gathered at depths of from 40 to 72 cubits. At depths greater than 72 cubits, the pressure of the water being very great, divers cannot remain longer than 10 minutes under water. But at depths from 25 to 30 cubits divers can easily remain under water for 2 hours. When the water is clear, they can see objects at a distance of 30 or 35 cubits, but when the water is turbid, they have to grope at the sea-bottom on their knees. 200 pairs of oysters represents a fair day's work for a diver; though sometimes one may gather even 1,000. The finding of pearls within the shells is a matter of chance. One may open some 40 or 50 mounds of shells without being rewarded with anything better than a few seed pearls; whereas another may grow wealthy in a day.

The work of the divers is full of danger. Under the water there may be so many dangers and accidents that it is impossible to guard against them all beforehand. If the diving dress is torn by contact with sharp stones or corals, the diver may die. He may die of suffocation, if the pump for supplying fresh air does not work properly, or if the air pipe bursts or gets loose. If the diver's signal to the men above to pull him up be not understood, he may die. More than any other quality the diver requires presence of mind, without which no one should take to diving.

On account of the silence of the sea-bottom divers have an inexpressible feeling of awe which landmen cannot imagine. On land when frightened men try to drive away fear from their minds by shouting, singing, whistling or repeating the names of the objects of their worship; but one cannot whistle in a

diving dress. One can sing, no doubt; but much breath is wasted in the effort.

Sharks sometimes kill divers, but do not generally attack them if they are in diving dress. Still if a diver happens to come across a shark, he cannot but be afraid. The naturally frightful appearance of that monster of the deep appears magnified through the water and the magnifying eyepiece of the helmet. An English diver has written that on meeting a shark the first impulse is to signal to those above to pull one up. But this should never be done, for on seeing anything moving away the shark like other fishes tries to seize it. For this reason it is the safest course to remain motionless in the presence of a shark. If a diver remains motionless various kinds of fish gather round him in shoals, and gaze at him with eyes wide open and gaping mouths like villagers come to town for the first time.

The smaller fishes may even bite his fingers; but at the mere waving of his hand, all the fishes disappear.

The octopus is rarely seen in Australian waters, but sometimes one hears of a diver's encounter with an octopus. The arms or tentacles of the octopus are generally 8 feet long. The arms sometimes number 10. A ten-armed octopus was once exhibited in America. Its body measured 9 feet, and each arm 30 feet. Another had a body twice as long.

The scenery at the bottom of the ocean is not less striking and beautiful than what we see on land. Corals of beautiful colours, strange aquatic plants and weeds, marine animals of various shapes, sizes and colours meet the eye of the diver.

Compiled from *Chambers's Encyclopædia*, the *Century Dictionary*, the *Royal Natural History*, and the Bengali magazine *Prabasi*.

GOUR UNDER THE HINDUS*

I. Early Records.

AN account of Gour under the Hindus can be gathered only from ancient records. The *Sagardighi*, a tank about a mile in length, and a flight of steps in the bathing ghat at Sadullapur, are now about the only relics of the Hindu period.

Gauda is of undoubted ancient origin; but more ancient appears to be the repute of Paundravardhana,† which has ultimately been identified with modern Pandua. Paundravardhana was the name of a royal city as well as of a *Bhukti*, a province, which eventually came to be governed as the most important dependency of the kingdom of Gauda. It included within its jurisdiction the best part of ancient Bengal.

The name suggests a connection with the *Paundras* or *Pundrakas*, a hardy race of intelligent cultivators, whose descendants are to this day returned at every Census in Malda at several thousands. They are undoubtedly an ancient people, as appears from a mention of their race in the great epic of the *Mahabharata*.‡ According to Manu,§ the Paun-

drakas, Odras, and Dravidas; Kambojas, Yavanas and Sakas; Paradas, Pahlavas; Chinas, Kiratas, Daradas and Khasas were *Kshatriyas*, who had fallen from their social eminence, and sunk among men to the lowest of the four classes. Their country, the ancient Paundravardhana, extended undoubtedly over the whole of North Bengal, to which Prof. H. H. Wilson wished to add the Districts of Nadia, Birbhum, Bardhaman, Midnapur, Jungal Mahals, Ramgarh, Pachet, Palamau and part of Ohunar.||

Two kingdoms, Kamarupa and Paundravardhana, figured long in history as the chief provinces of Eastern India. The *Karatoya*, then a river of considerable strength, flowed as a natural boundary between the two; while the Mahananda on the west separated Paundravardhana from the territory of Mithila, then called *Tirabhukti*, which was the Sanskrit name of modern Tirhut. Gauda appears at that time to have been included in *Tirabhukti*, and Pandua in *Paundravardhanabhukti*, both of which were equally noted for Sanskrit learning.

* This paper is compiled from the writer's notes which were presented to Lord Curzon by Maharaja Surjakant during His Excellency's visit to the ruins of Gour in 1902.

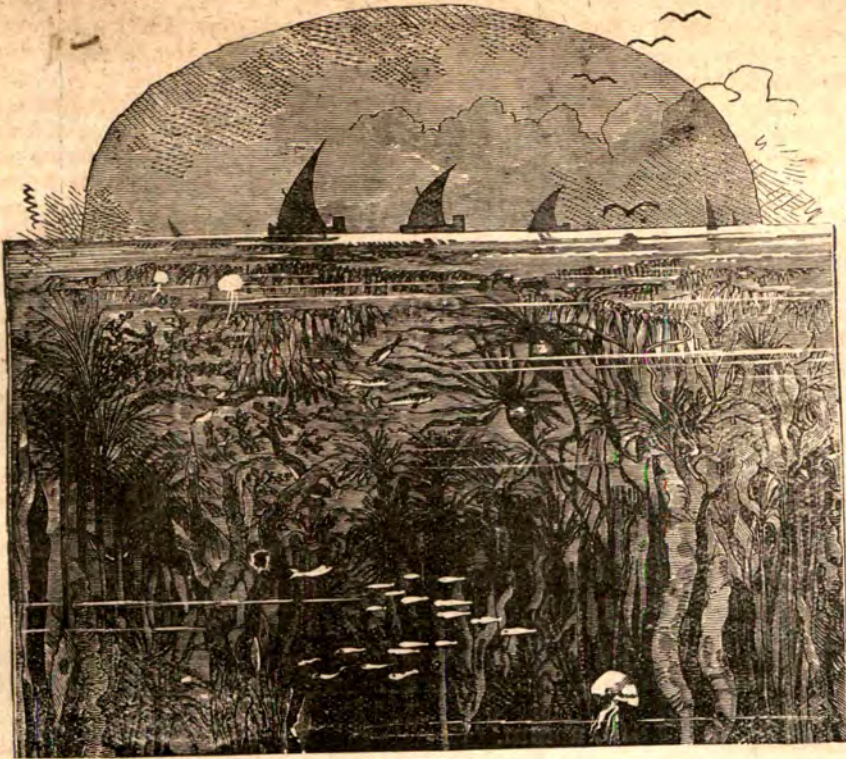
† According to one Sanskrit Dictionary the *Sabdaratnavali*, Paundravardhana was the territory where the sugarcane, of the species called Paundra, flourished. It is also called the country of Chandela.

The name occurs in the *Kathasaritsagara*. In the *Harivamsa*, it is named along with Kalinga and Matsya in one place, and in another place along with Anga, Banga and Kalinga.

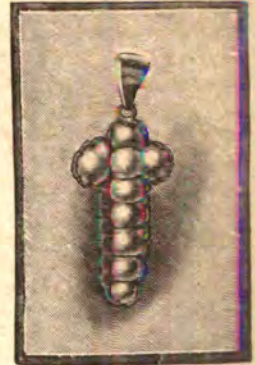
‡ Book II. 1872.

§ Book X. 12 to 24.

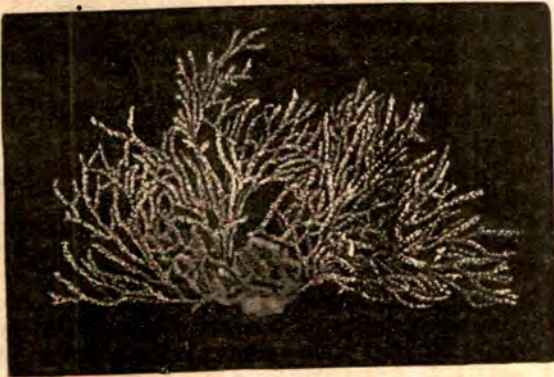
|| Visnu Purana, II. 130, 170.



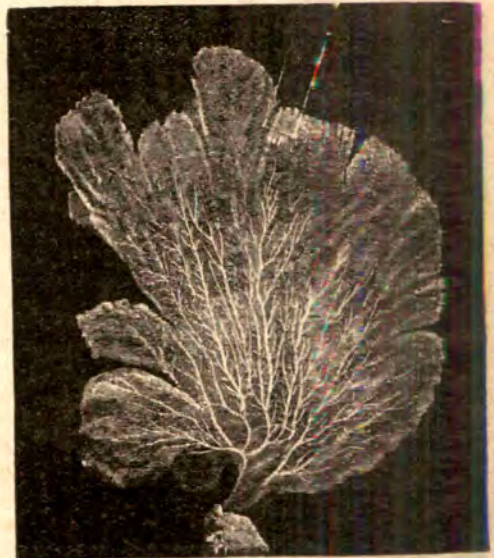
ANOTHER VIEW OF THE SEA-BOTTOM.



THE SOUTHERN CROSS.

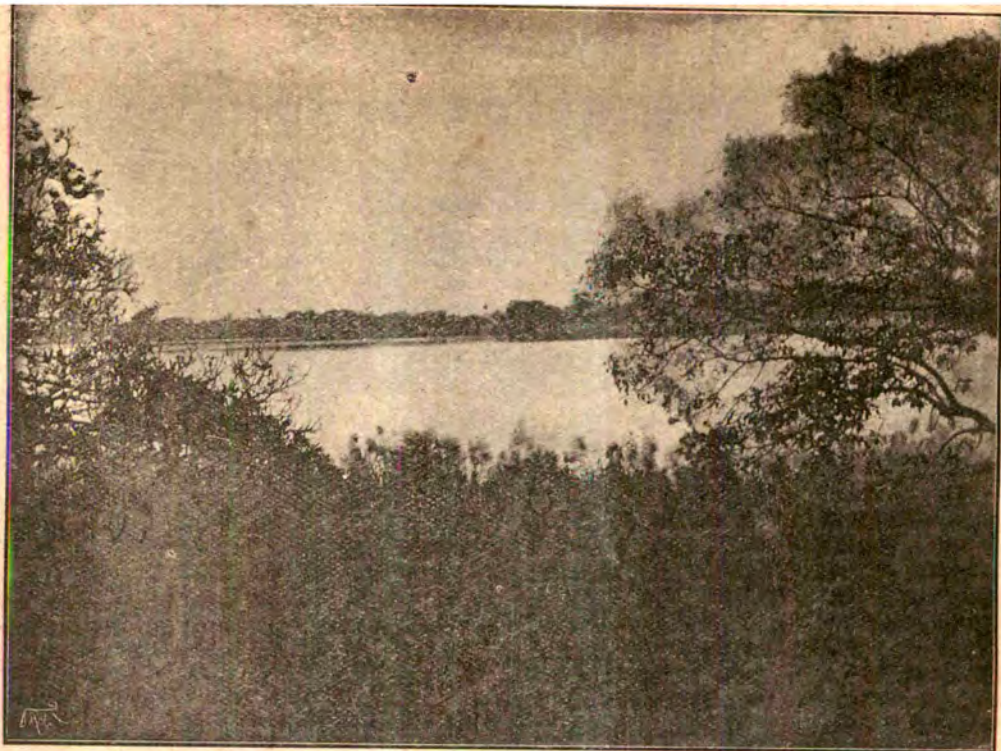


A SEE-WEED.

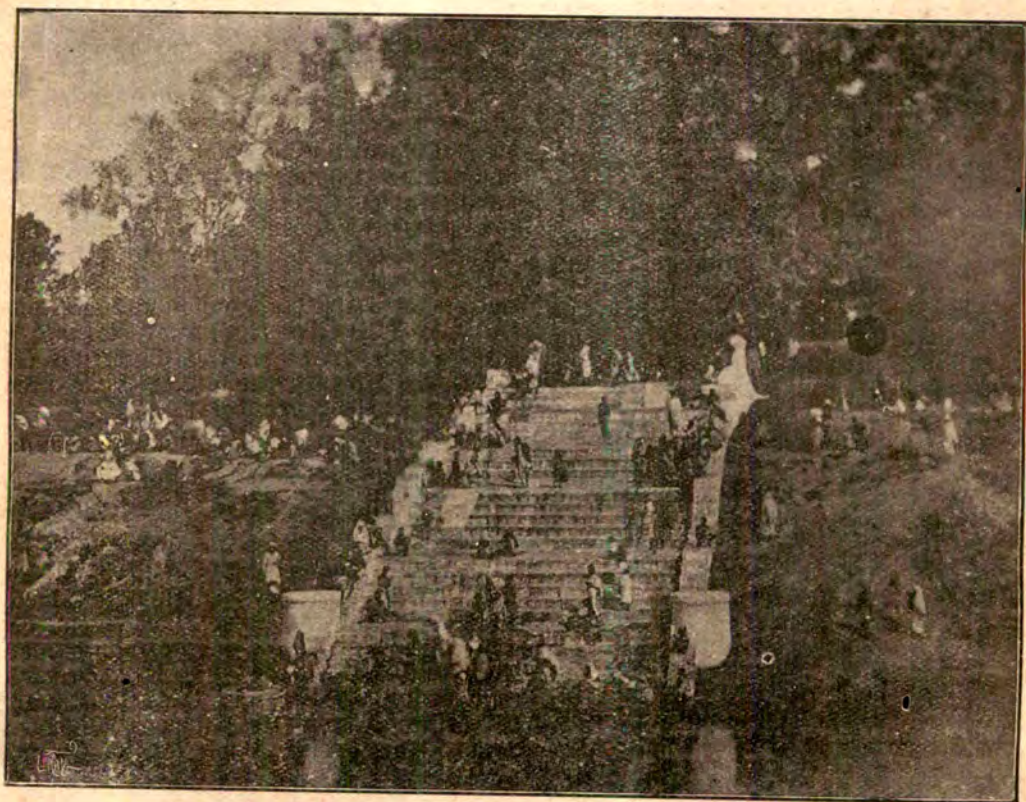


THE SEA-FAN.

INDIAN PRESE, ALTAHARAD.



SAGARDIGHI.



SADULLAHPUR GHAT.

The fame of Paundravardhana induced Hieun Tsiang to pay a visit to it during his prolonged travels in India, between 629 and 654 A. D. His Pun-na-fa-tan-na has been universally accepted as the Chinese form of Paundravardhana. This is the earliest authentic account of Paundravardhana, which has been hitherto brought to light from foreign sources. Gauda does not appear at that time to have enjoyed any special reputation; so Hieun Tsiang, who must have passed through it, does not even mention the name anywhere in his celebrated work, the *Si-yu-ki*.

According to this authority, Paundravardhana was the name of a country about 4,000 *li* in circuit, and also of a royal city about 30 *li* round,—with a fertile soil, dense and prosperous population, and numerous Buddhist and Hindu temples, together with one *stupa* built by Asoka. The climate was temperate, the people esteemed learning. To the west of the capital, 20 *li* or so, stood a *Sangraharama*, not far from which was the Asoka *stupa*, and a *Vihara* noted for a statue. From this, going east 900 *li* or so, crossing the great river, Hieun came to the country of Kamarupa.*

Paundravardhana, according to this account, did not extend beyond the natural river boundaries of North Bengal; the country to its south, about 3,000 *li* in circuit, bordering on the great sea, being known as a different territory called *Samatata*, with a capital of its own.†

Some antiquarians pointed to Vardhanakuti in Rungpur, others to Mahasthanghar in Bogra, both within the territory of Paundravardhana, as the capital city which Hieun Tsiang visited; while others identified it with the modern Pandua in Malda. Having visited the ruins of Pandua and Mahasthanghar, I am unable to accept Mahasthanghar or Vardhanakuti as the city mentioned by Hieun. Neither is 900 *li* west of the great river, but both stand on the *Karatoya*, which could never have been the place meant by Hieun Tsiang. A distance of 900 *li* west of the *Karatoya* will take us near the ruins of Pandua.

* Beal's Buddhist Records of the Western World, Vol. II. 194-195.

† It may be interesting in this connection to compare the limits of Gauda as given in the *Saktisangama Tantra* and the *Brihat Samhita*. In the *Saktisangama Tantra*, we have:—

“बङ्गदेशं समारभ्य भुवनेशान्तगः शिवे ।

गौडदेशः समाख्यातः सर्वविद्या विशारदः ॥”

The *Brihat Samhita* gives the widest jurisdiction to the kingdom of Gauda, thus:—

“अथ पूर्वस्याम् । इत्युक्त्वा उदयगिरिर्भद्रगौडकपौण्ड्रौ
कलकाशिनिकलाम्बद्या ॥”

There is, however, no visible Buddhist relic in or around modern Pandua, although in the territory covered by Paundravardhana we still come across many Buddhist remains in Rajshahi, Dinajpur and Bogra. The peculiar vicissitudes of fortune, which characterised the history of Pandua, might amply explain the absence of any but the relics of its last architectures under the Pathan Kings of Bengal, who showed little courtesy to historic monuments, when they utilised the materials of old edifices to embellish new ones for their use or vanity. Yet the inquisitive eye may detect here and there amidst the ruins of Pandua much that bear an unmistakeable testimony to their pre-Mahomedan origin. For ancient Hindu ruins, an enquiry may be made at one place which, to me, has always appeared to be a probable site. It is near the junction of the Kalindi with the Mahananda, opposite old Maldah, where a Hindu place of worship is visible to the present day.

II. Sources of information.

In the absence of authentic chronicles of ancient Bengal, we have to depend upon indirect sources of information supplied by books and inscriptions of old. Happily for the kingdom of Gauda, useful information has gradually been brought to light by the accidental discovery of ancient writings of historical importance, some of which have been utilised for the basis of this paper. It should, however, be noted at the outset, that the task of sifting proper materials from a shapeless mass of diffused literature of old, more or less legendary in character, is by no means an easy one. Yet the *Chronicles of Kashmir*, the *Inscriptions of Dharmapala* and his successors, the *Danasagara of Ballala*, the *Inscription of his father, son and grandson*, the books of *Halayudha* and *Bristidhara*, and the *Pillar Inscription of Garuva*, have thrown new light upon the history of Gauda under the Hindus, which may bear reconsideration at the present day.

The *Rajatarangini* of Kalhana, compiled in the twelfth century, as a *Chronicle of Kashmir*, has in recent years been carefully edited and translated by Dr. Stein, who has thrown new light upon the topography of the ancient territories mentioned in that elaborate Sanskrit history. Although mixed up with much that ought not to be regarded as a proper material for an authentic history, Dr. Stein has claimed for the *Chronicles* a recognition for credible facts that may yet be gathered from its pages by diligent students. The Fourth Book of the *Chronicles*

contains two stories about Bengal, one of Gauda and another of Paundravardhana, both of which are supported by tradition and other facts in history. They do not give us any connected and exhaustive account, but they furnish materials for Gauda and Paundravardhana being considered to have actually come in contact with Kashmir. The Bengal tradition boasts of an invasion of Kashmir by the people of Gauda, and at another time, of a marriage of the daughter of a Lord of Paundravardhana with a Prince of Kashmir. There is ample corroboration of these traditions in Kalhana's *Chronicles*. Dr. Stein, in his excellent Introduction,* considers "the account of the Karkota dynasty," contained in the Fourth Book, "to form, as it were, the transition between the semi-legendary traditions recorded in the first three books and the detailed and accurate narrative of the last four."

Muktapida-Lalitaditya, who reigned over Kashmir between 699 and 735 A. D. and sent an embassy to China, is described in the *Rajatarangini* as a great warrior-king, who completed a *Digvijaya* or universal conquest, in course of which he visited one after another different provinces of India and the border land. He defeated Yasovarman of Kanauj, with whom he concluded a treaty; and overran Kalinga and Karnata. He is not said to have invaded Gauda or Paundravardhana, but "numberless elephants" joined his army from Gauda, whether by purchase or as tributes from a friendly monarch it is difficult to decide. His conquest of Pragjyotisa, the *Pauranic* territory of Kamarupa, in Assam, suggests a friendly relation to have existed at the time between Gauda and Kashmir. This appears to have induced the monarch of Gauda to undertake a pilgrimage in Kashmir, during which "the glorious image of Visnu, *Parihasakesava*, was made surety for the safety of the Gaudian Prince." He was however, killed by assassins employed by Lalitapida, who had, by that time, sunk into wicked deeds. This led to the invasion and siege of Trigami† by the people of Gauda, who "courageously sacrificed their lives for the sake of their departed Lord." According to the description of Kalhana, "as these dark-coloured (men) were falling blood-covered to the ground under the strokes, they resembled fragments of stone, (falling) from an antimon-rock taking a bright colour

from liquid red chalk. The streams of their blood brilliantly illuminated their uncommon devotion to their Lord and enriched the earth."‡ Kalhana, in his enthusiasm for poetic appreciation of heroic deeds, exceeded the bounds of propriety and recorded that "even the Creator could not achieve what *Gaudas* did on that occasion."§ In this affray the idol of Ramaswamin was overturned and broken; and to Kalhana's day "the temple was empty whereas the whole world was filled with the fame of the *Gauda* heroes."|| Gauda appears from other descriptions of Kalhana to have enjoyed, up to his time, a reputation for valour, and Kalhana actually places Gauda in the same category with Kanyakubja in this respect.

In the reign of Jayapida-Vinayaditya, (grandson of Muktapida-Lalitaditya), who governed Kashmir for thirty-two years, between 751 and 782 A. D., and whose coins establish his actual existence, Paundravardhana appears to have been a subordinate province of Gauda, but under the direct rule of a local Prince named Jayanta, who had no son, but an only daughter named Kalyandevi. Jayapida's kingdom in Kashmir being temporarily usurped by Jajja, he repaired alone and *incognito* to the territory of Paundravardhana and resided in its capital, which according to Kalhana was on the bank of a river. Modern Pandua is at some distance from the river; but we have it upon the authority of the researches made by Mr. Umeshchandra Batahyal, M. A., that "a great branch of the Ganges (now known as the Kalindi) originally joined the Mahananda river, close to the ancient city of Paundra." This reconciles Kalhana's account with modern Pandua.

It, therefore, remains to be seen in what condition Jayapida found it in the reign of Jayanta in the eighth century. Here we have to be satisfied with the meagre description left by Kalhana; but such description, however meagre, agrees in the main with what Hieun Tsiang found a century before. According to both, Paundravardhana was under a settled government, in which the people lived in peace and prosperity and enjoyed a great reputation for learning. The city might still have had some of the Buddhist temples seen by Hieun Tsiang, but Kalhana is silent on the point. He speaks of a Hindu temple of Kartikeya, to which the citizens resorted on occasions of public festivities.

* Chapter IV, Section 3, p. 66-67.

† Identified with the modern village of *Trigam*, about one and a half miles to the N. E. of the *Parihaspura* temples.

‡ Book IV. 329 and 330.

§ Book IV. 332.

|| Book IV. 335.

Kartikēya, the god of war, had many a temple dedicated to him in ancient India; and his temple in Paundravardhana was in perfect keeping with the story of Gaudian valour noted by Kālihana. To this temple Jayapida repaired to witness performances according to the Science of Drama popularised by Bhārata, and eventually fell in love with the principal actress of the place, named Kamala.

Jayapida, to his great astonishment, found Kamala to be wealthy enough to possess golden conches and educated enough to talk the polished Sanskrit, without any tinge of provincial vulgarism. Her education and wealth, thus incidentally recorded by Kālihana, remind one of Vasanta Sena of Avanti as depicted in the *Mricchbhakatika*, a drama ascribed to King Sudraka. Kalyāṇdevī was married amidst great festivities to this Prince of Kashmir, who secured for his father-in-law overlordship of the five territories of Gauda, and went back to Kashmir with Kalyāṇ and Kamala. These two ladies of ancient Bengal appear to have exerted a great influence in Kashmir, where temples built in towns named after them bore for centuries testimony to their exalted position in the valley of Kashmir.

Jayapida's temporary residence in Paundravardhana was productive of lasting good to Kashmir, where the study of the *Mahabhasya* of the *Pāṇini* School, which had fallen into disorder, was re-established upon his return home, which Kālihana attributed to his having mastered the Sanskrit grammar from Kshira Swami abroad. History does not tell us what indirect influence Kamala exerted in this literary revival in Kashmir. Kshira Swami is a well-known name in the history of Sanskrit literature. He was an eminent grammarian and a learned commentator of *Amarakosha*. Paundravardhana was devoted to the School of *Pāṇini*, and several well-known writers of this School flourished in Bengal even down to the Mahomedan rule. The intimate con-

nection between Kashmir and Bengal, thus happily established in the reign of Jayapida, was a source of mutual literary advancement, and Bengal may be pardoned for claiming her share of praise.

We know nothing more of Jayanta, his daughter and their beloved city of Paundravardhana; but the meagre account, thus preserved, will induce the travellers of Gauda to regard the ruins as the site of an ancient land of Heroes and Scholars, whose devotion and culture were an undying kingdom of glory unto them. To the Hindu, therefore, the dust is sacred with memory of the past, which affords him some consolation in the midst of slanders invented in a subsequent age against his personal courage and mental calibre. The absence of any stone or brick in ruins, over-grown with impenetrable vegetation, cannot take away from the place the interest that always attaches to such centres of human advancement.

The death of Jayanta was followed by an internal feud among the territorial chiefs of Bengal, who vied with one another in their attempt to obtain a supremacy over Gauda, as Taranāth suggested in the traditions recorded by him. Shortly afterwards the name of Gopala, who ruled in Magadha, is mentioned among the rulers of Bengal. A copper-plate Inscription of Madanapala, recently discovered in Dinajpur and published by Babu Nagendra Nath Vasu, gives us a list of 17 kings of the Pala dynasty, as follows:— (1) Gopala, (2) Dharmapala, (3) Devapala, (4) Vīrahapala, (5) Nārāyaṇapala, (6) Rājyapa, (7) Gopala II, (8) Vīrahapala II, (9) Mahīpala, (10) Nayapala, (11) Vīrahapala III, (12) Mahīpala II, (13) Surapala, (14) Rāmapala, (15) Kumārāpala, (16) Madanapala and (17) Gopala III. This long list may be conveniently considered under two heads, the first five persons being called the *earlier*, and the rest the *later* kings of the Pala dynasty.

AKSHAY KUMAR MAITRA.

THE ADVISORY COUNCILS

MORE than two months have passed since the memorable despatch of the Viceroy to the Local Governments was published over the signature of Sir Harold Stuart. In all this time there does not seem to have been expressed, whether in

this country or in England, a single opinion bordering on an enthusiastic reception of the measures proposed by the Government of India. This is not necessarily a defect in the proposals circulated for a general expression of opinion, for the problem which Lord Minto

has had to face is one of the most complicated and the interests that demand recognition are various and possibly even conflicting. But one cannot help thinking that the cold reception that the reforms have met with are partly due also to the cautious temperament of the Viceroy. It can readily be imagined that a bolder man might either have given more freely, or denied the gift altogether, when certain people were only too anxious to press upon the attention of both the Viceroy and the Secretary of State the fact that this year was the jubilee year of the Mutiny, and the fancy that concessions, no matter how equitable, would be taken to mean weakness, and lead to a recurrence of horrors which their imagination has painted in darker colours than the incidents of the worst penny-dreadful. Lord Minto (as well as Mr. Morley) has shown that he is uninfluenced by passing excitements, and would do justice to the country at large in spite of the noisy agitation of the extremists on both sides. But it has to be confessed that the most acceptable of the three reforms outlined by Mr. Morley has been the one which gives to the Secretary of State two Indian advisers in his council, though the Hindus of the Congress school are not likely to consider the Hindu member of the India Council as the best possible choice. In fact, it appears that cautious as His Excellency already was, his colleagues in the Government of India have increased his caution. It is idle to deny that the Anglo-Indian official is not free from the prejudices which fit a person for the position of an advocate, and to the same extent disqualify him for that of a judge. Mr. Morley has the advantage of a greater freedom from the prejudices of this class, but the Viceroy is the head of a Government composed exclusively of members of what has come to be a party in litigation. If, however, we have to regret the caution recommended by the Anglo-Indian colleagues of the Viceroy, we have to deplore still more the wild despatch of some of our own countrymen.

Coming to the reforms themselves, it is apparent that no criticism of them can be exhaustive which is to be confined within the inelastic limits of a newspaper article, or even the liberal boundary of an essay in a Review. The proposal is teeming with details which are in the best of proposals certain to evoke differences of opinion. It is not, therefore, intended to usurp the powers of Local Governments, and contribute to this Review anything like an exhaustive despatch or Resolution. But the main outlines of

the policy present sufficient material for comment, because the Resolution breaks new ground, and many unfamiliar things are likely to be misunderstood.

The creation of Advisory Councils is an entirely new departure, though we know that the genius of Lord Lytton had devised a similar Council, which, however, never met. The phrase, "a Council of Notables," at once attracts attention and even sympathy, but chiefly because one is apt to think that the members of this assembly would be something grander, and more magnificent than the members of other bodies with which the past has familiarised us. This at all events will be a Council of Notables, one fondly imagines. But when the first exultation has passed away, and the cold light of reasoning, and that disenchanting Aristotelian process of analysis remove the pervading glamour of a mere phrase, it is not easy to know in what sense this new departure can be construed into a reform and a concession to the people.

Let us first take the question of its composition. In the Imperial Council the Indian Chiefs are the first to be given a franchise. This is said to be a return to Oriental traditions, "which have always recognised that the sovereign, however absolute, should make it his business to consult competent advisers, and should exercise his rule in accordance with what, after such consultation, he deems to be the best mind of his people." As a general rule, Orientals have come to believe that no European ever tolerates a return of any Oriental to Oriental ways of thought or action, which he frankly despises, unless the East can offer something which is helpful to him in having his own way. In nine cases out of ten, the dish is purely Occidental, with just a piquant flavour of the Orient. In Turkey, in Persia, and in China, no European recommends a return to the traditions of the East, though in reality those traditions are still followed there. The Young Turkish Party is proclaimed to be a band of saviours, the "Parliament in Turbans" is declared to be the one hope of Persia, while the patriotism, unthinking and wild though it be, of the Boxer is denounced in China. But in Egypt and in India, in Morocco, Algeria, and Siam, where the European domination is overt and recognised, a return to the traditions of the East is often discovered, with a ridiculous want of originality, to be an unfailing panacea. But we need not be so uncharitable as to think that the Government of Lord Minto and Mr. Morley is consciously using an artifice in order to cloak a return to the worst forms of

despotism which, be it said to our shame, the East has so often witnessed. Mr. Morley very early in his Secretaryship of India gave out that he was impressed with the need of the participation of the Indian Chiefs in the work of the Empire, and it is not so difficult to recognise the Chiefs that must have impressed Mr. Morley so favourably. But no special recognition is needed by such Indian Princes. In the most democratic surroundings they will stand out as the natural leaders of men, not born but made so by their own indefatigable exertions. Give to India even to-day the most radical franchise, and she will still stand by its Princes and territorial magnates for all its glib talk of Equality,—provided that these Princes and magnates still retain some of the qualities of their ancestors which made them undisputed leaders of men. But to return to an old Oriental tradition without remembering that the India of the twentieth century is very far removed from the India of the seventeenth is a folly greater than that of which some of our countrymen are enamoured, the folly of providing for the Deccan the furs that Canada needs. But if in the analogy of the politicians of India geographical differences are overlooked, historical differences are ignored in the analogy which would convince us to-day of the benefits of a return to Oriental traditions. The attempt will fail, because it is useless to galvanise mummies. Can it be honestly said that a single Prince in India stands to-day in the position of Raja Man Singh in the days of Akbar, or Raja Jey Singh in the days of Aurangzeb? With all the loyalty of the Princes, which it would be unjust to call insincere, it is idle to compare it with that unbought submission of manhood which distinguished the feudatories of Moghal rule and made that rule more lasting than it would otherwise have been. Then the feudatories gave little, but they had the power to refuse. The gifts of to-day, given in many cases willingly enough, lack a good deal of that spontaneity, because not even the premier State of to-day can resist the more powerful will of the Suzerain.

It is not without some interest and much instruction to go deeper into history and discover the causes that have brought about a change in the status of the feudatories. There are in the main two causes that have produced the change, though there are many minor causes which, however, vary in different States. The first is directly the result of British policy, the second indirectly. Before the Mutiny the policy of Lord Dalhousie

was not destined to make the Native States powerful, and though the externals of that policy have been reversed, the Mutiny impressed upon the Government the necessity of checking the growth of feudatories that may one day rival the Supreme Government in strength and resources. This was only human. No Government in the world could, consistently with regard for its own safety, tolerate a rival power which, in the event of another great upheaval like the Mutiny, could decide whether the British power was to exist in India or not, as the local States of Hyderabad and many others actually decided in the crisis of 1857-58. For the safety of the British Indian Empire of the Queen and Empress it was indispensable that it should be independent of all aid from the vassal States, which the possessions of the East India Company were evidently not. This policy, dictated by reason and experience, was the first cause of the change. The second was still more potent, though indirect. Government in principalities was perforce a glorious uncertainty in the days of the strongest of the Great Moghals when the central government had not a quarter of the strength of the Government of India to-day. When it was not always possible to keep well in hand a recalcitrant satrap who ruled a province as Subadar, it was out of the question to regulate the succession to the *gadi* in the outlying vassal States, or put down with a strong hand the encroachments of a powerful vassal against his weaker neighbours. The times, therefore, kept up the beneficial necessity of fighting, and a too luxurious Prince was sure to find a more hardy relation or nobleman of his court, or a more vigilant and enterprising neighbour disturbing all too rucely the gay pursuits of his companions and spilling blood where only the red juice of the grape was spilt before. *Pax Britannica* changed this condition of uncertainty and the States became protected in a sense unknown in Moghal times. Subsidiary alliances had already depressed the Indian chiefs, and the peace which now reigned from one corner of India to another, untroubled by the shadow of the Mahratta collector of *chauth*, or the more unrestrained Pindari, a peace which recognised, as in international law, the equality of every State, and defined once for all the rights and duties of all the feudatories which the most powerful could disturb only at his peril, gave to Feudatory India a repose which no doubt it very badly needed, but a repose which made it a land of Lotus-eaters. As

long as the sword blade of the Englishman was keen and strong, Feudatory India had no need of soldiers and military organisation. This had its effect on the condition of civil government also, for in no community have the arts of peace long outlived its military glory. Look at the picture of an Indian Raja as drawn but too truly in its essential features by Aberigh Mackay,—and drawn with much sympathy too—or the cartoon of Kipling in his *Departmental Ditties* in which the Tiana and the School built on Western models in the hope of a K. C. S. I., are turned to far different uses when it is only a C. I. E. that is awarded, thus illustrating a “return to Oriental traditions,” and it is not possible to glory in the prospect of the destinies of India being placed in the hands of the Indian Chiefs. Leaving aside the class of polo-playing Princes, there are some Chiefs who are an ornament to any society and a proud monument of the regenerating work of England in India, and some also of those who belong to a different class, alas! too often neglected in these advanced days, men dreaming dreams and thinking thoughts of a hundred years ago, men and rulers of men who still believe in what our school debating societies have unanimously decided to be an exploded fallacy, that the Sword is mightier than the Pen. Such men ought not only to be consulted now, but should have been consulted long ago. But it is placing the cart before the horse to consult them in the management of British India, while moulding the policies of their own States without consulting them. The generous policy which the Resolution lays down for the first time is in reality in advance of, while the practice of foot-bandaging which the Political Department and the Residencies still adhere to is far behind the times. Let a few Chiefs be the trusty advisers of the Government by all means, but it is unnecessary, and perhaps mischievous, to name twenty Chiefs as the Imperial Councillors, and give to the consultation a formality which will rob it of much of its worth and reduce the system to the soullessness of a mechanism, besides leading to a good deal of undesirable rivalry not without some heart-burning on account of the distinction becoming in practice necessarily invidious.

Little need be said of the other class composing this council, *viz.*, territorial magnates. The zamindar was before the Mutiny a power in the land, possessing certain attributes not of property but of sovereignty. If loyal, he was most useful to the English in that crisis;

if disaffected, he had a power at his command which could work and actually wrought a good deal of mischief. After the Mutiny that power was felt to be dangerous, and the Government stood forth as the protector of the tenant against a rack-renting and rapacious landlord. Relations which hitherto subsisted undisturbed, though only understood, must needs be defined now by law, regulation, rule, and circular. Turn to the legislation in any zemindari province of the last 50 years, and you can get only one idea, that a benign Government was protecting a cruelly persecuted ryot, who was hitherto in his rightlessness a mere serf, from the greed and grinding tyranny of an absentee landlord. India comes out in its Rent legislation as a Home-Rule Ireland that has reached the millenium. And it is a curious fact that the greatest protector of the poor, and persecutor of the rich in India is no other than Sir Antony Macdonnell, the author of Devolution in Ireland. Does it speak much for the consistency of a Government which hardly five years after the legislation of Sir Antony appears as the protector of the landholding classes against the magic of lawyers' tongues? But we need not go so far back. Only a few months ago, in the debate on the Bombay Presidency budget, an Anglo-Indian member of the Council rated the non-official members as advocates of the landlord interest. It is really amusing to find the Government now pleading guilty to the charge which one of its own members had brought against the non-official members of an ideal Council. The question now is whether the territorial magnates can fulfil the conditions which we associate with a membership of the Council of Notables, and it is to be feared that very few of the forty to be elected would be notable for anything but their silence. The scions of distinguished old houses are, alas! so depressed by the weight of land laws, regulations, rules, and circulars, together with the fear of periodical settlements and the fickleness of the Faujdari Adalat, that for at least 50 years to come no true consultation with them is possible. If some of them have received a modern education and imbibed with it some of the new spirit of independence they are sure to command enough votes to have themselves returned by the most enlightened and democratic constituency of India. It is not as specially privileged landlords that this class of men would like to be consulted, but as the leader of public opinion both by right of fitness for the work as tested in being elected by his followers, and of the stake that it has in the land. But there is a class

of land-holder who only thinks of the *honos* of being a councillor and not of the *onus* of the position, who would welcome the proposal as another addition to the Orders and Titles of a Government that loves to reward meek acquiescence in its policy with such baubles. If the Imperial Councillors are to be mere *jo-hookam* dignitaries, the Council of Notables would only prove to be a hollow mockery.

But every land-holder whose acres number several thousand and who pays a large land revenue cannot be regarded as a Notable; and against some *nouveaux riches* their colleagues in Council, the sensitive Ruling Princes of India, would have something to say. Many new landlords were created after the Mutiny who have fattened on the folly of their predecessors in possession of taking part in the Mutiny. Many money-lenders have obtained possession of the inherited estates of old families, the survivors of which are even in their poverty looked upon as leaders of the people in preference to their supplanters. To regard the figure of a man's land revenue as a criterion of his fitness for the most onerous task of being an Imperial Councillor is to be entirely oblivious of the prejudices of India and her people. To do so is to ignore the essential difference between east and west in their conception of *sharif* and "gentleman." And lastly, it is a great injustice to the class of Notables now being produced through the agency of the British themselves, men who have made their name and even earned a fortune unaided by paternal acres in the pursuit of Commerce or Industry, or in the exercise of honourable professions such as Law, Medicine, and Engineering, or in that much coveted and peculiarly Indian and Oriental employment, the service of the Sirkar, whether in the more limited field of displaying talents in the service of the Government, or in the more extended limits of Native States. Can any body of Notables be considered representative of the men most qualified to advise the Government, which like the proposed body, makes it impossible for the Government to recognise men like the late Mr. Tata, Sir Dinker Rao, Sir T. Madav Rao, Keshub Chunder Sen, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, and Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk as Notables? Is it not curious that the first two Indian members of the India Council are both excluded from the privilege of being Imperial Councillors by the narrow, and yet not sufficiently narrow, limits of qualifications? It is a matter for rejoicing and gratefulness that the Government is going to change its policy of repression of the landlord, but the way in which it goes "back to the

land" would not commend itself to the most moderate of the Moderates whom the Secretary of State would do all in his power to reclaim. As contrasted with the composition of the Imperial Advisory Council, the scheme of the Provincial Advisory Councils is far more liberal and provides for representation of various interests.

Looking at the scope of the Imperial Advisory Council, one finds that this body has very important functions to fulfil. The Government of India is right in thinking that the functions of this Council cannot be discharged by a Legislative Council, the meetings of which are few and far between, and which discusses in a formal manner only such legislative measures of the Government as have already been brought to the legislative anvil of the Government to be hammered into shape. An interim Council, so to speak, which may advise the Government as to the need or otherwise of legislation, which may help it to avoid the framing of crude Bills which sometimes make as much mischief as a passed Act that is distasteful to the people, and specially which may advise the Government regarding the executive action it may intend to take in any matter. This latter function is indeed far more important than the function of the Legislature in India. In England, too, the silent work of the War Office and the Admiralty, the more intricate and still more silent work of the Foreign Office, and the involved business of the Exchequer, go a long way to decide the fate of a Government that has not been particularly successful in its law-making. But in India legislation is a very minor matter indeed. The Government has itself sinned in giving to India a voice in her legislation, on the analogy of the Parliament in England, before giving her the privilege of letting her have her say in what concerns her far more vitally, namely, the administration of the country. The non-official members of the Legislature are not the M.P.'s of India, for they have no control over the policy of the Government in administration. It is this which accounts for the nearness of the Legislative Council meetings, for the most vital concerns of the people are very seldom the subjects of debate or deliberation, except when some great question like Education or reform of Criminal Law is discussed. In these cases, too, it is not so much the Law that is discussed as what is suspected to be the underlying administrative policy of the Government, which is seldom allowed to be discussed. This was clear in the discussion on the Education Bill of Lord Curzon. The

Bill was the least important part of Lord Curzon's policy, though formally necessary. The storm that it caused in the Council was due to the suspicion of the Indian members that the Bill was only a slight indication of the policy which the Government intended to pursue and which was distasteful to them. The one meeting of the Council that attracts general attention is the Budget meeting, for though the Budget is, of course, never in debate, the Indian members get the one chance of the year to say what they have been thinking for the last twelve months on the vital questions of administration. To a smaller extent the interpellations of the Indian members supply some topics of interest, because they are in reality not questions but replies to the silent acts of the Executive Government of the country.

But what appears to be still more important for the purposes of the Government is that the new Council would act not only as a mouthpiece of the people but also as a message-bearer of the Government. It has to be acknowledged that the political leaders of the Congress school have done little or nothing to disabuse the people's mind as regards many unfounded and often unworthy suspicions against their rulers which the ignorance of the people, helped by the exclusiveness of the Anglo-Indians, has from time to time created. Their policy may be summed up in a few words. It has been one of much criticism and no comment. Now, a critic is a very worthy person, but a good critic is only one who interprets and comments before he criticises. He never takes advantage of obscure passages in his author, but removes the misconceptions that they may create at the same time that he attacks the author for his real defects. It is well known that most mischievous suspicions exist in the minds of the people as regards the plague policy of the Government; but where a thousand politicians have attacked the supineness of the Government or its excessive activity in the suppression of this terrible scourge, how many leaders of public opinion "from Calcutta to Peshawar" have taken the trouble to remove those suspicions from the minds of the ignorant in Calcutta or Peshawar which are more likely to harm them than the Government?* The Congress is said to represent the people. It is their advocate. What is wanted for India is a

body that interprets the wishes of the people to the Government, and also the acts of the Government to the people. The newly founded Moslem League has been wiser in this respect, as it is to be the medium between the people and the Government, and while representing their needs and aspirations to the Government, is pledged to endeavour to remove any misconceptions that may arise as to the intention of the Government with regard to any of its measures.† But it is to be feared the Government is not justified in saying that the right of interpellation was given to the people to advertise the good intentions of the Government and has proved a failure. If that was the main object of the concession of 1892, then the Government cannot be congratulated on its own want of communicativeness and the cryptic character of many of its replies. The Government is a *pardanashin* lady whose modesty may be admired, but people are not to be blamed if they refuse to advertise the surpassing loveliness of her face, because they have only been permitted to see her finger tips.

But when all is said and done, one cannot help remarking that in giving to the councils of the advisers a formality, and yet denying them not only formal powers but also initiative, that in giving to all the Councillors an equality of status and yet leaving the Viceroy free to consult only a few individually, that in making the advice offered confidential, and yet placing in the Viceroy's hands power to publish the opinion of the Council by means of formal public conferences, the Government appears to be creating not an Advisory, but an advisatory Council.

If the Government does not mean to return to another Oriental tradition which says, "Consult your wife *always*, but do what *you* think to be best," and really intends to obtain what is proverbially easy to give and most difficult to accept, namely advice, free, sincere, and helpful, it should not make the Council of Notables a monopoly of the territorial magnates, but form a body out of all the non-official members of the Legislative Council which it is reforming, and at least twenty Indians who are its own servants holding places of honour in its own service as High Court Judges, Commissioners and Collectors, Judges and Subordinate Judges, Deputy Collectors and Magistrates, Professors and Inspectors of Schools. These

* By way of comment, we may mention here that when plague first broke out in Calcutta, Babu Bepin Chandra Pal was among the first to get himself inoculated, in the presence of a large crowd, to remove their suspicion. There are others who did the same. We

mention Mr. Pal's name as he represents the extreme wing of the Congress.—Ed., M. R.

† This is good news. But what has the Moslem League *actually* done, one way or the other?—Ed., M. R.

are men whose loyalty to British rule is undoubted, who have larger practical experience of India than many official and non-official members of the Legislative Council, but who are neglected whenever the policy of the Government and large questions of public interest and utility are discussed and decided, though they are acknowledged to do the work of their various Departments with zeal, honesty, and ability. The Government is dissatisfied with the lawyer who brings into the council chamber much of the combativeness and partisanship of his profession, and a good deal of its love of effect, and self-advertisement. But in avoiding Scylla it rushes into Charybdis, and for the talkativeness of the Bar it would introduce the solemn and awe-inspired silence of extensive acres. It forgets what a capacious maw it possesses for swallowing the best intellects of the land. It is no secret that with very few exceptions the most brilliant and talented youths have hitherto selected the service of the Sirkar as their forefathers did before them. Men like Syed Ahmed Khan and Mohsin-ul-Mulk have burst into fame after having been in harness as Government servants. Though the depressing attitude of European superiors kills all initiative and independence in many of the bright and energetic youths who seemed in their college days destined for great things, still these faculties are capable of being resurrected. What an excellent council of notables could be formed out of men like Mr. Justice Mahmood, Mr. Justice Ranade, Mr. Justice Telang, Mr. Romesh C. Dutt, Mr. Gupta, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk, Mr. Justice Amir Ali and many others who have been doing their duty loyally though silently and in obscurity. Two Indian Judges of the High Court, one or two District Judges, two Collectors and any Commissioner or Member of the Board of Revenue that there may be, one Professor and one Inspector of Schools, one Presidency Magistrate, or Subordinate Judge and one Deputy Collector, if well chosen, would give to the Government as good and loyal advisers as any that it can ever hope to get from the territorial magnates, and probably much better. Five retired Indian officers of Government, one or two officers of the Native States still employed there, with three or four retired State officials, and the Council could be both representative and one composed of real notables. As regards the Indian Princes

it would be a better plan to consult them individually or collectively, but always separately, informally, and confidentially. None should be nominated as Councillors, all being considered good enough for any necessary consultation. Thus alone will the Government know the heart of the people, and not by consulting only landowners who may only repeat the formulæ they have been made to learn laboriously by their Collectors and Commissioners. But whether the Council has a formal character or not, whether it advises in secret or in a public conference, whether its advice is under any circumstances binding on the Government or never, all the Councillors must have free access to the Viceroy, and whether consulted or not, should be privileged to express whatever they feel on any and every question irrespective of the desire of the Government to avoid consultation on the subject. This has been the privilege of the advisers of every Oriental Sovereign, no matter how absolute, and it is the only policy consistent with a return to Oriental traditions. To confine the advice only to "such matters as might be specifically referred to it from time to time" is entirely inconsistent with all the traditions of the East, and only in accordance with the methods of European advertisement. The present proposal makes it possible for a Viceroy to avoid all consultation with the Imperial Councillors except when the Government is placed in a difficulty by a more than usually unpalatable line of action, and when to find out the general opinion by private and confidential consultation, preferably individual, and to dismiss the Council with courtesy if its decision appeared to be unfavourable to the Government's point of view, but to call a general meeting if its verdict seemed hopeful, obtain its support, and proclaim by flourish of trumpets or beat of drum the "frank and free opinion of the responsible natural leaders of the people." It is not for a moment suspected that some such unworthy motive actuates the author of the Resolution, but it has to be confessed that but too many loopholes are left for the agitator and the malcontent. If the Government means something entirely different, it has expressed itself badly. If that is what is the real object of the "reform," it is too thinly veiled, and would certainly merit for its crudeness the just censure of Diplomacy.

MUHAMMAD ALI.

SURAT

SURAT (north latitude $21^{\circ}12'$, and east longitude $72^{\circ}52'$) is situated on the southern bank of the river Tāpti, and is by water about 14 and by land about 10 miles distant from the sea. It lies at a bend of the river, where its course swerves suddenly from south-east to south-west. Though it enjoys a less wide-spread reputation for sanctity than the Narbada, the Tapti receives much local respect. On its banks there are, according to the *purān* or religious history of the river, no fewer than 108 *tirthas* or spots of special sanctity. Of these, the chief is Bodhān, about 15 miles east of Surat, where a religious gathering is held once in every 12 years. Aswini Kumār and Gupteswar, places about 2 miles up the river from Surat, are also held in esteem. Both spots are provided with temples, rest-houses, and flights of steps leading down to the water, and here, on several occasions in each year, large numbers come together to bathe. Gupteswar is also a favourite place for burning the dead.

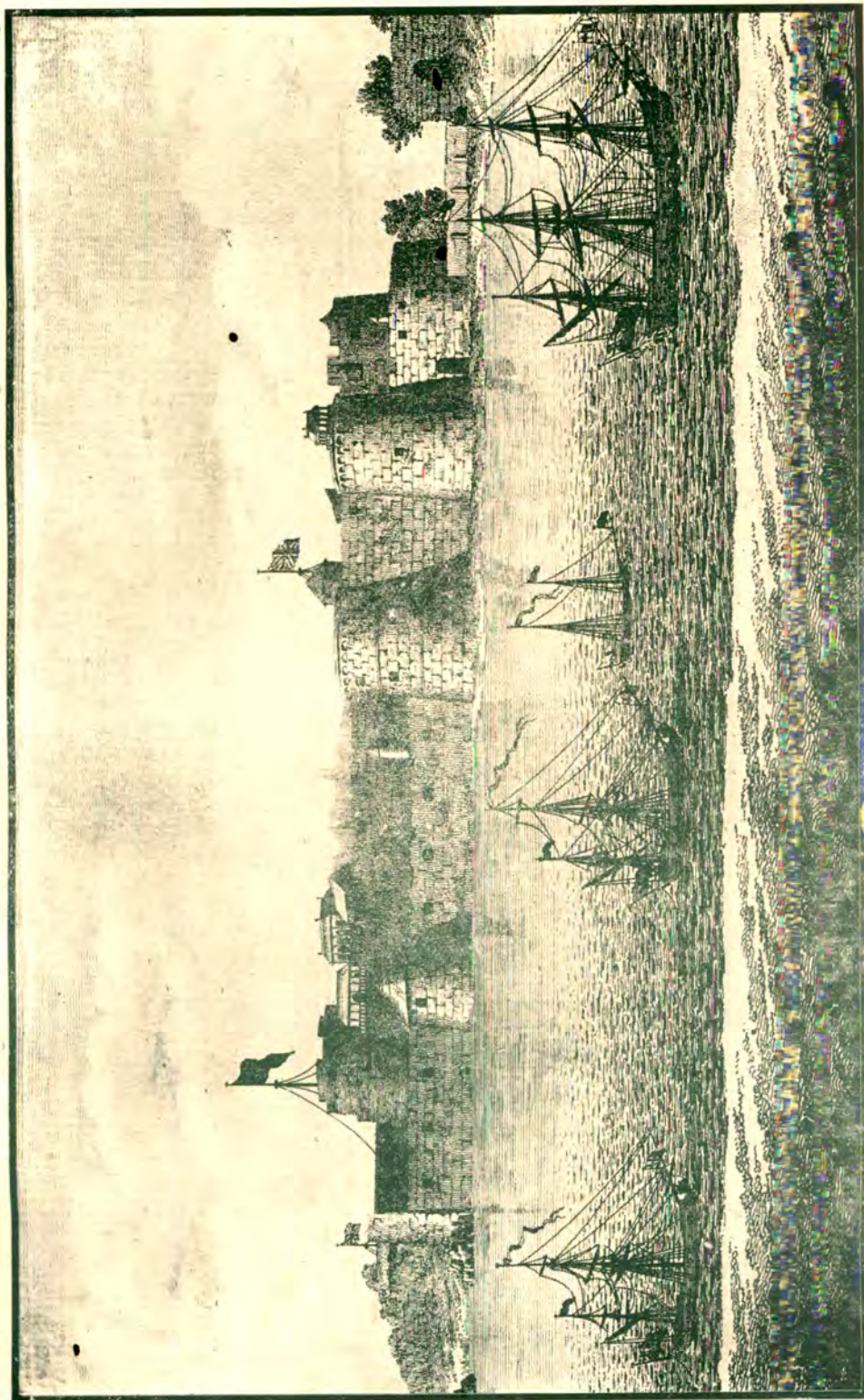
The Tapti does not usually overflow its banks. Occasionally, however, the floods are very severe, and have on more than one occasion caused much loss of life and property. From the 18th century 13 such floods are on record, namely, those in the years 1727, 1776, 1782, 1810, 1822, 1835, 1837, 1843, 1849, 1872, 1873, and two in 1876.

With the castle as its centre, the city forms an arc of a circle, the lands enclosed by its walls stretching for about a mile and a quarter along the river bank. Though the inner wall has for many years been almost entirely removed, the hollow or natural moat that surrounds it still serves to maintain a line of demarcation, and preserves distinct the city and suburbs of Surat. In the city the roads, though metalled, clean, and well watered, are, except a few of the main thoroughfares, narrow and winding. Empty spaces there are, but, on the whole, most of the city wards are thickly populated; the narrow streets winding between rows of large well-built houses, the dwellings of "high"-caste Hindus and the richer class of Parsis. In the suburbs, on the other hand, except in one or two of the eastern quarters, are large areas of open ground.

These were once gardens, but now are cultivated only as fields. The unmetalled lanes, hollowed several feet below the general level, are water-courses in the rainy season, and lie deep in dust during the fair weather. Except the buildings in the Bohoras' quarter to the east of the city, the residences of the Europeans, in the south-west suburbs, and a few large Parsi garden-houses, the dwellings are for the most part either untidy groups of huts belonging to poor Hindus, or lines of cultivators' or weavers' houses perched on the banks of the hollow roadway. Outside of the walls, to the north and east, the land is rich, well watered, and covered with trees. To the south the soil is poor, and, except for some Parsi and Muhammadan gardens, the country is bare. Westwards, along the bank of the river, the military cantonment, the tree-sheltered dwellings on either side of the Dumas road, and the open parade-ground stretching to the river, give this part of the outskirts a more cheerful appearance.

The chief feature in Surat is its castle, planned and built between 1540 and 1546 by a Turkish soldier, who, with the title of Khudawand Khan, was ennobled by Mahmud Begara, king of Gujarat. Though, as a defence against any well-equipped enemy, they have long been useless, the castle buildings have always been kept in repair, and until the year 1862, were garrisoned by a small body of European and native troops. In that year, as no longer required, the force was withdrawn, and the vacated rooms were made over for the accommodation of the various offices connected with the revenue and police departments, in whose occupation the castle has since remained.

The city, that is the area enclosed by the line of the inner wall, contains 14 divisions called *chaklās* or wards. To the east of the city, between the railway station and the outer wall, a suburb has of late years been gradually extending. The whole has, from the first, been laid out with care. The more notable public buildings are: the English Church, the Mission Chapel, the Roman Catholic Chapel, the European tombs; the Mussalman mosques, Khajey-Diwan Saheb's mosque, the Nav Syed Saheb's mosque, the



A VIEW OF SURAT IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY
from an old print.

Syed Idrus mosque and the Mirza Sami mosque and tomb; the two chief Parsi fire temples, or Atas-beheráms, one for Sháhanshai Parsis and the other for Kadmi Parsis; Hindu temples—the temples of Gosavi Maharaj, Govindji Maharaj and Lalji Maharaj belonging to the Vallabbacharis, the temple of Ramji, the Swami Narayan temple, the Balaji temple, two temples of Hanuman, the Ambaji and Kálká Mata temples; the Mahavir Swami and the Adesar Bhagwan temples belonging to the Shrávák community; several rest-houses and *dharamshalas*; two hospitals for men and four for the lower animals*; the railway station, and the different Government offices and markets.

There are four main periods in the history of Surat: I.—The early history up to 1573; II.—the period of Moghal rule, 1573-1733; III.—the period of independent government, 1733-1759; IV.—since 1759, the period of British ascendancy.

It is not very easy to decide whether Surat is an ancient town or not. Most accounts agree that it is not an old town. On the other hand, Sir T. Herbert (1626) identifies Surat with the Muziris of Ptolemy (Har., I., 411), and Ogilby (1660-1685) with Ptolemy's Syrastra (Atlas, V., 211). More lately Surat has been supposed to be Hiouen Tshang's (625-640) Sow-ra-ta, 'a trading city on the western shore near Gujarat.' But this according to Reinaud (Mem-Sur l'Inde, 156) is not Surat on the Tapti, but Sorath or Kathiawad, and this view is now generally received. Professor V. S. Apte, M.A., in his Sanskrit dictionary explains Saurashtra as the modern peninsula of Kathiawad. Abbé Reynal (Settle E. & W. Indies, II., 28) says 'at the beginning of the 13th century Surat was nothing more than a mean hamlet'; and in this statement he is supported by D'Anville (Eclairc., Sur la caste de l'Inde, 74). At the same time the fact that the city of Surat is still by learned Brahmans called Suryapur, and the common story to explain the origin of the name Suryapur refers to a time (1500-1520) when Surat was already a city of great trade, would seem to make it possible that modern Surat is built on the site of the old Hindu town of Suryapur. This Suryapur is mentioned (Rás Málá, I., 61) along with Broach as one of the places through which (about 990) the Anhilwara

troops passed on their way south to attack the chief of Lát. Again, we read in the *Calcutta Review* for June 1848:—

"If we were to believe Hamilton and others, no city is more ancient than this. It is mentioned, he says, in the Ramayana. The truth is that in that poem we read of a country called Soorushtre. Todd informs us that this is a peninsula, and was so styled, because it was inhabited by a people of the solar race. This is certainly not the derivation of the word, but probably the general term of Soorushtre ('the good country,') was applied to the whole rich peninsula of Guzerat, and was subsequently restricted to Surat and its neighborhood."

The local histories are agreed in fixing the establishment of its prosperity as a modern city to the last years of the 15th century. About this time (1496-1521) a rich Hindu trader settled in Surat. His caste is disputed, some accounts making him out to be a Nágara Brahman, others an Anávla Brahman. But his name is known to have been Gopi. He induced other merchants to settle at Surat, and built a large house and a garden. He founded one of the quarters of the town called, in his honor, the Gopi ward, or Gopipura, and (1516) enlarged a pond, lining it with stone and making it the chief ornament of the city. In reward for the improvements at Surat, the King of Gujarat honored Gopi with the title of Malik; and his wife, known as the Rani, founded a second ward, the Ranichakia, and built a reservoir, still known as the Rani Talav. So far, runs the story, Gopi's town had no name and was simply spoken of as the 'new place.' Gopi, consulting with the astrologers, fixed on the name Suraj, or Suryapur. He sent to the King of Gujarat for leave to have the town called by this name. But the king, perhaps not altogether liking that a new town in his dominions should bear a purely Hindu name, by slightly changing the word to make it agree with the heading of the chapters of the Koran, called it Surat.

Of Gopi and the origin of his wealth several stories are told. One runs that Gopi, the son of a Brahman widow, had studied Persian, and, anxious for employment, went with his mother to Delhi. For some days he attended at the Government Offices offering his services, but without success. Determined to let no chance slip, Gopi spent all his time near the chief office. One day, after the regular clerks had left, an important Persian

* "These four hospitals have together room for about a thousand head of cattle. At each of them healthy animals, as well as the maimed, diseased, or old, are received. The sick are treated with care and provided with medicine; the feeble and worn-out are sent to a distance to graze; the healthy, and animals born in the hospital, are used to bring in supplies of grass and grain, and do other light work. In February 1877, 522 animals were in hospital. Of the

whole number 107 were cows, and 134 were bullocks; and 30 buffaloes, 32 horses, 95 goats, 5 deer, 7 dogs, 1 ass, 2 ducks and 1 chick made up the total. Of Ovington's hospital for bugs, fleas, and other insects, where 'a poor man was now and then hired to rest all night upon a cot or bed, and let the animals devour themselves by feeding on his carcase', the only remaining trace is a loft where weevils and other vermin are collected and fed on grain."

letter came. The Governor called for his reader, but the reader was gone. One of the officers thought of Gopi, who was sleeping near, and called him in. The Governor was spelling over the letter to himself, holding it up to the light. When he had done, he handed it over to Gopi to read. Before taking the letter the boy said he had read it, and told the Governor what was in it. The paper was thin, and as the Governor was reading the letter, Gopi had made out its contents from the other side. The governor was delighted with the boy's cleverness, and Gopi's fortune was made. Other stories seek to explain why Gopi asked to have his town named Suraj.

Surat has been burnt and plundered many times. In Akbar's time Surat is called an emporium or first class port. It was of sufficient consequence to induce Akbar to appoint two distinct officers for its administration. The events of most importance in the history of Surat at the beginning of the 17th century are connected with the arrival and settlement of certain companies of European merchants. The English captured Surat in 1759. Towards the close of the 18th century, besides the general disorder over almost the whole of India, the anarchy in Persia and Arabia, and the repeated wars in Europe, two local events, the storm of 1782 and the famine of 1790, combined to hasten the decline of Surat's prosperity.

The administration of the city under the Musalmans may be described as follows:—

"The governor (of the city) had a body of troops 1,500 strong in his pay. In civil matters the governor of the city was helped by the Musalman judge, or *Kaj*, and by the public recorder, or *Waknavis*. For managing the customs there was a port officer, or *Shahbandar*, who appeared at the custom house at certain times to mark the goods as they were passed. The charge of the town in criminal matters was entrusted to a police magistrate, or *Kotwal*. This officer has a guard of soldiers, but had no capital powers. Three times during the night—at 9, 12, and 3 o'clock—the *Kotwal* went the rounds of the city. The police arrangements were effective, tumults seldom happened, and serious crimes were so rare that during the 20 years preceding 1690 no one had suffered a capital punishment. Criminals were beaten by blows of a stick, and were sometimes punished in the street. To prevent crime in the country near Surat was the work of a separate officer called *Faujdar*. He was allowed soldiers and servants under him to traverse the country, to look after the highways to hunt out the robbers, and keep all suspected places quiet and safe for passengers."—*Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. II, p. 92.

So in Surat at least Hindus and Musalmans were not perpetually engaged in the pre-British period in the pleasant pastime of cutting one another's throats.

The first English ship, commanded by Captain Hawkins, arrived at the mouth of the Tapti in August 1608. Sir Thomas Roe reached Surat on the 26th September, 1615, and about a month later started for Ajmir where Jehangir then was. Early in 1618 Roe returned to Surat, having obtained the grant of important privileges in favour of the English.

"The Chief provisions were: 1, that the English should be well treated; 2, that they should have free trade on payment of customs dues; 3, that their presents to the emperors should not be subject to search at Surat; 4, that the effects of any one who died should be handed over to Englishmen. (Roe, in Kerr, IX; 292). Roe would seem also to have found it advisable to make a separate agreement with prince Kharram, in whose hands Surat then was. The chief articles of this agreement were: (1) that the Governor of Surat should lend ships to the English; (2) that resident English Merchants might wear arms; (3) that the English might be allowed to build a house in Surat; (4) that they should be allowed to settle their disputes among themselves."—Kerr, IX., 253.

In the first quarter of the 17th century, foreigners, who could not at that time make any show of military power in India, obtained these valuable rights from non-Christian and "coloured" princes. In this enlightened 20th century is there any white and Christian country where any non-Christian "coloured" race can obtain similar rights? In whatever else white Christians may be superior to non-Christian "coloured" people, in the sense of human fellowship, toleration, charity, unselfishness and hospitality they are not.

In 1608, when the English began to trade with Surat, the city is described as 'of considerable size, with many good houses belonging to merchants.' Between 1616 and 1660, when no English ladies lived at the factory, it would seem to have been the common practice for Englishmen in Surat, especially when travelling through the country, to dress in native fashion. The early Europeans would seem to have lived on somewhat familiar terms with the natives. The factors were hospitable, entertaining natives, at least Musalmans, at their own tables, and in turn dining with them, 'imitating when they did so, the customs of the east in lying round the banquet upon Persian carpets.'

In the first half of the 18th century,—

"The interests of the English Company suffered much by the dishonesty of their servants.—The characters of the Company's servants, at this time were so equivocal that their tenure of office was very uncertain. Lambton (their Chief Officer at Surat) was in his turn accused of having purloined some jewels which had been deposited with him in pledge, and so disingenuous were his replies to the questions

addressed to him on the subject, that the Government were strongly convinced of his guilt. On this and other accounts he was, in 1739, dismissed from the service. In consequence of these irregularities the Court of Directors passed a standing order that for the future their money should be kept in a chest with three locks; that the chief and the two next members of Council should each have a key; that every month the cash should be counted in the presence of the whole Council, and the balance regularly entered in the official books of the whole establishment."—*Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. II., page 121.

The Rev. Philip Anderson, too, in his book on "the English in Western India" says:—

"But according to Terry, the natives had formed a mean estimate of Christianity. It was not uncommon to hear them at Surat giving utterance to such remarks as:—'Christian religion, devil religion; Christian much drunk; Christian much do wrong, much beat, much abuse others.' Terry admitted that the natives themselves were 'very square, and exact to make good all their engagements'; but if a dealer was offered much less for his articles than the price which he had named, he would be apt to say:—'What! Do'st thou think me a Christian, that I would go about to deceive thee?'—P. 26.

Regarding the passing of Surat entirely into the hands of the English, the *Calcutta Review* (June 1848) says:—

"In the year 1800, by one of those strokes of injustice, which have too often accompanied our acquisition of power in India, and for which expediency has been the wretched plea, the East India Company took the whole administration of Surat affairs into their own hands. Any impartial person who will take the trouble to investigate this affair, will find that the helpless Nawab had reason on his side, the English force and sophistry."

As in olden times Surat was famous for its commerce, some account of the course of its trade should be given. The city was very populous and full of merchants (1608-1620). The people were 'tall, neat and well-clothed in garments of white calico and silk, and very grave and judicious in their behaviour.' At this time the two great branches of Surat foreign trade were westwards with Mocha in the Red Sea, and eastwards with Acheen in Sumatra. Of the Mocha trade Terry (1614-1620) says, this is the chief market for Surat goods, cotton cloth, and cotton wool. To buy these, merchants come to Mocha from many parts of the Turk's dominions, from Abyssinia, and from Grand Cairo in Egypt. Of the trade to the east mention is made (1599) that in Acheen a quarter of the city was set apart for Gujaratis (Captain John Davis, in Kerr, VIII., 52).

* Viagem de Francisco Pyrard de Laval (1601-1620), II., 210. The same writer adds, "in these crafts all engage, nor are they behind the men of this country (Portugal), but, on the contrary, far superior having a more active spirit and a finer hand. It is enough for them to hear and see anything once not to forget it; and, being so intelligent,

Gujaratis were (1603) found in Java (Scott, in Kerr, VIII., 147), and in 1611, as a south as the island of Banda (S. lat 5°). Captain Saris, in his voyage to Japan, noticed that Gujrat cloth, black and red calicoes, and calico lawns, were in request (Kerr VIII., 188).

Of the articles of trade in the Surat markets there were: Of mineral substances—iron, copper and alum; of precious stones—diamonds, rubies, rock-crystal, and excellent crystals of agate and cornelian; of vegetable products—wheat 'in great abundance, the best in the world'; infinite quantities of peas, beans and lentils; many medicinal drugs; butter and oils of different sorts, to eat, to burn and to anoint the body; of manufactured articles—black and white soap, sugar, preserves, paper, wax, much opium; and indigo, 'to buy which the English and Dutch came to Surat. But the principal article exported from Surat was cloth, both silk and of cotton. This cloth was used by all people from the Cape of Good Hope to China. Some of it was rough and some of it as white as snow, very fine and delicate. Other kinds were 'most artificially' painted with different figures of silk, 'very neatly mingled either with silver or gold, or both'. There were also excellent quilts of stained cloth, or of fresh coloured taffeta, filled with cotton wool and stitched as evenly and in as good order as if the pattern had been traced out for their direction. Though with a thinner and shorter pile than those made in Persia, their carpets of cotton wool were excellent in fine mingled colours, some of them more than three yards broad, and of a great length. Of the richer carpets some were all of silk, 'with flowers and figures lively represented in them'. Of others the flowers were silken, but the ground silver and gold. The woowork, too, was famous; bedsteads, painted and lacquered with different colours and forms, and other articles of house furniture beautifully worked; writing desks, as well made as those of Germany, most skilfully inlaid with mother-of-pearl, ivory, gold, silver, and precious stones. Little boxes of tortoise-shell 'so brightly polished that there is nothing prettier.' And all 'wonderfully cheap.'*

The merchants by whom this great commerce was carried on belonged to three classes; I, Natives of India including both Hindus and Musalmans; II, Foreign Asiatics, such as Persians, Tartars, Arabians, Armenians,

they do not deceive nor are easily deceived. Never saw people so courteous and good as the Indians, they have nothing of the savage as we think. They would not imitate any Portuguese customs. Mechanical work they are easily taught, so much so that the Portuguese learn more from them than they from the Portuguese."

and many others; and III, Europeans, such as the English, Dutch, French and Portuguese.

European articles recommended for the Surat market by the Company's factors in that city were broad-cloth, sword-blades, knives, looking glasses, toys, English bull-dogs, quick-silver, good crooked sword-blades, light coloured broad-cloths, ivory, lead, vermilion, coral, and pearls.

The period between 1658 and 1707, was the time of Surat's greatest commercial prosperity. It was (1695), 'the prime mart of India, all nations of the world trading there; no ship sailing in the Indian Ocean, but what would put into Surat to buy, sell, or load.' Of the skill of the Hindu merchants of Surat, Ovington (1690) says, "by the strength of his brain only he will sum up accounts with equal exactness and quicker despatch than the readiest arithmetician can with his pen." In 1664 two families in Surat are said to have been the richest merchants in the world. (Orme's Hist. Frag., 13.) One Hindu merchant was calculated to be worth at least 8 millions (Ther., V., 46); and in the shop of another Hindu, Shivaji (in 1664) is said to have found twenty-two pounds weight of strung pearls. Towards the close of the 17th century, Mulla Abdul Jafar had begun to trade. He is said to have had 19 ships laden with stock of his own. In 1695 some of the merchants are said to have been rich enough to load any great ship out of one of their warehouses.

In the 17th century, next to the manufacture of cloth, one of the most important industries of Surat was ship-building.

In 1374, 1680, and 1697, the weavers of silk and cotton cloth in England objected so fiercely to the importation of Indian cloth, that in 1701 an Act was passed ordering that no silk or cotton cloth made in India was to be worn in England. This had an injurious effect on the cloth trade of Surat. Towards the close of the 17th century, the weavers of France also raised objection to the importation of Indian cloth, and the trade of the French Company at Surat fell very low. During the two years of his rule (1723-1725), Rustam Ali Khan, the Governor of Surat, "oppressed" all merchants who dealt with the English. At the same time a change in England did much to destroy the value of the Company's trade to Gujarat. In 1721, in consequence of riots and tumults among the weavers of London, an Act was passed absolutely prohibiting the wear of Indian calicoes.

With regard to the character of the native merchants of Surat, and the inner working

of its trade, Abbe Raynal (1780) says, that when Europeans hardly suspected that commerce was founded on any certain principles, these principles were already known and practised in Surat. Money was to be had at a low price, and bills of exchange might be obtained for every market in India. Insurances for the most distant navigations were very common. Such was the honesty of these traders that bags of money, ticketed and sealed by the bankers, would circulate for years without ever being counted or weighed. (Abbe Raynal, II., 29.)

Of the industries of the district at the present day, except agriculture, the spinning and weaving of cotton is the most important. This is for the most part done by hand. There were in 1904 three cotton mills at Surat, employing 1,465 operatives and containing (1902) 44,690 spindles. There were in 1876 eighteen cotton ginning and pressing factories in the district worked by steam, with a total of 518 gins and 25 presses. In 1877 a steam factory for the manufacture of paper was opened by Mr. Jamal-ud-din Muhammad Bhai. As European prints are now to a considerable extent worn by women of the trading classes, the work of the Calico-printer has greatly declined. Considerable quantities of silk goods are manufactured in Surat. The weaving of brocade, or *kinkhab*, is an important industry in Surat. It still retains its reputation for embroidered work. Except its betel-nut-crackers, which have a good name for sharpness and strength, the Surat metal work is not held in any great esteem. Altogether the city as a centre of trade and industries is a wreck of its former self.

A fondness for good living, pleasure, and show, alike among Hindus, Parsis, and Musalmans, is the characteristic of social life in Surat. Another feature in the social life of the traders and craftsmen of Surat is their organization into guilds. The chief of these guilds, composed of the leading bankers and merchants is called the *Mahajan* or trade guild. A favourite device for raising money is for the men of the craft or trade to agree, on a certain day, to shut all their shops but one. The right to keep open this one shop is then put up to auction, and the amount bid is credited to the guild funds.

A point worthy of note in the arrangements of Surat town-houses is that very many of them are provided with a private well and a cistern for holding rain water. With only one or two exceptions the water in the city wells is, from its brackishness, fit only to be used for bathing and cleaning. Almost all the

well-to-do drink rain water. This, falling on the flat cement-coated roofs and terraces, is drawn through metal pipes or masonry channels down to a cement-lined cistern, where it remains fresh and fit for drinking throughout the year. Those who have no store of rain water, drink water drawn from the Tapti or from one of the few wells of sweet water in the suburbs and outskirts of the city.

In December 1896 the plague appeared in Bulsar town, Surat District, which suffered severely. Mogod, Surat City and Rander Town were subsequently the scenes of epidemic plague.

In 1798 Surat had a population of 600,000. The English assumed the entire control of the city in 1800. Owing to the rising importance of Bombay and to certain other causes

mentioned before, in 1818 the inhabitants numbered only 157,195. According to the census of 1901, the population was 119,306. Of these 85,577 were Hindus, 22,821 Musalmans, 5,754 Parsis, 4,671 Jains, 456 Christians, 18 Animists, 3 Sikhs and 6 unspecified. The proportion of literates in Surat district for all religions and both sexes is 13 per cent.; that of males being 24 and females 2. The proportion of literates for the different religions is as follows :—Hindus—both sexes 12, males 22, females 1; Musalmans—both sexes 16, males 31, females 2; Jains—both sexes 42, males 74, females 9. Gujarati is the prevailing language spoken.

Compiled from *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency* Vol. II, and Vol. II-B, *The Calcutta Review*, *The English in Western India* by the Rev. Philip Anderson, A. M., and *Census of India*, 1901.

RAJA VIKRAM AND THE FAQIR

VIKRAMADITYA, king of Ojain, was one of the most powerful sovereigns who ruled India and was famous for his strict and impartial administration of justice. He often inspected the condition of his people and discovered the real state of affairs by mixing among them, alone and in disguise. In this way he came to know many strange and startling things and unravelled many mysteries. Therefore, it was seldom, that justice miscarried in his reign.

A *yogi* once entered his dominions and took up his residence on the opposite bank of the river on which the city was situated. There he raised a small thatched hut and lighting a large sacred fire (Dhuni) in the middle of it, he sat in the very midst of the burning element. Soon the fame of his miraculous powers and great austerities spread through the town and many came to see and adore him. A band of disciples and followers soon gathered around him, and daily the number of converts to his doctrine began to increase. So much so that even the infection spread into the palace of the Raja; and Vikram had soon reason to suspect that all was not well with this seeming *yogi*, and that some conspiracy against his life was being secretly hatched under this garb. Therefore, to find out the truth he one night, when it was perfectly dark, slipped out of the palace, and putting on a disguise swam across

the river and hid himself in a corner of the *yogi's* hut.

What he saw in the hut sent a thrill of horror into his heart, and his courage was severely put to the test at the sight which met his view. He found the *yogi* seated in the midst of the fire, and before him lay a ghastly corpse. The dead body lay flat on its back, and a person, in whom the Raja recognised one of his discharged and discontented ministers, was sitting on the chest of the dead body. He was repeating some *mantras*, and now and then putting a flower immersed in red sandal paste, with leaves of *bel* and incense, into the mouth of the dead body. The terrible ceremony of raising the corpse was being gone through, and after an hour or so the ex-minister exclaimed :—"Speak, O son, speak." Then Vikram saw to his terror the lips of the dead body move, but heard no sound. Again the ex-minister cried out :—"Speak, O son, speak. Thee, O my beloved son, have I sacrificed to mother Kali, in order to wreak vengeance on the ungrateful Raja. Speak, O son, speak." At the end of this earnest and vehement adjuration, the murderer of his son put a fresh quantity of flowers, sandal paste, *bel* leaves, &c., into the mouth of the corpse, and again the lips moved but without uttering any sound. Again the cruel father and ex-minister cried out for the third time, but without success. The *yogi*

seeing the failure said:—"Have patience, my child; there must be some stranger in this room, who without initiation has penetrated into our mysteries, and, therefore, the sacred and mysterious *Devi* does not vouchsafe a reply." Then raising his voice the *yogi* said:—"Whoever thou art that watchest our sacred and secret proceedings, be turned into a dog." Thrice he repeated this, and Vikram tried to go out of the hut, but he found himself rooted to the spot and at the end of the third repetition, he was instantaneously changed into a dog and began to live in the hut.

When it was morning and the Raja did not return to the palace, great was the fear of the ministers and the other officers of state. But in order to allay the public excitement, it was given out that the Raja was indisposed and would not hold a Durbar for some days. In the meantime, secret messengers were sent in every direction to find out the whereabouts of the Raja, but without success. Then the ministers and the wise councillors of the court consulted together and unanimously resolved to ask the advice of the old astrologer Varahamihir. Going up to him, they requested him to tell by his calculations the fate of their beloved Raja. The astrologer found out by his art the whereabouts of the Raja and the metamorphosis which he had undergone by the curse of the *yogi*. Then addressing the councillors and courtiers Varaha said:—"Sirs, it is very difficult to extricate our monarch from the clutches of this terrible sorcerer. He is a mortal enemy of our Raja and would most gladly have killed him but that he is prevented by the four *Virs* (guardian spirits) who protect Vikram. But though they have saved him so long, soon even their power will be of no avail when the *yogi* shall have completed the horrible ceremony of raising the dead body. In the coming new-moon, the mystic rites will end, and then the four *Virs* must lose their power before the superior power of Kali. Something must be done immediately to save him." Saying this he dismissed them, and long remained absorbed in gloomy contemplation.

Then by slow degrees the face of the astrologer brightened and he summoned his twin sons to his presence. Relating to them the unfortunate condition of the Raja, he said:—"Children, we have long eaten the bread of the king; now is the time to show our gratitude. We must save him, though at the peril of our own lives. Are you prepared to embark in this dangerous enterprize?" The

twins, who were two very handsome young lads, replied in one voice:—"Father, when were we not ready to obey your commands and serve our king? Tell us how we can be of any service in this emergency." The happy father then took them to the river-side, and showing them the hut which was on the opposite bank, said:—"There you see the cottage of the sorcerer. At the door of the hut you will see a black dog; that seeming dog is our beloved Raja. I will change you into two deer, and you must go and entice away the dog to this bank. The river is not very deep, and the dog will follow you as soon as he sees you. The influence of the *yogi* extends as far as the middle of the river, and not an inch beyond. So run as quick as you can, and bring the dog out of that limit with the greatest speed. So long as you are on the other side of the middle of this stream, you are within the control of the *yogi* and your life is at his mercy; on this side of it you are safe." Having given them this caution, the astrologer changed the twins into two very graceful deer that swam through the river towards the cottage of the *yogi*.

The deer reached the door of the hut, and no sooner did the dog perceive them than with a deep growl he ran after them. The deer at once plunged into the water, the black dog chasing them. The howl of the dog roused the *yogi* from his trance, and he saw that the dog was chasing the deer. At first no suspicion of the real nature of the case entered his mind, but looking intensely at the deer he pierced through the magic coat and found that they were human beings. At once the *yogi* changed himself into a kite, and flew in the air after the deer, with the intention of plucking out their eyes. The four *Virs* guessing his object raised a dust-storm in the air and prevented the kite from perceiving his prey. By this time the Raja and the twins had almost reached the middle of the stream, when the kite piercing through the storm came down with great velocity and plucked out one of the eyes of the foremost deer. The next moment the three, the two deer and the dog had crossed the middle line and were out of the baneful influence of the *yogi*. The kite hovered high in the air but dared not cross the line.

When they reached the opposite bank, the astrologer restored them to human shapes and great was the gratitude of the Raja for this help. The loss of one eye of the younger brother cast a temporary damp on the rejoicing of the party, but still the whole city was full of happiness and joy at the news that the

Raja had recovered from his dangerous illness through the help of the astrologer. The adventures of the Raja and the *yogi* were strictly kept secret. But the Raja found that the party of the *yogi* was daily increasing in strength and numbers. The protecting spirits, the *Virs*, also informed him that their influence for good would stop at no distant date, before the malignancy of the *yogi*. The Raja, in this extremity, asked the advice of the astrologer in order to counteract the machinations of the sorcerer. Varahamihir after calculating for sometime said:—"O Raja, my powers are not sufficient to cope with the *yogi*. I know only three sciences, while he is the master of thirteen sciences. In my trance I have searched throughout this world, but have found no one his superior in learning and magic art, except the daughter of the king of China. She knows fourteen sciences and can save you. If you can marry her, your life is safe." The Raja having heard this, assembled his ministers and giving them the charge of the affairs of state, went out alone with his horse towards the country of China. Though the councillors strongly dissuaded him from this dangerous journey, yet he would not listen to them but went out of the city on his river-horse that moved swift as the air.

He rode on and on for many days and then asked a passer-by—"Friend, whose dominion is this?" The person addressed looked with amazement at the questioner and said:—"Do you not know this? All this country belongs to the good and great king Vikramaditya." The Raja rode on and wherever he asked he found that it was his own kingdom. Never had he realised so vividly as now the extent and the riches of his dominions, and all the more intense became his desire to preserve it in his dynasty, at all hazards by counteracting the machinations of the *yogi*. After months of riding he crossed his frontier and entered the kingdom of China and it took many weeks more before he reached the capital city. When he arrived at the principal city, it was dark, so he did not think it advisable to enter it at that late hour, and therefore, he stopped in a garden outside of it. Tying his horse to the trunk of a tree, he stretched himself on the ground near it and being weary, soon fell into a deep sleep.

As fortune would have it, a gang of thieves passed by that way, and seeing the river-horse took it for a good omen, which augured success to their undertakings. The leader of the thieves, therefore, vowed, saying:—"Whatever booty we shall get to-day we

will divide amongst ourselves and this auspicious horse." They then entered the city and broke open the royal treasury and robbed it of all its precious stones and jewels, and passed out undetected. Then coming to the tree where Raja Vikram was still soundly sleeping, they sat down and divided the spoil. A precious necklace, called the *kalaksha har* (nine lac necklace) fell to the share of the horse. The thieves, therefore, putting it round the neck of the animal went their way. Soon after their departure, the burglary was discovered, and the officers of state ran in all directions to find out the audacious criminals. Some of them came to the spot where Vikram was sleeping, and seeing the necklace on the horse naturally took the sleeper to be the thief. So rousing him with no gentle hand from his sleep, they hauled him, bound hand and foot, together with the wonderful river-horse, before the Emperor of China. The Raja could have easily explained away the appearances which were against him, and exculpated himself from the false charge, if he but chose to do so. But he was unwilling to put aside his incognito, and preferred to suffer the punishment of a felon. The Emperor seeing that the charge was fully established against Vikram, ordered the executioner to cut off his hands and feet and throw him thus mutilated into the public square.

There lay Vikram exposed to the taunts and ill-treatment of the people, groaning heavily under the pain which the barbarous punishment had inflicted. Exhausted and faint with the loss of blood, he remained there all the day long, unpitied and uncared for. At last, when it was night, an oilman passed by that way, and seeing him in that sad plight, was moved with compassion at his youth, beauty and misfortunes. Coming up to him, he bound up his wounds and carried him as gently as he could to his poor abode. The wife of the oilman was a vicious shrew, and as soon as she saw what her husband had brought, she cried out;—"O you blockhead and fool, what have you done? Why have you brought this ugly *doond* (cripple) here? Know you not that he is a criminal and has suffered this fate for his daring villainy? If it be known that we have sheltered him, the Emperor will surely have us pressed in the mill. Go and leave him where he was." But the kind-hearted oilman would not listen to this heartless advice, and said with greater animation than was his wont:—"Wife, I have brought this helpless creature with my eyes open to the consequences of the discovery. I have called this youth my son, and you must

also consider him as such. No selfish consideration shall ever deter me from doing that which I consider to be right and humane. Go and prepare some balsam to dress the wounds of this poor creature." The woman obeyed him and reluctantly dressed the wounds of Vikram and began to nurse the patient. In course of time, under the kind treatment of the oilman and the grudging one of his wife, Raja Vikram's wounds were healed and he began to regain his strength. When he was perfectly cured, the oilman placed him on the seat of the oil press and he was carried round and round the mill by the oxen. Thus the Raja would sit there all the day and be driven all the time. He was helped with food and drink and in fact everything by the oilman and passed his time sitting on the mill.

One day the oilman seeing that his protegee required bathing, as he looked dirty and greasy, said to his wife :—"Dear, wash my son to-day as he does not appear tidy." Raja Vikram interrupted him saying :—"Father! I would not be washed unless you wash me in the tank which is in the summer garden of the princess." Hearing this the shrew went into hysterics of rage and said :—"Look at this presumptuous doond, he would not bathe but in the waters of the princess's tank. Know you not that that tank is for your betters, and that no male footsteps have ever trod the golden pavements of that garden? O husband, you will never do such a foolish and dangerous thing, as to gratify this most absurd and unreasonable whim of this most ugly doond." The husband mildly replied :—"Certainly, I will. You must remember that he is my son, and I must satisfy this simple desire of his, cost what it may." Therefore, when it was dark, he took up the Raja on his shoulders, and carried him to the summer garden of the princess of China. Fortunately for them they found the garden unguarded at that moment, and the oilman took him and placed him on the banks of the tank. The Raja then bade him depart and come to take him away after mid-night. The honest oilman was at first afraid to leave his helpless adopted son alone, but was persuaded by Vikram to leave him there. The loving creature retired with a heavy heart full of misgivings.

When the oilman was out of sight, the Raja hobbled into the tank where the water was not deep and bathed as best he could. Then coming out of it, he changed his clothes and sat down to *pūja* (worship). Having performed the *pūja*, which lasted about three hours, he looked towards the sky and saw that

it was verging towards mid-night. Then he sang out in a deep, full and sonorous voice, a weird, strange and soul-stirring air, the *ragini Dipak*, invented by him and known only to him. It was this music that had enslaved the invisible races of the air and fire, and made them pliant instruments in his hand, it was this music that was another name for Vikram. As soon as the *Dipak* was sung by the gifted Raja, all the lamps in the city which had gone out were lighted of themselves and the people started up in amazement at seeing their lamps burning which they had extinguished when they had gone to sleep, for such was the virtue of the *ragini Dipak* (the Illuminator). Louder and higher rose the music, and intenser and brighter burned the lights, and as the music fell and died away the lights also sunk in their sockets and were extinguished and the whole city was again immersed in the same darkness as it was before. The princess also was awakened when the lamps were thus lighted, and witnessed the strange phenomenon, and knew at once that it was the work of no one else but Raja Vikram. How strangely did her heart flutter when she made this discovery, for it was the highest ambition of her soul to see and wed that great monarch of world-wide fame. She knew also that Vikram had come in disguise, and she found out through her great knowledge of the secret sciences that he was putting up with an oilman. Beyond that she could not learn, and her science was at fault.

Here when it was past mid-night, the oilman crept into the garden and carried back the Raja to his humble dwelling and putting him in his bed went to sleep. The sun was up, but the poor oilman fatigued with his night watch was still in his bed when he was roused by the royal officers who came to summon him before the princess. The poor fellow was trembling all over, and was sorely afraid in his mind, since he thought that his trespass into the garden had been detected. When, however, he was brought before the princess, he saw that all the oilmen of the city were already there and were standing with joined hands. This gave him some courage, for whatever might be the occasion of his being called there, surely it had no connection with his nocturnal visit to the garden. When he had taken his place among the oilmen of the city, the princess turning to the officers said :—"Are all the oilmen present? Have none been forgotten or omitted?" The officers bowed assent, and then the princess turning towards the oilmen said :—"Look ye, fellows, by six o'clock to-morrow morning, let each and every

one of you supply me with a hundred thousand maunds of oil. If you fail to do so, you and your family will all be pressed out of their lives in the mill," and then she dismissed them. The oilmen returned home weeping and crying and cursing the preposterous humour of the princess.

When our oilman returned from the palace of the princess of China, he was sad and despondent, and as it is natural under such circumstances he picked up a quarrel with his wife. The vixen, learning the reason of her husband's ill-humour, flew into a rage and said:—"O thou ass, see the results of thy folly. Did not I tell thee not to shelter this evil-omened *doond*? Since he has been here, affairs have gone from bad to worse, and now they have reached the worst stage of all. Whence wilt thou get such a preposterous amount of oil? What wilt thou say in answer to our royal princess to-morrow? O! death is inevitable and it is all owing to thy stupidity." With this she set up loud lamentations and bewailing; and well might she do so; the poor oilman himself did not know how to console her, though he knew that his poor protegee was not to blame. That day no fire was lit in his house, and no hearth blazed in hospitable glow, and the whole family remained weeping and mourning without food or drink. The helpless poor Vikram sat on the mill, without food, and when it was evening he called the oilman and asked him what was the matter that no flour was kneaded, no oven was lit up, nor any food cooked. He learned the cause, after much difficulty; for the oilman kept weeping and the vixen went on railing and cursing her husband, and his protegee. Raja Vikram then said:—"Father, if we must die, as seems so very probable, let us die at least like men. Why should we starve ourselves and meet *Yama* (the god of death) half way. Let him come and take us away sound and healthy. Let us not die with our stomachs empty. Go and have our food prepared." After much reasoning and solicitations of this sort, the poor oilman and his shrew of a wife were prevailed upon to cook their food, and eat and drink, though it was their firm belief that they were eating their last meal. The poor couple oppressed with the sad fate which awaited them in the morning did not get a wink of sleep for a long time, but at last nature overpowered them and their eyes were closed for an hour or so.

As soon as Vikram saw they were asleep, he sang in a low voice the *ragini Bhairabi*, and at once his four guardian spirits (*virs*)

made their appearance, and with joined palms addressed the Raja:—"O you the scion of the family of fire (*agnikula*), how long will you bide your dazzling splendour in this obscurity? How long will you remain in this helpless unknown state? Tell us your will, and we are ready to obey." The Raja said:—"My trusted friends, I shall soon emerge out of this obscurity. But now you must help me again as you have been doing so long. Bring one hundred thousand maunds of the best kind of oil." The *Virs* vanished and in an instant the hut of the oilman and the adjoining street were full of thousands of large black jars containing the oil.

Though the oilman's eyes had closed, he did not get any refreshing sleep. He dreamed horrible dreams, and the last one was so terrible that he jumped out of bed with a fearful cry, that roused the whole neighbourhood. He dreamt that the officers of justice had come to fetch him, and were hurrying him bound hand and foot to the place of execution. The delusion was kept up, even when he opened his eyes: for seeing the row of oil-vessels, he imagined them to be soldiers, and thus he kept on crying:—"O help, help, they have come to murder me." It was after some time, and when he saw that the so-called soldiers did not move, that he was convinced that it was all a dream. His sorrow was turned into joy when he saw so many jars of oil, and little did he suspect to whom he was indebted for this kindness. Therefore, with a happy heart he went up to the palace, early in the morning, before any other oilman had arrived, and informed the princess that the oil was ready.

The princess had gained her object, she had come to know for certainty that the Raja Vikram was at this oilman's house, for no one else except his famous *Virs* could have procured so much oil at such short notice. So she dismissed the other oilmen who had also come by this time to the palace to inform her of their inability to meet her demand; and then she told our oilman to tarry. When all had gone, she asked him:—"Oilman, if thou valuest thy life, tell me truly whom thou dost harbour in thy house." The oilman replied with much hesitation, that he had no one living with him, but his wife, and an innocent, poor, helpless creature, the *doond* whom he had picked up from a public square, and adopted as his son. The princess at once saw in this seeming *doond* the real Vikram, and, therefore addressed the oilman thus:—"Look thou! two months hence, on the full moon day, the Emperor, my father, will hold a great Durbar of

*Swayambara**, to which will come all the Rajas, Princes and the chiefs of the world. Come thou also on that day and bringing thy *doond* (as thou callest him) with thee and stand in some prominent place." With this command she dismissed him.

On his return home, the oilman announced to his wife the approaching *Swayambara* of the princess, and then turning to the Raja he said:—"Son, thou art very lucky; thou shalt see the grand ceremony of the selection of a husband by the princess. I will carry thee to the palace, for I have been ordered by the princess to do so." The Raja understood quickly that his retreat had been discovered by the subtle princess and that he would gain his object, for what else could have been her meaning by inviting him, if she had not made up her mind to select him. The two months passed away in great bustle and preparation in the capital of China, and now the day of *Swayambara* arrived at last.

Who can describe the rich and gorgeous scenery of that royal assemblage? Kings, Princes, and Rajas thronged from all quarters of the globe and pitched their tents in and around that imperial city. The pavilion in which this galaxy of crowned heads met was as richly decorated as the persons of the guests who had graced it with their presence. All sat expectant and with throbbing hearts, every one thinking himself the fortunate candidate on whom the nuptial garland should fall. In a corner of this vast assemblage and out of the sight of the gazing multitude stood the oilman carrying on his shoulders the mutilated Vikram. He had dressed himself and his protege in his best, and his best was a long way off the worst worn by the meanest menials of the pettiest chief in that company. With the oppressive sensation of being an intruder in this noble assembly, the poor oilman stood rooted in his place, his heart sinking within him.

At last the princess entered the pavilion attended by two of her playmates. She was a blaze of beauty, and burst upon the concourse with overpowering effulgence. All looked with speechless admiration on her graceful form and dazzling splendour. She carried a garland of sweet-smelling flowers in her hand, and cast a hasty glance on the assembly. But she saw not the object of her search in their midst, and then she looked on every side. What can escape the searching glances of love? The oilman though hidden

in a corner, was detected by the princess and she at once went there with firm and unhesitating steps, and to the great wonder of those proud and mighty guests, she put the garland round the neck of the *doond*. The Emperor of China felt himself greatly humiliated and the guests were exasperated, at this seemingly absurd choice.

But according to the laws that govern the *swayambara* the election was made and there was no means of getting out of it. The Emperor of China was forced to give his consent to this marriage, and calling up the oilman told him to bring the bridegroom with proper pomp and procession on the next day. Knowing that the oilman was too poor to defray the expenses of such a marriage and to arrange everything for the same, he appointed his prime-minister and his treasurer to manage it all.

The oilman returned home, carrying on his shoulders the bridegroom elect, and announced the happy news to his wife. Then he set about making hasty preparations for the coming marriage, but the Raja Vikram peremptorily prevented him from doing anything out of the way. He said:—"Dear father, why should we trouble ourselves with these hasty preparations; they are perfectly useless. Do not stir at all." The oilman wondered very much at this strange request but nevertheless complied with it. The officers of the king who came to manage everything, were also driven away by the proud Raja Vikram. When it was night, Vikram told his adoptive father to carry him once more to the private garden of the princess. The oilman reluctantly did as asked.

When Vikram was put on the edge of the tank, he dismissed the oilman, saying:—"Father, go away now but come to take me before dawn." The oilman went out of the garden, but his curiosity being aroused, he returned to it by another passage and hid himself in a corner to witness the doings of his protege.

Raja Vikram after finishing his ablutions, as before, sang out the *Dipaka ragini*, and no sooner did the oilman hear it than he stood rooted to the spot with ecstasy. Again as the strange and weird notes floated far and wide on the waves of air, the lamps burst forth into light, and again the princess awoke and saw the mysterious phenomenon. But this time she did not remain idle; so changing her shape into that of a heavenly chorister (*Apsara*) she flew on golden wings of magic out of her palace and went to the garden whence the music proceeded. She saw there

* The choice of a husband by the bride herself.

Raja Vikram, as she had expected, but the Raja did not recognise her in her new shape. Then the seeming Apsara coming up to Vikram, saluted him and said:—"O great Raja, I have been pleased with your song, so ask any boon." The Raja humbly said:—"O thou Dweller of the heavenly mansions of Indra, make perfect my mutilated limbs."

As soon as the seeming Apsara heard this request of the Raja, she vanished and returned immediately with the cut off pieces. Then she joined them to the body, and behold the Raja was whole again. The Apsara then vanished and returned to her palace.

Then the Raja invoked his four *virs* and lo! they appeared in all their glory and might. "What commands Your Majesty?" said they. "Behold we are ready." Then the Raja said:—"Friends of life! whom I have won after long years of austerities and *tapas*, ye have always served me faithfully and diligently. Now hastens the period of your emancipation, for soon shall ye be released from human thralldom. But be not ungrateful to the man who gave you intelligence when you were unintelligent, who gave you consciousness when you were aimless wanderers of the air without a motive and an object. Now hasten ye, to the four quarters of the globe, and bring together here all my army; let tents be pitched for miles all around the city, let horses and elephants in thousands well equipped and in gold and silver trappings be ready at my command, let the hut in which I am living be changed into a royal edifice, containing treasuries full of precious jewels and gold, and servants in gorgeous livery. In short do everything befitting Vikram, the Emperor of India: and all this before morn." The guardian spirits with low salutation indicative of unquestioning obedience soon melted into the air.

The poor oilman, who had witnessed all these strange things from his hiding place, now came forward trembling and prostrated himself before the Raja, saying:—"Forgive me, O mighty monarch." The Raja at once raised him from the ground and addressing him kindly said:—"Father, think of me always as your son. I can never repay the kindness which you showed me when I was in adversity. Henceforth you will always be a father to me and share with me command and the kingdom. But let us now hasten home, as the dawn is already appearing in the East."

Then quickly going out of the garden they returned home. The oilman was astonished to find that what he had left a hut only a few hours ago, was an imperial palace now;

and his shrew, dressed like a queen came out to receive them. Wonderful was the change which good fortune and the knowledge of the august position of their protege had wrought in her temper. While she was all curses and scoldings before, she was now all bows and adulation.

In the meantime the sun had arisen and the obedient spirits had fulfilled their commands. The news soon reached the Emperor of China that a mighty army had surrounded the city during the night. To whom they belonged and with what object they had come was still a mystery. The Emperor at once hastened out of his palace, bare-headed, bare-footed, with a straw in his mouth, in token of subjugation and with the object of propitiating the new invader. The Raja came out to receive his father-in-law and soon dispelled the alarm of the monarch. Who can describe the happiness of the Emperor when he found that the seeming *doond* whom her daughter had selected was the glorious Raja Vikram? When the news spread throughout the city, all the Rajas and chiefs who had the day before gone away in great disgust and had planned to kill the *doond*, now returned with great humility and threw themselves at the feet of the successful rival--the great Vikram.

The marriage ceremony was performed with great pomp and eclat, and in the evening a great performance of dancing girls was given to the assembled Rajas and chiefs in the large pavillion erected by the *virs*. The Raja and the Princess sat on a raised dais, and the others were seated below. While the dance was going on, the news was brought that a band of jugglers who could perform wonderful feats of magic, were waiting outside to show their talents before that noble assembly. The Raja ordered them to be brought in: and no sooner had they entered than the Raja at once recognised in the headmen of the group, the *Yogi*, his mortal enemy, and the discontented minister. The Raja at once turned pale and the Princess finding out the cause whispered:—"Fear nothing, see how their own malice re-act upon them and kill them."

The jugglers being ordered to proceed with their play, began it with the performance called the raising of the dead. The ex-minister brought out from a chest the preserved body of his son and stretching it on the ground sat on its chest. The *Yogi* burned fire all round and sat in its midst. Then the other jugglers began to beat drums and tambourines, and the corpse and the ex-minister rose into the air and soon vanished out of sight. Soon there

was heard high up in the air the clash of arms and the noise of a fight. Then there fell on the ground now an arm, then a leg, then the trunk and so on till the whole body was complete. Then the ex-minister also came down and said:—"Rajas and chiefs, here you see the mutilated body of the corpse. I will now make it whole and revive it." Then he joined the various parts together, and the *Yogi* gave him some ashes from his *Dhuni*, and no sooner was it strewn on the dead body, than it was whole and alive, and standing up cried out:—"Father I am hungry, give me food." The ex-minister replied:—"Be thou a tiger and eat our enemy," pointing towards Vikram.

At once the resuscitated corpse was changed into a tiger and sprang towards the Raja. But the Princess waved her hand and the tiger jumped back with a tremendous roar, as if struck by invisible lightning, and, furious with rage and before the *Yogi* could intervene,

the angry beast attacked the ex-minister and tearing him to pieces ran out of the pavillion. The *Yogi* seeing the fate of his companion, came out of the fiery circle, and was running away when the Princess again waved her hand, and he stood transfixed to the spot. Then in a voice of thunder addressing him she said:—"Miscreant sorcerer, who hast used the divine powers of thy soul to the basest of all purposes, I cannot punish thee more than what thy own works have ordained for thee. Wander thou henceforth in the world soulless and senseless, like the beasts of the forests and the birds of the air." Then she waved her hand, and the sorcerer went out—an idiot, devoid of the light of reason, as if the lamp of the intellect had been extinguished for ever by that potent motion of her hand. And Vikram returned to his kingdom with his bride, to the joy of his subjects, and lived happy ever afterwards.

SHAIKH CHILLI.

THE MARKET FOR BRITISH GOODS IN INDIA A CENTURY AGO

WHILE in the Charter Act of 1813, it was laid down that it was the duty of England "to promote the interest and happiness of the native inhabitants of the British dominions in India," were the measures adopted by the English authorities calculated to make the people of India happy? This question can be properly answered by analysing the measures which have been mentioned in our article on "The Genesis of the British Idea of Civilising India," published in the November number.

On the occasion of the renewal of the Charter of the East India Company in 1813, the natives of England were determined to create a market in India for English manufactures. It was with this object in view, it was to gain this end, that those measures were proposed which have been enumerated in the article referred to above. At that time there was no large market in India for English manufactures. Those witnesses whose opinions were worth anything mentioned in their evidence before the Houses of Parliament that India did not stand in need of English goods. Mr. Warren Hastings, who had survived his impeachment by over a quarter of a century and had now become

an octogenarian, in his evidence before the Lord's Committee, on the 5th April 1813, said:—

"British manufactures, like all other articles of commerce, must be such, as will minister either to the wants or to the luxuries of the people:—* * The poor of India, who are the people, have no wants; unless the scanty rags of cloth which they wear, their huts, and simple food, may be considered as such, and those they have upon the ground which they tread upon. The next class above the poor, are the wealthy Hindoos, occupying the rank of Zemindars, and the officers of the collections: those men are as simple in their habits almost as the poor; they want nothing that our ships can furnish them. That class of the inhabitants who formerly might have been the purchasers of European merchandize, such as articles of show, furniture, and dress, have now scarcely any existence, I mean the Mahometans; few now remain besides the pensioners that were left upon the bounty of the Government; few of whom I should suppose now survive." * *

Mr. William Cowper, who had served the Company for 32 years in India, was examined by the Lords' Committee on the same date as Mr. Warren Hastings. The questions that were put to him and the answers he gave to them are reproduced below:—

"Is your opinion with respect to the improbability of an extended use of European commodities by the

natives of that country, founded upon any peculiarity in the character of that population?—Undoubtedly all their habits and prejudices go to prevent them from taking off such commodities in any quantities: a large proportion of those commodities they might be led to reject from their habits and prejudices; even their religion: for instance, the whole Mussalman population would never touch any thing that was made of hair, from the apprehension that it might have proceeded from the hog or swine, and would be induced to reject every commodity of that kind, unless they could have the most perfect assurance that there was no such danger to be apprehended, and so of other fabrics; but I should apprehend that the greatest obstacle to the purchase of European commodities by the natives of India, would proceed from their poverty, which utterly puts it out of their power to indulge themselves in any such luxuries; the vast mass of the population of India are extremely poor; and the wages of labor are low. * * *

"Is the Committee to understand from you, that the improbability of which you have spoken, of an extended use of European commodities in that country, is rooted in the manners and habits of the native population?—Undoubtedly in their manners and habits, and the inadequacy of their means to indulge themselves even if their manners and habits did not oppose any bar to the purchase of such commodities.

* * *

"Do you suppose that the demand for European commodities in that country on the part of the native population, is chiefly confined to a demand for luxuries?—I do; I have already stated what kind of commodities the natives (as far as they do purchase such commodities) are in the habit of purchasing, chiefly articles of European furniture. * * *

"While you resided in India, was the demand for European commodities completely supplied by the markets?—During the greater part of the time I resided in India, there was generally a glut of European commodities; very many adventurers were totally ruined by the impossibility of disposing of the commodities which they imported to Calcutta."

Sir John Malcolm was also examined before the above Committee.

"From your observation, do the natives appear to have any taste for European manufactures or commodities?—Many of the wealthy natives at the presidencies purchase articles of European manufacture, and broad-cloth, I believe, is sold to a very considerable extent, there not being a more general sale is to be ascribed to the want of means of the great mass of the community to make any such purchases, and to the nature of their habits, the mode of their life, and their dress.

"Do you mean to state, that the mass of the population have no means of purchasing European commodities?—The mass of the population have no means of purchasing European commodities. * * *

"If articles of woollen manufacture should be fabricated with a view particularly to the consumption of the natives, and sent to the northern parts of India would they, in your opinion, find a market there?—It would depend, in my opinion, entirely upon their price; they have their own manufactures that answer the same purpose as our lighter woollens,

these are the cumlies for the poorer, and the shawl for the superior classes; the sale of European woollens must be chiefly regulated by the ability of the part of the natives to purchase them, as indeed the demand of any manufacture must depend upon its price. * * *

"Do you believe that there is a very general desire in the natives of India to obtain various articles of European manufacture?—Certainly not general. * * nor do I believe, from their simple attire and habits, and their attachment to the modes of their fathers, that the general mass of the people have any great desire for them, even if they had the means of purchasing them. * * *

"Do you consider India in general as a very manufacturing country?—*I consider that the natives of India are very industrious, and very apt to learn any trade or any art that they are taught.*"

Lord Teignmouth in his examination also stated:—

"That I am not aware of any manufactures in this country [England] that the natives would be likely to purchase in any considerable degree; this opinion is formed from my knowledge of their modes of living in India."

That well-known engineer, Major-general Alexander Kyd, was asked:—

"Have you had an opportunity of observing how far the natives of British India shew a disposition to use European manufactures?"

In answering the above question, he said:—

"Very little indeed amongst the lower classes. From the smallness of their pay, they are unable to indulge in any of our manufactures the superior classes have got luxuries and indulgencies of their own, that generally speaking they prefer to ours: There are a few exceptions at the presidencies, where some men in imitation of their masters indulge in small articles of household furniture, glassware, lustres, and things of that sort, but to no great extent."

Sir Thomas Munro—although he was not the Governor of Madras in 1818—had served in India for more than a quarter of a century. As a witness before the Lord's Committee, he deposed:—

"I see no signs among the natives of any increasing demand for our commodities: I think that when I went to India, and when I left it, a period of twenty-eight years, there was scarcely any variation. I think the cause of that does not exactly arise from what we call high prices, but from causes that are more permanent than the rate of the prices. It arises from the influence of climate, from the manners of the people, from the great skill of their own manufacturers; * * *. There are two great sources of expenditure in this country which cannot apply to India at all, these are the expenses of the table and the furniture of the house; the Hindoo has no table, he eats alone upon the bare ground, and generally in the open air: the whole equipment that he has for that purpose is perhaps an earthen platter or a small brass bason; and as far as furniture is concerned, he may be said to have no house, for his

horse contains none. * * Again, those articles which he wishes for food his own country supplies, *call his clothing it supplies in much greater beauty and variety than any thing we can furnish him with.*

"Are you of opinion that in the colder parts of the country, there is any probability of introducing to any great extent the use of English woollen manufactures?—If we could furnish our woollen manufactures as cheap as the natives can furnish their own, there would be a very considerable demand, because there is hardly a native of India that does not use woollen. I never knew a native who had not a large piece of coarse woollen of their own manufacture, which they use as the Highlanders of Scotland do a plaid; they sleep upon it, they wrap it about them when they travel; but it is so much cheaper than our manufactures, that I am afraid our woollens can never come into competition with it; there must be a very great improvement in our machinery for manufacturing woollen before we can possibly sell our woollen in India of the coarser kind of Indian woollen, which is usually worn by the peasantry and the lower classes of the people, as much as a man requires to cover him, a piece of about seven feet long by four or five broad, is sold for about two shillings; but that is the coarsest kind: the finer kind is as fine as the boat cloaks that are commonly made here. This is of a much larger size, about ten feet long by five or six wide; it sells at from twenty or twenty five shillings." * * *

"According to your observation, did the market for European commodities in every part of India, while you were there, appear to you to be adequate to the demand for them?—The market is perfectly adequate to the demand; there is no obstruction to the supply in every part of India. I never was in any large village in India, in which European commodities were not exposed for sale, those commodities for which there is a demand; but they are in general trifling, some small pieces of broad cloth, some articles of cutlery, such as scissors, pen-knives, and perhaps in glassware a few small looking glasses.

"Do you think that the present system of commerce with India is fully adequate to the supply of any probable increased demand for British articles among the natives? I think that the present supply is fully adequate to any probable increase of demand.

"Am I to understand that it is your opinion, that the natives of India, being a manufacturing people, and ingenious in manufactures, are fully adequate to supply any demands that may arise among themselves? I think they are fully competent to supply all demands that can arise among themselves, and that the chief cause of the difficulty of exporting our manufactures to advantage for sale in that country is, that we as a manufacturing people are still far behind them."

Mr. William Young, who had been in the Civil Service of the East India Company for twenty years, said—

"If it is meant by European commodities, the common articles that were imported by the officers of the Company's ships, generally speaking, there was an abundant supply, * * *; if by British commodities is meant articles of British merchandize, I believe upon every occasion there was an ample supply."

Mr. Guy Lenox Prendergast, who had served in Guzerat and Bombay, appeared as a witness before the Lords' Committee. He was asked—

"While you resided in that country, did you perceive a growing use of European commodities among the natives? In that respect I did not see the smallest difference while I resided amongst them, * *

"To what circumstance do you ascribe it, that the natives are so indifferent or averse to the use of European commodities? They are not at all necessary to their comforts or habits, they find everything they wish or want extremely cheap where they are, and their necessities do not seem to require them."

Mr. D. Haliburton, who had been long in the service of the East India Company at Madras, was questioned—

"Have you had an opportunity to observe at Madras, whether natives who are in habits of intercourse with Europeans acquire in any degree their manners or tastes?"

In reply he said—

"I think at Madras a few may perhaps have done it in some degree; the first establishment of Madras was of the date of 1620; it was the first establishment the Company had in the peninsula of Hindostan; they may be better acquainted there than in the inland parts, but still the bulk of the people remain very ignorant of the English manners, and are given very little to purchase European articles of furniture or to attend to European customs of any sort."

Mr. Graeme Mercer was originally appointed to the Medical Department in the service on the Bengal establishment, but was afterwards very frequently employed in both the Revenue and Political Departments of that service. In answering the question whether if a free trade were opened between England and India, there would be any materially increased demand among the natives of India for English manufactures or commodities, said—

"I think no sudden increased demand for the manufactures of this country would arise from such a free trade; the habits and manners of the natives are of such a nature as may be said to be nearly unchangeable; their wants from other countries are few or none; and from the period in which I have resided in India, I could perceive little or no alteration with regard to their demands for any European commodities."

Mr. Thomas Cockburn, a Madras Civilian, was asked—

"Have you had an opportunity of observing how far the natives of India discover a taste for the use of European manufactures or commodities of any kind? Very few, if any, of the British commodities can be consumed by the population of India. A few rich individuals may use carriages; some few, glasses, watches, &c., and perhaps a little broad-cloth occasionally to cover them in the very cold weather, but in very small quantities. * *

"Do you think there is much prospect of an extended use of European commodities among the natives of that country?—It is necessary to advert to what are the articles in use among the natives, to ascertain that point: of course I had occasion to inquire into the expenses of native families of different description; and when I was at the head of the Board of Revenue, I conversed with some natives on the subject, who gave me, as a matter of curiosity, a statement of the expenses of a labouringman and his family, and what a family of a middling class lived on, a man capable of keeping a hackery and a pair of bullocks to carry him to his business; and it is scarcely to be believed how small the sums are in those accounts which are expended for clothing. I happen to have preserved the memorandums; I got them in the year 1802; if it is wished, I can produce them to the Committee. The whole expense of a laboring family, consisting of the man, his wife, and five children, (the eldest eight years, the youngest an infant) amounted to about £11 6s per annum; and of that sum, the whole amount expended for clothing is 17s and a fraction. The expenses of the middling family, that is a person who is usually known by the term of a dubash, which consisted of six men, a boy five years of age, and twelve women, in all nineteen persons, amounted per annum to £193 or thereabouts; the whole amount of the clothing included in that sum, used by the family in the course of the year, amounted to about £42 sterling: and those expenses included daily charity, which forms part of the expense of a native of that quality in India. In the articles necessary to the subsistence of both families, no British articles of manufacture are included, or could be necessary."

Mr. Thomas Sydenham, who had been in the service of the East India Company for twelve years at the Presidency of Madras, on being questioned whether he thought there was any probability of the natives of Hindustan being induced to purchase, to any extent, woollens, the manufacture of England, said—

"I think not; the woollens of this country are in use only with a few of the Hindoos, and many of the Mussalmans of high rank; but to the other classes of the community the manufacture of what is called a comley, I believe, is considered by themselves as comfortable as any kind of cloak they could have of the woollen, and must be always much cheaper."

Mr. Robert Morris, who had made several voyages to India in the capacity of a surgeon and purser on board the ships of the Company and whose time was employed in trading, in his examination, was asked—

"Did any articles enter largely into those assortments for the use of the native population of British India?—Very few, some few of ironmongery, cutlery, hardware, a little fine glass, and a few woollens. * * *

"Is it within your knowledge, whether during the period in which you had this commercial communication with India, there was a growing demand, on the part of the native population for European, commodities?—I do not think there was, in any considerable degree. * * * *

"Do you conceive, that if the trader were to load and send his ownship with a cargo of European arti-

cles, that cargo would be likely to find a market among the natives of British India?—I do not; among the natives, not more than at present. * * * *

"Do you conceive, that in the event of an open trade, any great expectations entertained by British manufacturers of an increased market for their products in India, would be realized or disappointed?—I conceive they would be disappointed."

Mr. James Horsburgh, who was hydrographer to the East India Company, being asked—

"In the event of a free trade being opened with India, is it your opinion that the demand for English articles or manufactures in those seas would be increased to any material degree?"

said—

"I think not, without the natives are altered in disposition and habits."

Mr. Charles Buller, M. P., who had served in the Revenue Department, in Bengal, on being requested to give his opinion whether free trade with India would increase the demand among the natives of that country for European articles or manufactures, said—

"Very little, if any, I should suppose so."

The reasons he gave for his opinion were—

"From the general poverty of the people, and from their not having any wish, as I have seen, to have our articles, generally speaking."

The evidence of the Honourable Hugh Lindsay in the Marine service of the East India Company, who had made several voyages to India as Commander of a ship, is very important.

"Can you judge, from your own experience, how far articles of European manufacture find a sale among the natives of India?—I consider that the investments are fully sufficient for the demand; indeed rather more so, as I have invariably found that there has been a glut of the market and every season I have been in India; I mean towards the latter part. "What proportion of the assortment which you usually made consisted of goods for the consumption of the native Indians, and what for the consumption of Europeans resident in India?—The investments were generally sold to people who retailed them, and I conceive that they were entirely for the consumption of the Europeans, and in a very trifling degree for the natives. * * * "Do you imagine, or conceive, that the consumption of European manufactures is likely to be much extended among the natives?—I do not think it is likely to be much extended. I have at various times endeavoured to obtain information on that subject with the natives, and I begged they would inquire whether any new articles could be sent, and their answer was, that their retail was for the Europeans, not for the natives."

* * * "Is it your opinion that the exportation of European manufactures to India could ever take place with any hope of a much increased consumption amongst the natives?—As far as I can judge, I should think it will not increase."

***Is it your opinion, that ships going from the out ports to India are likely in general to be disappointed in their expectations in respect to the sale of the cargo?—I should think to a very great degree indeed."

Mr. Stephen Rumbold Lushington, M. P., who had served on the Madras Establishment for eleven years, gave it as his opinion, that in Southern India among the mass of the population, there was—

"no desire for European articles, and I believe there are few parts of India where the primitive manners and customs of the Hindoos are preserved so unmingled as in Tinnevely and in the Southern Provinces; I think the Hindoo there is at this day what he was two thousand years ago. ** his diet is frugal and simple; his hut is composed of mud and cocoa-tree leaves, and a few bamboos; and a small strip of cloth is all the garment that he uses. I cannot therefore trace amongst any of the classes of the population of the Southern Provinces any desire for European articles; the means of purchasing such articles they do not possess; and the price of labour is so low, the raw materials are also so cheap, that I despair that the manufactures of this country, where labour is so much higher, and the material not the produce of this country, can ever be sent there to advantage for native consumption. * * *"

"Are not the people of India more sober and diligent, and as much employed and skilful in manufactures as the inhabitants of any country you are acquainted with?—*There can be no human beings more patient, or more industrious, or more sober, than the Hindoos*; and deriving their knowledge of the arts from their fathers, and concentrating their attention to the object immediately before them. They are eminently skilful in the manufacture of muslins, of cointzes, of shawls, and in some sorts of silver and gold work. * *

"Are any of our manufactures, except some trifling articles of glass in the principal towns, in demand among the Hindoos?—No. Can they not manufacture such woollen articles as they want, infinitely cheaper and more to their habits and tastes, than we can send them?—I can have no doubt of it, because their labour is so much cheaper, and their materials so much lower in price."

Mr. David Vanderheyden, M. P., who had been in the Civil Service of the East India Company on the Bengal Establishment for about twenty-five years, was one of the witnesses before the Lords' Committee.

"Are you able to state, whether the use of European commodities has been upon the whole increasing among the natives of India?—I should think not.***"

"Among the great mass of the population, is there any prospect of extending the consumption of European commodities?—I should think not the least, speaking of the people of all the Provinces.

"Will you state very concisely from what causes you think that event so unlikely?—I should think from their customs, manners, religion, and their very slender means of purchasing them, and their disinclination to purchase them, if they had the means.

"Are the Committee to understand from you, that the contractedness of the means of the natives for

the purchase of European commodities is likely to be lasting?—With the great mass of the people and the state of society, I think there is no period that we can contemplate when it will be otherwise, or that there will be any material alteration."

Mr. William Fairlie, who had resided for nearly thirty years in Bengal, as a Merchant and Agent, corroborated the statement of the previous witnesses that the natives of India did not stand in need of British manufactures.

"Is it your opinion, that according to the present system, the present demand for European manufactures and commodities in India is fully supplied?—I think there is a full supply at present; for some years before I left India, goods were generally selling at a loss; and I understand, that they are still selling at a loss. * * *

"Will you state to the Committee, what are the European articles that are in demand among the natives of India?—The chief articles are iron, lead, copper, woollens, and some other articles; spectacles, and hinges for doors, some small articles of that kind; but they can manufacture almost every thing they want themselves.

"Will you state to the Committee, what in your opinion is the great impediment to the increase of a demand for European articles among the natives of India?—Their habits, customs, and having no use they can put them to, that I know of.

"In your opinion is the low price of labour and the poverty of the mass of the population an insuperable impediment?—It is to a certain extent, no doubt; while I was there, thirty years, I did not know a native that made any attempt to follow the customs of Europeans, neither by using the articles or following their dress; they would use woollens in a great quantity if they could afford it, but none of the common people can, their wages are very low; * *."

Mr. Lestock Wilson, was for some years Captain of an East India-man in the Company's service. In his evidence, he was asked—

"In making up your investment for the Indian market, did you chiefly use such articles as were intended for the native consumption of India, or for the consumption of European residents in that country?—A great part of a Captain's investment consists of dead weight, consisting of lead, copper, and iron; copper is carried in a very limited degree; the East India Company seldom allow you to deal in it; the rest is for the Europeans, I hardly know of any thing exclusively for the natives, unless it might be some articles that were intended to be manufactured in that country, either by natives or by Europeans.

"Did you find it profitable to make up a great portion of your investments of articles intended for the consumption of the natives?—My three last voyages were to Bombay and China, and I think two out of the three were unproductive, as far as the trade from Europe went, or nearly so; the profit in the other was slight.

"From your experience as a partner in a mercantile house trading with India, are you able to say, whether there be now any great demand in India for European manufactures from this country?—As a trader in a

mercantile house, I am particularly situated, having a ship at this moment going out, that came home in 1810, which has since made a voyage in the Company's service, and now has a right to return there; it is a teak-built ship, and probably may be sold there; there is a necessity for her returning to India, and she must return dead freighted, or in ballast, if the Company had not relaxed in the conditions of her going out with the produce and manufactures of this country; and I know, in consequence, her lading consists of a very few articles indeed that are strictly the produce of these kingdoms; I recollect but four she has, namely, empty bottles, a little ale, which is carried more to oblige a brewer, than any hope to get anything out of it; she has a little English iron, and twenty or thirty tons of chalk, which they use in a very small degree; she has been offered for freight at a very low rate, of which a very little indeed has been obtained."

Mr. William Davies was an East India merchant. So his evidence was very important.

"Can you state from your knowledge of the Indian commerce, whether the market for European goods in that country is generally over or understocked?—My opinion is, that of late it has had an ample supply; supposing the question to be whether under or overstocked, I should say, that in my opinion it has been overstocked."

The following question and its answer are too valuable to be passed over—

"Are you of opinion that if a considerably increased capital were applied to the encouragement of the manufactures of India, and they were brought to Europe, they would not probably materially injure the manufactures of this country?—I think that if the exports from India of coarse cloths were greatly increased, that they might interfere with the manufactures of this country. A proof, I had cloths consigned to me from Madras which did pay the duty in England, and were sold in England, a part of which I have now in use in my own house after having been bought from a trader in London; I am speaking of coarse cotton cloths."

Mr. William Bruce Smith resided in India as a licensed merchant for forty years. So he was well qualified to state the market that existed in India for British goods.

"Had you an opportunity of observing what degree of taste the natives evinced for the use of European manufactures in that part of the country?—But very few of them used the manufactures of Europe, they had no taste for them, they did not suit them."

"Did you ever engage in any speculation, which enables you to speak particularly to this point?—I did, an investment of European articles were sent to me from Calcutta, I think, was in the year 1793, to dispose of, and none of the natives would take them and they were returned back again; there was a boat load."

"What were the articles?—Wedgewood's wares, glass ware, lanthorn shades, and articles of that description."

"Were they exposed to the view of the natives, and recommended to them?—They were given in charge of the native shopkeepers, desiring them to be sold, if possible, or to be returned; and they were all returned, or the greatest part of them were returned."

"Do you conceive that that experiment failed from a want of demand among the natives for European manufactures?—Entirely so; native demand for."

"Is the scantiness of European manufacture permanent in its nature?—I think it is. * * *

"Do you apprehend that the consumption of European hardware could be particularly promoted in that part of the country?—They make articles for their own use so much cheaper, that I think there would be little demand for European articles. * * *

"Do the natives of rank spend much of their superfluous wealth in the purchase of European commodities?—None at all, I believe, except in a very few instances."

Sir Charles Warre Malet, Baronet, was in the service of the East India Company for 28 years and was part of the time Governor of Bombay. In his evidence he was asked—

"From your observation of the natives of Hindustan, do you think they have either any want or any desire, for European commodities in that country?—Less, perhaps, than in almost any other part of the world; * * *"

"Have the mass of the Hindoo population in India the means, if they have the desire of purchasing European commodities or manufactures; by the mass of the Hindoo population I mean the cultivators of the land? They certainly do not desire them, it seems a thing quite foreign to their state of society; and if they had the inclination they certainly have not the means; but all their little articles of dress are of a peculiar form and make, and quite out of the idea of anything we have, nothing we make in this country is applicable to certain parts of their dress."

"Does it appear to you that the more opulent Hindoos, who have intercourse with Europeans, have much taste for European articles, or use them much?"

"In the whole course of my journey from Surat to Delhi, which is through the root of the peninsula, and visiting the principal zemindars and rajas in my route I recollect very little of European articles, or European manufactures; I may have seen here and there some glass-ware and some specimens of our arms, they are fond of them; but I do not remember seeing a carriage. Broad-cloth you will see, which is used in their saddlery, for their shoes, and here and there you will see it used as a cloak, with a hood thrown over their heads; but all the common people have a thing of their own called a *comely*, made of wool. I scarcely remember an article of English manufacture, except those I have mentioned, and those are very rare indeed. I carried some articles of European fabric to the Mogul and to Scindia, mostly of cut glass."

Mr. Stanley Clark was in the maritime service of the East India Company for 25 years. The questions put to him and his answers to them are reproduced below:—

"In your experience of the Indian trade, have you found that any, and if any, what new articles have

been called for by the demands of the natives there?—I do not recollect any articles that can be called new articles of immediate British produce, that have been called for, unless it has been, in a very small degree, some Manchester goods, but to a very little account, could I find vent for them, and they were chiefly taken off by Europeans.”

These and several other witnesses were also examined before the Committee of the House of Commons. It is a remarkable fact that one and all of these witnesses who had been sworn to speak the truth, were unanimous in declaring that the Indian natives did not stand in need of any of the English manufactures, that there was no market in India for English goods and that the natives were quite capable of supplying their own wants. Indians were not savages. They had their flourishing industries. Where was the necessity then for their purchasing English goods?

Some of the reasons, mentioned by the witnesses, for Indians not buying English goods, were, the ability of the Indians to make all that they required much cheaper than the English, and their difference from the Europeans in religion, manners, customs and habits. By a one-sided free trade,—that is, by allowing English goods free access to India, but prohibiting the import or use of Indian goods in England or imposing prohibitive duties on such goods,—and by other means, the chief industries of India were either destroyed or materially crippled. The imparting of English education and the preaching of Christianity were calculated to change and anglicize the manners, customs, habits and religion of her inhabitants, though, no doubt, that was not the sole object in view.

NOTES

“Nations by themselves are made.”

We must point out to our countrymen that while the visit of an Englishman like Mr. Keir Hardie, with his warm-hearted sympathies and generous belief in English ideals, is always welcome and always helpful, yet it is a mistake to build our hopes upon anything outside ourselves. In strengthening the Indian character, in deepening the Indian powers of resistance, in intensifying our own habits of co-operation and in breaking out new paths for our united advance, in these, and in nothing else, lies our ultimate salvation. Provided we are already working and continue to work for these things, extraneous influences may be very advantageous; but if those influences should lead us for one moment to depend upon them, or on anything they could do for us, they would be nothing but harmful.

Our unity in diversity.

It requires a foreign eye to catch the wonders of Indian solidarity. It was Englishmen who first saw that our unity was so great, and our ignorance of that unity so universal, that an immense harvest might be reaped from administering our affairs and taxing us, as a unit. In this sense, then, the lesson of our own unity has been taught us by English teachers. But we have now learnt that lesson. It is true that we do not yet know

the steps by which we shall effectively assert it, we do not yet know what is the road we are to tread in its progressive application, but we have gained a deep conviction, from which nothing can ever move us. The scales have fallen from our eyes, and we see and know that we are one. Those very surface-diversities of which it has been common to make much, have become in our own eyes now, but so many proofs of our unity. As in one of the higher organisms, no limb is a mere repetition of any other, but the whole is served in some special way by each, so here also, no one province duplicates or rivals the functions of any other. The Mahratta serves the Bengali and the Bengali the Mahratta, the Hindu and the Mohammedan find themselves complementary to one another, and the Punjaabee and the Madrasí are both equally essential to the whole, in virtue of their mutual unlikenesses, not their resemblances. It is by our unlikeness—an unlikeness tempered, of course, by deep sympathy—that we serve one another, not by our similarity. The lower the organism, the greater the multiplication of a given part; the higher, the more specialised is each limb and each organ. In humanity, not even two hands or two feet are exactly identical. With regard to nations, the requisites of unity are common place and common circumstances. A people who are one in



*From a photograph of the original
oil-painting by RAVI VARMA.*

RAVAN KILLING JATAYU.

*By the courtesy of MR. RAMA VARMA.
Photograph by P. S. JOSHI.*

home and one in interests, have no need to speak a common language, or believe a common *mythos*, in order to realise their mutual cohesion. Questions of race and history are merely irrelevant, in face of the determination of a given group to become a nation. Much has to be remembered and much forgotten; but man can determine such things by his own will, and when, in addition, he possesses, as we in India do, an enormous mass of common and related *customs*, he stands already provided with an inexhaustible language for the expression of his national unity. Ours is the advantage that not merely all sects of Hinduism, but also all the peoples of Asia express themselves through certain characteristic modes in common. Fire to the European is a convenience: to most Asiatics, a sacred mystery. Water to the European represents physical cleanliness: to Asiatics, it is the starting-point of a new life. The simplicity of the Asiatic environment is a quiver with mystic associations, vibrant with spiritual significance, and to these, Hindu and Mohammedan respond alike.

Restraint in expression.

We wish we could speak sufficiently strongly on the desirability of restraint in expression. The ecstasies of one particular daily paper over Mr. Keir Hardie's visit call a blush to one's cheek. Of course, as we have said elsewhere, all the genuine outside help that we can get is welcome. But neither Mr. Keir Hardie, nor Mr. John Morley, nor any one else can save India. Only India herself can do that. Ten minutes a day spent at the feet of the Mother, in meditation and love by each of Her own children, will do more for India than all the political views of all the outsiders that ever were born, including the very best of them. The nonsense talked in this particular case has already brought its retaliation;—for an English *working man* said in public a few weeks ago, 'what was the sense in Keir Hardie's speaking as he was doing, "to a crowd of coolies"?' This is what our fathers were great for—this is what seers taught, heroes struggled, and emperors reigned and literatures were written for, that we should be called, by an *uneducated* European, 'a crowd of coolies.' Will the indiscreet enthusiasm that occasions such an insult not stop? Our national ideal has lain always in restraint in expression. We believe by instinct in the power gained through the development of a feeling *and* its restraint. To be conscious of a great fact, *and* to hold back that consciousness behind the lips;—this is power. Every

word spoken, out of a great intention, is so much force lost. Every little act, every triviality, is waste of the future. Silence with indifference is no strength. But silence with intensity of thought and feeling is the whole of energy. Grim silence, speechless sternness mark him who is to be feared. Over-expression, the glib flow of words, rates the man as contemptible and a slave.

"Power Thou art. Give me power!
Energy art Thou. Give me energy!
Strength Thou art. Give me strength!
Make me strong. Even as the Thunderbolt,
To keep my vow of—, for life!"

Lord Minto and the loyalty of the Sepoy.

In concluding the debate on the Sedition Meetings Bill, Lord Minto made a speech, in the course of which he praised the loyalty of the sepoys. At his request Lord Kitchene has conveyed to them this praise and acknowledgement of their loyalty. As the sepoy has been openly and ostentatiously declared to be loyal, all invidious race-distinctions based on the distrust of the sepoy should disappear from the Indian army without delay. He should again be employed in the artillery, he should be given *exactly* the same weapons as British soldiers, he should be housed at least in healthy quarters the King Emperor's commissions should be thrown open to Indian officers, &c., &c. Sincere speech should be followed by corresponding deed. Else silence were better.

A Nasmyth hammer to crush the air.

The despot can do many things. But he cannot crush or kill an idea. His mailed fist cannot touch the soul. Yet he forges a Nasmyth hammer to crush the air. Possibly he thinks the air, though elsewhere quite elusive, can be pulverised in India.

"Get thee behind me Satan!"

The methods, even the goals, of different political workers in India may seem to be or really be different, but their object is the same—the regeneration of India. Let these methods and goals be discussed, by all means; but let there be no quarrel, no mutual recrimination and denunciation. If we believed in the existence of Satan, we should say to all who want to sow discord among us—"Get thee behind me Satan!" We have earnest workers among all sections of Indian patriots whom we honour for their loyalty and sincere patriotism. This attitude of ours does not

mean that we find it necessary to be all things to all men. No; we have definite views, to which we try to give definite expression.

The Rawalpindi outrage and the position of women.

In the Rawalpindi outrage case, there has been a glaring failure of justice. Judge and jury have been strongly criticized, and the wickedness of the man Moore and his servant who committed the outrage has been denounced in papers conducted by our countrymen. In America lynching would have been resorted to by the infuriated populace in such a case, which may or may not be justifiable. We are very jealous of the honour of our women, we are proud of the high ideal of chastity maintained by them. But in cases like this, is popular indignation simply to spend itself in criticism and denunciation? What are we going to do to elevate the position of women in our country? Public opinion must undergo a change in this respect. Taking this particular case into consideration, we are told that the outraged girl has been cast adrift by her family, and probably she would have been banished from her home even if the accused had been punished. Her relatives believe her to be innocent, we all believe her to be innocent. Yet is the girl to be ruined for life, possibly lost in the quagmire of a sinful life? Such heartlessness must cease. She and others in a similar predicament must find a safe home among their relatives and castemen. Will anybody in Rawalpindi kindly take the trouble to find out where this injured sister of ours is and what is her present status in society? No effort should be spared to save her from ruin.

We have said more than once that as woman possesses a soul, she must be given every opportunity to become and do the highest that she is capable of. That is the chief ground for educating and uplifting her. The foolish and idle dissensions regarding the *kind* of education to be given to her must cease. Are you convinced that she should be educated? Then go and give her the education that you think best. Begin at once. Our educated countrymen should be ashamed, should cease to call themselves educated, if there be a single illiterate girl or young woman in their families. We seem to be bent upon winning for ourselves the status of free men. Shall our women remain sunk in the depths of ignorance and superstition? Remember knowledge is power in the case of woman, too. Without the help and co-opera-

tion of an educated and uplifted womanhood, we are running a one-legged race in the path of national progress.

Besides knowledge we must give women the advantages of outdoor life and social intercourse, of course, under proper safeguards. This is necessary not only for their health, but for perfecting their education and strengthening their moral fibres, too. We know their ideal of chastity is the highest in the world. But being cooped up in their homes they do not in all cases possess sufficient presence of mind, self-reliance and power of resistance in emergencies. Arm them with book-learning, arm them with practical knowledge of the world and its ways, and arm them with daggers or other effective weapons, too, in journeys by rail or boat. And our exhortation to the rising generation is: Do not marry unless you are convinced that you can face death in any form in defence of your hearths and homes and the honour of the womanhood of India. Marriage is a sacrament. When a woman gives you the most precious treasure she has, what would you dedicate to her? The heart of a pleasure-seeker, a wordling and a coward! Ah, no! Dare all, risk all for your beloved; or be not the progenitor of a race of helpless slaves.

English virtues.

There was a time when many of our countrymen, particularly the educated section, liked everything English,—the name *bilāti* was the hallmark of excellence. But owing to a variety of causes, there has been a revulsion of feeling. But thoughtful persons should not be carried away by mere feeling. However "cold, selfish and unfeeling" Englishmen may be in their treatment of subject races, we should not forget the splendid qualities of the race. Let us be to our own motherland, to our countrymen and to our countrywomen, what Englishmen are and have been to theirs. What sturdy patriotism they possess;—their empire-builders, like Clive, have been patriotic even in their crimes. How dutiful they are to their own countrymen! What do they not do and dare and suffer for them! Their love of knowledge, in whatever country or literature it may be found, is worthy of our imitation. There is no literature in the world whose treasures have not been translated into English. But even the best English books have not been translated into our own vernaculars. Englishmen are adding daily to the world's stock of knowledge by thought and research,

Where is our band of workers in this field? One or two solitary names only indicate that our race is still capable of great things. What a spirit of enterprise Englishmen have! Wherever there is anything to exploit, there you find the Englishman. We do not admire the unscrupulous exploiter. But even from him we should learn to develop the resources of our country lying at our very feet. The practical turn of mind of the English, their power of organization, their method, their habits of business, their punctuality, their orderliness, their mutual confidence, their skill, all these it will do us good to imbibe. Their tenacity of purpose, their resolve to keep what they have, are admirable. "Britons hold your own," is their watch word. In a national crisis how they close up their ranks, forgetting personal ambition and jealousies and party strife, foes fighting tooth and nail a moment ago behaving like fast friends! And what superb confidence they have in the capacity of their race! Is there any Englishman who does not believe his nation quite capable of doing anything that any other race can do or has done? What a fight they have fought in their country for civic rights! So that the traditions of liberty so cling to their souls, that even in these imperialistic days, there are men among them who advocate liberty and equal rights for non-white races, at least in theory. Let us keep and develop the best that is in us. But let us also learn from the English and other western races and the Japanese what they have to teach.

The release of Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh.

We rejoice in the restoration to liberty of Lala Lajpat Rai and Sardar Ajit Singh. We are glad that their release is unconditional. Chastened by their sufferings, with their patriotism intensified by meditation in solitude, may they by the grace of God be enabled to serve their and our motherland with even greater zeal and self-sacrifice than before!

The E. I. Railway strike.

As we write, the strike of the E. I. Railway drivers and guards continues, unsettling business and causing much loss and inconvenience to the public. But in the struggle between capital and labour such incidents are inevitable; though we are sure Anglo-Indian editors of a certain type are cudgelling their brains to connect the Babu-agitator with the strike. But whatever they may say, the lesson to be learnt from strikes is what Mr.

Stead wrote in the July number of *The Review of Reviews*:—

"The *ultima ratio* of democracy is the general strike. How effective a weapon it may be in the hands of a united people was clearly demonstrated last month in France. Four departments in Southern France—Ard, Gard, Hérault, and Pyrénées Ors—went on strike to enforce their demand that the Government should come to the immediate rescue of the devastated wine industry. * * *

"The revolt of the wine-growers, and that of the seamen which preceded it, is no strike of employes against employers, but of a whole community against the constituted Government in order to compel a change in the laws affecting their own economic interests. This appeal from the ballot to the interdiction is a phenomenon that gives cause for much thought. Coupled with the refusal of the conscript army to fire at the word of command in the population from which it is recruited, it leaves the Government helpless to enforce its will. Deprived of the moral support of public opinion and the physical support of the soldier, it is reduced to impotence. The "beggars of the South" have provided Europe with a startling reminder of the instability of the foundation upon which rests the modern State."

An ancient declaration of homage.

We take the following passage from R. T. H. Griffith's translation of *The White Yajurveda*:

Homage to the prudent merchant Homage to the Lord of bushes, to the shouting Lord of foot-soldiers who makes foes weep, be homage.

Homage to the runner at full stretch, to the Lord of ministering spirits, homage! Homage to the conquering, piercing Lord of assailing bands, homage to the towering sword-bearer, to the Lord of thieves homage! Homage to the gliding robber, to the roamer, to the Lord of forests homage!

Homage to the cheat, to the arch-deceiver, to the Lord of stealers homage! Homage to the wearer of sword and quiver, to the Lord of robbers homage! Homage to the bolt-armed homicides, to the Lord of pilferers homage! Homage to the sword-bearers, to those who roam at night, to the Lord of plunderers homage!

To the turban-wearing hunter of mountains, Lord of land-grabbers homage! Homage to you who bear arrows and to you who carry bows. Homage to you with bent bows, and to you who adjust your arrows, to you who draw the bow and to you who shoot, be homage!

Homage to you who let fly and to you who pierce, homage to you who sleep and to you who wake, homage to you who lie and to you who sit, homage to you who stand and to you who run.

Homage to assemblies and to you lords of assemblies, homage to horses and to you masters of horses, homage to you hosts that wound and pierce, to you destructive armies with excellent bands be homage.

Homage to the troops and to you lords of troops, be homage.

Homage to the companies and to you lords of companies homage.

Homage to sharpeners and to you lords of sharpeners, homage.

Homage to you the deformed, and to you who wear all forms, homage.

Homage to armies and to you the leaders of armies homage.—*Book XVI, pp. 142-140.*

It would be an interesting task for orientalists to find out the present day heirs and representatives of the ancient author of this declaration. Perhaps some recent utterances may afford a clue.

Reciprocal throat-cutting by Hindu and Musalman.

In works of Indian History written by the English, we read that Muhammadans being fanatics were constantly persecuting and cutting the throats of the Hindus. If this were true, then not a single Hindu would have been left alive in India, for the Muhammadan supremacy lasted over something like five hundred years. But this was not true. If we were to search for a parallel, this would be found in the history of Ireland. England after the conquest of the latter country tried to exterminate its natives as well as their religion. The English were Protestants and the Irish were Roman Catholics. There has never been much love lost between these two sects of the Christian creed. But the Protestant English failed to exterminate the Roman Catholic Irish,—nay, in course of time they became friends. The causes that contributed to this end have been thus set forth by Lecky:—

"The decline of religious fanaticism among the Protestants, * * as well as the natural feelings produced by neighbourhood and private friendships, all conspired to this result. Besides this, over a large part of Ireland there were fifteen or twenty Catholics for one Protestant, and it was impossible to carry out such a system as the Penal Code without a perpetual employment of military force. Society cannot permanently exist in a condition of extreme tension, and it was necessary for the members of both religions to find some way of living together in tolerable security. The very features of the Irish character that make it slow to remedy abuses—its careless, easy, good-nature, its good-humored acquiescence in the conditions in which it finds itself—were here of great service, and a lax and tolerant administration gradually mitigated the severity of intolerant laws."*

The above remarks are applicable to India during the Muhammadan period, if we substitute Muhammadan for Protestant and Hindoo for Catholic and Irish in the above. Of course, the British Christians do not make India their home and, therefore, they behave (in the language of Burke) like "birds of prey and passage" in India. But far different was the

case with the Muhammadans in India. Lord William Bentinck justly observed:—

"In many respects, the Mahomedans surpassed our rule; they settled in the countries which they conquered; they intermixed and intermarried with the natives; they admitted them to all privileges; the interests and sympathies of the conquerors and the conquered became identified. Our policy, on the contrary has been the reverse of this,—cold, selfish and unfeeling."

It is an abuse of language, it is utterly false to say that the Muhammadans were cutting the throats of the Hindus. The votaries of those two creeds generally lived harmoniously and like brothers. It is only of late that they have been pitted against each other by some mischief-mongers who are acting on the principle of "*Divide et impera.*"

Self-government in India in the pre-British period.

Mr. R. H. Elliot wrote in *Fraser's Magazine* for April, 1872:—

"In former times there existed in India reigning powers that lived on the resources of the people; but though these powers levied taxes and waged war on each other at pleasure, the internal management of affairs was left to the village communities, and the people had the power of modifying their customs in accordance with what seemed to them to be expedient. Now this power we have entirely taken away from them; and not only have we done this, but we thrust our meddling noses into all the details of life, and refine here and reform there, and *always, it must be remembered, with increased and unceasing taxation.* It still, however, remains to explain how we have deprived them of the power of modifying their customs: and this has been done simply by seizing on the existing customs as we found them, writing them down, and turning them into laws which the people have no power to alter in any way. And, to make matters as bad as they can be, where we have found gaps we have filled them up with a kind of law-stucco of express rules taken very much at haphazard from English law books. The old rights of communities of Hindoos have thus been entirely absorbed by our Government, which has now deprived the people of every particle of civic power. * * * * We thus see, as was very clearly pointed out in Maine's *Village Communities* only the other day, that if the people have gained some benefits from us they have also lost others; and we need hardly add that the results of this entire deprivation of free action are altogether deadly and destructive to the very existence of the most valuable powers of man. * * * * Our government had destroyed the liberties of the people."

Bengali Musalmans in the Artillery.

In answering the question regarding the recruiting and composition of the Bengal Artillery, General Sir Colin Campbell, afterwards Lord Clyde, wrote:—

"There is a much larger infusion of the Mahometan element than in the infantry. Some men (particul

* Lecky's History of England in the Eighteenth Century, Vol. II, 2nd Edition of 1879, p. 311.

gun lascars) come from Lower Bengal, which furnishes hardly any soldiers to any other branch of the army. These are Mahometans. The artillery generally come from Oudh, the Dooab, Rohilcund, and the districts of Agra &c." P. 67 of the Appendices to the Minutes of Evidence taken before the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the organization of the Indian Army.

As Musalmans are supposed to believe that they are the special favourites of the Government, let Bengali Musalmans, who were formerly employed in the artillery, apply for enrolment in the same branch of the military service again, and see what reply they get.

Mr. Morley's guide, friend and philosopher.

Mr. Morley seems to be acting on the advice of Lord Erskine, the renowned Chancellor of England. In his speech for John Stockdale, Lord Erskine said :—

"It may and must be true that Mr. Hastings has repeatedly offended against the rights and privileges of Asiatic government, if he was the faithful deputy of a power which could not maintain itself for an hour without trampling upon both : he may and must have offended against the laws of God and nature, if he was the faithful viceroy of an empire wrested in blood from the people to whom God and nature had given it ; he may and must have preserved that unjust dominion over timorous and abject nations by a terrifying, overbearing, insulting superiority, if he was the faithful administrator of your government, which having no root in consent or affection, no foundation in similarity of interests, nor support from any one principle which cements men together in society, could only be upheld in alternate stratagem and force. The unhappy people of India, feeble and effeminate as they are from the softness of their climate, and subdued and broken as they have been by the knavery and strength of civilisation, still occasionally start up in all the vigour and intelligence of insulted nature. To be governed at all, they must be governed with a rod of iron ; and our empire in the East would, long since, have been lost to Great Britain, if civil skill and military prowess had not united their efforts to support an authority—which Heaven never gave—by means which it never can sanction. "***** You have a mighty sway in Asia, which cannot be maintained by the finer sympathies of life, or by the practice of its charities and affections ***** But under the pressure of such constant difficulties, so dangerous to national honour, it might be better perhaps to think of effectually securing it altogether, by recalling our troops and our merchants, and abandoning our Oriental Empire. Until this be done, neither religion nor philosophy can be pressed very far into the aid of reformation and punishment. If England, from a lust of ambition and dominion, will insist on maintaining despotic rule over distant and hostile nations, ** and gives commission to her Viceroys to govern them with no other instructions than to preserve them, and to secure permanently their revenues ; with what colour of consistency or reason can she place herself in the moral chair, and affect to be shocked at the execution of her own orders, adverting to the exact measure of wickedness and injustice necessary to their execu-

tion, and complaining only of the EXCESS as the immorality, considering her authority as a dispensation for breaking the commands of God, and the breach of them as only punishable when contrary to the ordinances of man." (The italics are ours.)

Education in India in the British and pre-British period.

Those who think that education is now more widespread than in the pre-British period, are requested to read the following —

"16. The economy with which children are taught to write in the native schools, and the system by which the more advanced scholars are caused to teach the less advanced, and at the same time to confirm their own knowledge, is certainly admirable, and well deserved the imitation it has received in England. The chief defects in the native schools are the nature of the books and learning taught, and the want of competent masters.

"17. Imperfect, however, as the present education of the natives is, there are few who possess the means to command it for their children. Even were books of a proper kind plentiful, and the master every way adequate to the task imposed upon him, he would make no advance from one class to another, except as he might be paid for his labour. While learning the first rudiments, it is common for the scholar to pay to the teacher a quarter of a rupee, and when arrived as far as to write on paper or at the higher branches of arithmetic, half a rupee per mensem. But in proceeding further, such as explaining books which are all written in verse, giving the meaning of Sanscrit words, and illustrating the principles of Vernacular languages, such demands are made as exceed the means of most parents. There is, therefore, no alternative but that of leaving their children only partially instructed, and consequently ignorant of the most essential and useful parts of a liberal education : but there are multitudes who cannot ever avail themselves of the advantages of this system defective as it is.

"18. I am sorry to state, that this is ascribable to the gradual but general impoverishment of the country. The means of the manufacturing classes have been of late years greatly diminished by the introduction of our own English manufactures in lieu of the Indian cotton fabrics. The removal of many of our troops from our own territories to the distant frontiers of our newly subsidized allies has also, of late years, affected the demand for grain : the transfer of the capital of the country from the native governments and their officers, who liberally expended it in India, to Europeans, restricted by law from employing it even temporarily in India, and daily draining it from the land, has likewise tended to this effect which has not been alleviated by a less rigid enforcement of the revenue due to the State. The greater part of the middling and lower classes of the people are now unable to defray the expenses incident upon the education of their offspring, while their necessities require the assistance of their children as soon as their tender limbs are capable of the smallest labour.

"19. It cannot have escaped the government that of nearly a million of souls in this district, not 7,000 are now at school, a proportion which exhibits an

too strongly the result above stated. In many villages where formerly there were schools, there are now none; and in many others where there were large schools, now only a few children of the most opulent are taught, others being unable from poverty to attend, or to pay what is demanded.

"20. Such is the state in this district of the various schools in which reading, writing and arithmetic are taught in the vernacular dialects of the country, as has been always usual in India, by teachers who are paid by their scholars. * * But learning, though it may proudly decline to sell its stores, has never flourished in any country except under the encouragement of the ruling power. and the countenance and support once given to science in this part of India has long been withheld.

"21. Of the 533 institutions for education now existing in this district, I am ashamed to say not one now derives any support from the State. * *

"22. There is no doubt, that in former times, especially under the Hindoo Governments, very large grants, both in money and in land, were issued for the support of learning. * *

"23. * * Considerable alienations of revenue, which formerly did honour to the State, by upholding and encouraging learning have deteriorated under our rule into the means of supporting ignorance; whilst science, deserted by the powerful aid she formerly received from Government, has often been reduced to beg her scanty and uncertain meal from the chance benevolence of charitable individuals; and it would be difficult to point out any period in the history of India when she stood more in need of the proffered aid of Government to raise her from the degraded state into which she has fallen, and dispel the prevailing ignorance which so unhappily pervades the land."

Extracts from the report of A. D. Campbell, Esq., the Collector of Bellary, dated Bellary, August 17, 1823 upon the Education of Natives: pp. 503-504 of Report from Select Committee on the affairs of the East India Company. Vol. I. published 1832.

Indian explorers.

The best known Indian explorers are:—Nain Singh, Kishen Singh and Sarat Chandra Das. We hope to be able in future to give an account of the work done by the first two gentlemen. Of Mr. Das, the Hon. W. W. Rockhill, one of the greatest of American orientalis and United States Minister at Peking, writes thus in his introduction to Mr. Das's valuable and fascinating work *Journey to Lhasa and Central Tibet*:—

"This brief notice of Sarat Chandra's literary work will suffice, however, to show that his labours in this field are as important as those which he has rendered to geography. Personally, I am under a lasting debt of gratitude to him for the valuable information which he gave me while in Peking, and which was later on of great use to me during my explorations in Tibet, and I hold myself particularly fortunate in having

been chosen by the Royal Geographical Society to edit his reports, as it is a means of publicly expressing my indebtedness to him, and also, I trust, of helping him to take the place he so justly deserves beside Csoma de Koros, as one of the greatest pioneers of exploration and discovery in Tibet."

The Organisation of the Native Army.

A correspondent writes:—

"With reference to the article on 'The Organisation of the Indian Army' in the November number of your magazine, the following facts, culled from the chapter on the Army in Vol. IV. of the new edition of the Imperial Gazetteer published this year under the authority of the Secretary of State in Council, may be of interest to your readers.

"The writer has shown that the Royal Commission appointed soon after the Sepoy Mutiny recommended in 1859 that the different nationalities and castes should be mixed promiscuously through each regiment of the Indian Army. He does not, however, state the fact that this policy has now been abandoned in many cases. It was soon found that the system failed to satisfy the object with which it was introduced. The Bengal Army, for instance, 'was in danger of becoming homogeneous.' In 1884, therefore, 'an endeavour was made to carry out the principles of segregation by eliminating Punjabis from the Hindustani regiments and vice versa.' This was the 'class company' system, as opposed to the 'general mixture' system which was recommended by the Royal Commission, and it was finally adopted in 1891. But even this was not found sufficient to prevent the unification of the sepoys. In 1893, 'the separation of the classes was felt to be more consonant with the general policy than the mixture, for example, of Bramhans and Rajputs in one body.' Thus the 'class company' system was in its turn replaced by the 'class' system, as it was called, and entire regiments composed only of Bramhans, Rajputs, Muhammadans, Jats and Gurkhas were organised. This last system seems to have succeeded in securing the end in view. In the concluding paragraph of the chapter (page 378) we find the following passage: 'For the internal security of India, the greatest weight must be given to the composition of the native army, to the avoidance of homogeneity, the employment of the European population as an auxiliary force, and perfect readiness to maintain order.'

"We here find that the policy of the government at first was to mix all races and castes promiscuously together in each company of a regiment, then it was thought more advisable to have separate companies of the same castes, but ultimately this was substituted by entire regiments of the same caste, and the policy which led to these modifications in the composition of the Indian Army was to preserve the segregation of the different races and to avoid homogeneity.

"The above resumé clearly shows that the growth of a spirit of union among the different nationalities and castes of India is something which it is the admitted policy of the Indian government to prevent. Would this have been so had the government been national instead of foreign?" (The italics are mine).

What our correspondent writes supports our contention that the Native Army is organised on the principal of "*divide et impera*."

Supplement to "The Modern Review."



THE LATE PANDIT BRAHMABANDHAB UPADHYAY.

THE INDIAN PRESS, ALLAHABAD.

NOTES

The late Brahmapandhab Upadhyay.

The opinions and journalistic methods of the late Pandit Brahmapandhab Upadhyay were in many respects different from ours. He was accused of sedition. Had he lived he might have been held guilty of sedition in the eye of the law. All this, however, does not in the least deter us from honouring his memory as that of a sincere, unselfish and fearless patriot, and a sound scholar. The brief statement that he made before the trying magistrate is an inspiring document, a perfect mirror of his soul. He has not left us like a disembodied spirit, but with that freedom in the bosom of the ether for which he longed! May his soul rise from perfection to perfection for unending ages!

"Summer".

Mr. Abanindra Nath Tagore's picture of "Summer" represents a scene in the description of summer in Kalidasa's *Ritusamhara* or "The Seasons". It transports us to an old world idyllic scene of grateful shade, delicious music and cool sherbet; and is thoroughly Indian in style, treatment, and conception.⁴

"The Killing of Jatayu."

Ravi Varma's picture of the killing of Jatayu represents that scene in the Ramayana where Ravana while carrying off Sita is attacked by Jatayu, the king of birds, a friend of Dasaratha. He leaves the noble bird fatally wounded. Such episodes of self-sacrificing friendship between man and dumb animal may seem to us characteristic of the childhood of humanity, but they have their lessons for the heart that recognises the Soul of all things working in all living beings.

"Christ in Gethsemane."

Heinrich Hofmann's picture of "Christ in Gethsemane" is a well-known work of art.

Towards the close of his earthly career Jesus had a presentiment of his coming betrayal, suffering and death. (Matthew, Chap. XXVI.)

"Then cometh Jesus with them unto a place called Gethsemane, and saith unto the disciples, Sit ye here, while I go and pray yonder. And he took with him Peter and the two sons of Zebedee, and began to be sorrowful and very heavy. Then saith he unto them, My soul is exceeding sorrowful, even unto death: tarry ye here, and watch with me. And he went a little farther, and fell on his face, and prayed, saying, O my father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from me: nevertheless not as I will, but as thou wilt. * * * He went away again the second time, and prayed, saying, O my father, if this cup may not pass away from me, except I drink it, thy will be done."

Whoever loves, serves, suffers and sacrifices, in however lowly a sphere, in however humble a manner, cannot but feel strangely drawn to Jesus in Gethsemane by oneness of feeling. "The poor woman who will tend her sick, though she may sicken and die herself of the fatal infection; the weak mother who will toil for her little ones, though she knows it is her own life she is giving them to save theirs; the struggling merchant or shopkeeper, who will face bankruptcy and ruin rather than make his way by customary lies and sactioned fraud; the man of any trade, artizan, physician, statesman, minister, writer, who from his heart prefers disgrace, and misery, and death, to false professions and weak compliances, and wrong-doing," these and such as these can all enter into the spirit of Christ's agony and resignation, and feel strengthened and uplifted thereby. The soul's way to God lies through self-abnegation and self-sacrifice, and all men, even the purest, need to be made perfect through suffering for what is to them the highest.

"That God always should remove the thorns is not what in many cases is wanted. It is not the removal of the discipline we need, but the light, the trust, the love, which will enable us to cast our cares upon God—to surrender our wills to His will, and thus to transform the buffetings into friendships, angels, and messengers to us of purity and peace."—George Brown.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

ENGLISH.

Two New Worlds, by E. B. Fournier d'Albe, author of "the Electron Theory." Longmans, Green & Co., London.

Ten years ago no one would have dreamt that atom,—the fundamental unit of matter,—could be questioned as to its position in the universe. Could atom be subdivided into further component parts? Such a question would have then been considered as the outcome of an aberration of the human brain fit to be relegated to the lunar regions! But during the last decade a change has come over the atomic conception of matter and the scientific world has arrayed itself into two opposite factions, raging a furious war over the fundamental conception of the unit of matter, of which the lay world is serenely unconscious. The modern theory of electricity has brought into existence a new creation of the human intellect, called "Electron," and its advocates assert that electron is the fundamental unit of material existence in this universe, and that an atom is an aggregate manifestation of a very large number of electrons. We have hitherto been accustomed to regard space, time and matter as the three fundamental elements of the physical existence of this universe: now we are told that electricity is—not a quality or *modus operandi* of the physical existence of matter, but a primary element "more fundamental than matter itself"! The opponents of this theory, made formidable by being under the generalship of Lord Kelvin, do not vote electron out of existence,—they admit that "electron has come to stay." (See Dr. Rutherford's speech at the Leicester meeting of the British Association last August). In fact, they and principally Lord Kelvin, along with its advocates, were jointly instrumental in bringing it into existence. But they assert that atom is serene and majestic on its pedestal, and electron is merely a parasite living on atom and becoming its energy-bearer. The views of the advocates of the fundamental character of electron, are known as "the Electric theory of matter," and the views of the opposite faction may be called "the parasitic view of electron." One of the greatest among the exponents of the electric

theory of matter is Prof. J. J. Thomson of Cambridge, who defines an atom to be "a minute sphere of positive electrification, containing a number of negative electric charges, commonly called electrons." Apart from the complex scientific phraseology we may briefly say that atom is a mere electric encasement containing a number of electric charges which jointly react outwards: this is admittedly the function of an atom. It has also been proved that an atom can liberate an electron from itself as well as capture a new one. The question that has not yet been fully answered is whether such liberation or capture produces any change in the structure of an atom. The younger generation of scientists are not yet without hope of being able to answer it, although Lord Kelvin ironically calls them "a brilliant corps of radioactivity workers who has advanced so far beyond the old-fashioned philosophers of ten years ago," and asserts that "the foundation of the old philosophy remains." He compares an atom to "a gun loaded with a shell which is itself loaded with shots." The loading and unloading of the shell (i.e., the alternate capture and liberation of the electrons) do not alter the gun itself except that in one case the energy is enclosed and stored up, and in the other case it is spent up. Any one who has watched the progress of electrons will see that this is a halting admission on the part of the veteran scientist, who was an early champion, and in fact, one of the founders of the theory that matter and energy are co-existent and inseparable. In spite of the mass of evidence accumulating daily in favour of the electric theory of matter the very fact of there still existing a difference of opinion between the old and the new school of philosophers, shews that the problem is still in its hypothetical stage.

The author of the book under review, M. Fournier d'Albe, is a powerful exponent of the theory of electrons. The present treatise is a fascinating and romantic sequel to his popular treatise on the electron theory. The word "popular" is the author's own, but we must not mistake its meaning: both the treatises are popular in the sense that they render the exposition of abstruse scientific truth and delineation of complex

scientific facts in a manner comprehensible to an ordinary mind. The later treatise,—the book under review,—does credit to the countryman of Jules Verne,—nay, more: while Jules Verne created a romance out of scientific facts, having for his heroes men beings dealing with those facts, M. Fournier-Albe has created a romance in which the facts themselves play the part of heroes. He is a Physicist, a mathematician and a Metaphysician, all in one; he possesses a clear conception of the physical aspect of science coupled with its complexity as demonstrated by mathematical analysis: but he does not stop there. In order to endow his exposition with a character of reality he proceeds to investigate the location of mind and soul in nature; being in quest of “a unifying principle” in the physical universe. He presents scientific facts as sentient beings who instead of being coldly materialistic, act as if with a will and do things rationally as if under Divine guidance!

The book is divided into two parts: viz., (1) the Infra-World; and (2) the Supra-World. The former is a realistic romance of electrons and the latter a hypothetical romance of the Galaxies or the star-world; the first is based on facts; and the second on speculation. We, the beings of the mean world, are endowed with a position as much greater than the one that is smaller than the other. The analogy is very significant. In order to explain the analogy and give a clear idea of the theory of electrons we shall give here a brief outline of the Infra-world.

We are told that we want a certain quantity of matter as well as a certain amount of space for life to exist; “no organism can fall short of a certain size relative.” (We hope Dr. J. C. Bose will be able to tell the world before long what minimum mass and energy should become necessary for matter to acquire consciousness.) It is certain that a single molecule would never do it; in fact, the author tells us that “no living organism contains less than a hundred million molecules.” We, therefore, “leave life behind” and penetrate into the region of “unorganised matter” to find an atom. No one has yet seen a molecule,—much less an atom. Hence to conceive the existence of an atom we must have recourse “to the visualising powers of the scientific imagination, trusting that scientific progress will some day enable us to verify our imaginings by ocular demonstration!” We are thus asked to take science on trust and penetrate into an atomic existence at her bidding, to find there electrons with “a diameter of a millionth part of a micromillimetre.” This is too much for an ordinary layman

to conceive; and hence we are informed, by an elaborate and detailed calculation, that the diameter of the earth on which we live is 10^{22} times the diameter of an electron. How simple! But let us see what it means: the diameter of the earth contains roughly 8000 miles or $8000 \times 5280 \times 12 = \frac{1}{2}$ of 10^9 inches. Therefore we find the diameter of an electron to be 20,000,000,000,000th of an inch! In the next breath we are asked to conceive *ourselves* reduced in size 10^{22} times! What shall we see? We shall see an electron as big as this earth, and, wonder of wonders!—an atom as big and glorious as our solar system with a swarm of electrons revolving round a central luminary, like the planets of our solar system! They are not in contact with one another, but are as far apart, *comparatively*, as the planets are in this solar system. This is disintegration of the atom with a vengeance!

While reading the book under review, one does not feel the fantastic character of the ‘imaginings,’ but is reassured that he will find himself quite as comfortable on his new earth as on this. A question will naturally arise whether the wave-length of light will not be too great to suit the eye of the micro-cosmic man (as the hypothetical being on an electron may be called), in order to enable him to see what he is supposed to see. But science, or rather nature,—is resourceful: it is found that the extreme ultra-violet light (x-rays or beyond), which cannot be seen here except by its effect known as radio-activity, will become as powerful and visual in the Infra-world as sun-light is in our own world. Having thus provided a microcosmic man with physical means to see, we are given a vivid description of what he *shall* see, viz., *a world in a molecule!* Each atom stands for a system like our solar system,—only in infinitesimal scale; and a composition of a number of atoms, analogous to a phalanx of stars (viz.,—a combination of a myriad of solar systems) will go to form a molecule. A mutual exchange of electrons between different atoms will create an affinity between them which will bind them together into one particular kind of molecule. But we are also shown in a graphical manner (see pp. 52-56) how the proximity of one phalanx to another of a different composition may also cause the loss or gain of electrons, thereby causing disintegration of a molecule, which results in our observation of chemical action between substances of different kinds. The law of affinity,—nay, even the force of composition of an atom, has not escaped notice: the integrating force should be far too powerful, in fact very much greater than our

gravitational force; is there such a force in existence in the electronal (or Infra-) world? Our modern science has discovered the existence of such a force between the electrons and their central luminary under the garb of "electrostatic attraction." What we call "mass" (the quantity of matter possessed by a body) in this world has an analogue in the Infra-world, in the amount of electric charge possessed by an electron. We are thus carried to the foundation of the conception of matter: viewed by a microscope, matter is nothing but a vast conglomeration of electric charges, which is the fundamental principle of the electric theory of matter. I shall quote here an instance to illustrate the construction of a molecule. Imagine a molecule consisting of 20 atoms of carbon, 24 of hydrogen, 2 of nitrogen and 2 of oxygen, arranged in groups and subgroups,—the whole molecule a veritable phalanx of stars; the suns swaying in gentle oscillation or slow orbits, the planets (electrons) darting round as if to preserve the integrity of the empire of their central luminary, the whole system ablaze with light and astir with motion, a piece of stellar architecture beside which Orion is without form and void; and this molecule, built into a gorgeous system of trillion units of like structure, all of which go to make up a single grain of the crystalline powder we know to be the invaluable antidote to fever"—viz., quinine!

We have said enough to show that the Infra-world is not a mere chimera or hypothesis, but a "substantial reality" based on scientifically adduced facts; and the author has been eminently successful in bringing one of the most abstruse theories of modern science within easy grasp of an uninitiated mind. His deductions are derived by analogy with our common surroundings and by simple processes of "Common sense and elementary science."

Having proved the Infra-world to be a reality, we are led to the Supra-world by climbing up on the same analogous scale. Our Solar system is assumed to be a mere atom of the Supra-world, and the Macrocosmic (or Supra-) man 10^{22} times bigger than ourselves. There is one significant astronomical hypothesis in the book which is worth mentioning. Assuming the constancy of natural laws, we are led to deduce that the universe does not consist of myriads of stellar systems promiscuously filling infinite space, but that the stellar systems are pre-arranged in a way which may not be dissimilar to the composition of molecules in a material body. The milky way is the outer bound-

ary of the system to which our sun belongs; and there exists an infinite variety of such systems quite distinct and separate from ours and from one another which form a world of their own, compared to which our solar system is an atom and our world is an Infra-world. The analogy is forcibly characterised by the fact that the diameter of our Solar System is 10^3 times the diameter of an atom.

I have mentioned before that the author is a physician besides being a Physicist. He argues the existence of a reality behind the physical phenomenon. "A jug, a road, a house, a lathe, are embodiments of some human will: Why should not other objects, substantial, be the embodiments of some will different from our own?" Analogy presupposed the existence of such a will and of a design in creation. We are cautioned that "if we come upon any impossibilities or inconsistencies (in drawing our analogies regarding the new worlds) we cannot conclude that they cannot exist but that there is something wrong in our deductions."

A. C. DA1

P. S.—Since the above was written our attention has been drawn to some very important recent discoveries of Sir William Ramsay. He has discovered the atom of one kind, by coming in contact with an atom of a different kind can be "broken down" into what may be called a *sub-atom*. There is the possibility that an atomic system (in the language of M. Fournier d'Albe) coming in the proximity of a certain different system, loses some of its planets (i. e., electrons); it degenerates into a sub-system, thus losing its *formal integrity* and becoming a minor system. It is a story of the so-called "radio-activity workers" tells the vindication of the electric theory of matter, decidedly proves that an atom *does* lose (Sir William Ramsay calls it "break down") its unity and the fundamental character. M. Fournier d'Albe has already hinted that it should be so, and in subsequent editions of his book, he will be in a better position to give us a graphical description of the disintegration of atom.

A. C. D.

Shakespeare—by Walter Raleigh (*Englishmen of Letters, New Series*). Macmillan & Co., London.

There is scarcely a volume in the New Series which is so dignified in tone, eloquent in style, rich in description.

Mr. Raleigh writes:—

"So ends the great tragedy of Shylock, and the air is heavy with it long after the babble of the love-plot has begun again. The Fifth Act of *The Merchant of Venice* is an exquisite piece of romantic comedy; but it is a welcome distraction, not a full solution. The revengeful Jew, whose defeat was to have added triumph to happiness, keeps possession of the play, and the memory of him gives to these beautiful closing scenes an undesigned air of heartless triviality.

they have treated his work as if it were an encyclopædia of information, and have parcelled it out in provinces, writing immeasurable books on Shakspeare's divinity, Shakspeare's law and medicine, Shakspeare's birds, beasts, fishes and insects—all tacitly proceeding on the strange assumption that it was a part of Shakspeare's purpose to impart an accurate knowledge of those branches of learning, and by his success his true greatness may be judged. These are the entomologists of criticism . . . The great hyperbole which "uses him with his Creator, has served its original ceremonial purpose; it is time to remember that the King is but a man and that his senses have but human conditions."

Some pages further on Mr. Raleigh writes in his best style of the psychical development of Shakspeare's art from its early meanderings amongst the tender loves of youth to its plunge into the ultimate problems of life and world-wide emotions. Let us hear what he says.

"In the great Tragedies Shakspeare comes at last face to face with the mystery and cruelty of human life. He had never been satisfied with the world of romance, guarded like a dream from all external violence; and his plays when they are arranged in order, exhibit the gradual progress of the invasion of reality. At first he gently and humorously suggests the contrast. The most life-like characters in his earlier plays are often those which are invented and added by him. Jacques and Touchstone, Mercutio and the Nurse, Sir Balch and Malvolio, represent the encroachments of daily life, in its variety, on the symmetry of a romantic plot... But in the great tragedies the most fully conceived characters are no longer supernumeraries, they are the heart of the play. Hamlet is both protagonist and tragic hero. The passion of Lear and Othello and Macbeth is too real, too intimately known, to gain or lose by contrast: the very citadel of life is shaken and stormed by the onslaught of reality. We are no longer saved by a mere trick, as in the Merchant of Venice or Measure for Measure; there is no hope of a reprieve; the worst that can befall has happened, and we are stretched on the rack, beyond the mercy of narcotics, our eyes open and our senses preternaturally quickened, to endure till the end."

And those who think that a puerile moral code is able to exhaust and interpret all the aspects of human character and that the least infringement of the narrow laws detracts from the worth of the books which from a different standpoint are "like shining light-houses to lead into a haven of peace" men's souls faring out upon a tempestuous sea, may well try to learn the truth contained in the following extract:

"There is no moral lesson to be read, except accidentally, in any of Shakspeare's tragedies. They deal with greater things than man; with powers and passions, elemental forces, and dark abysses of suffering; with the central fire, which breaks through their crust of civilisation, and makes a splendour in the sky above the blackness of ruined homes. Because he is a poet, and has a true imagination, Shakspeare knows how precarious is man's tenure of the soil, how deceitful are his quiet orderly habits and his prosaic speech. At any moment, by the operation of chance, or fate, these things may be broken up and the world given over once more to the forces that struggled in chaos."

A brick is not a building: but some idea of the scope of the present monograph may be formed from the quotations given above. It is worthy of the theme it expounds, and though there may not be in it the same number of shimmering arabesques of fancy as in Professor Dowden's work, or to the same extent a pervasive sense of poetic atmosphere as in Dr. Bradley's Lectures, it is one of the most remarkable pieces of Shakspeare criticism, and is a perfect gem in the New Series, which, notwithstanding the unanimous acclamation of the British press, includes volumes that may be cremated without any compunction whatever.

HIRA LAL CHATTERJI.

BENGALI

Dhruva Tara—By Babu Jatindra

It is a voluminous novel containing a picture of Bengali homes and other resorts of Bengalis in its preliminary chapters, which read like the author's well-known work "Urishyar Chandra". The sketches are extremely interesting and show the author's great insight into human affairs. The characters of different classes of men on religious and social questions of the day have incidentally been discussed in a spirit of naive humour and in these accounts sometimes discover caricatures of many well-known individuals which give sauce to the work and heighten our interest in it. The author is, however, not happy in the display of his wit, which sometimes sinks into vulgarity, though never into indecency.

The first part of the book, however, with its merits and faults is a store-house of originality, in which the author has shewn considerable powers. The fact that he has given of a perfect Hindu home with its noble traditions of hospitality and a self-sacrificing spirit of the members of a household living in a family is edifying and instructive, with a genuine pathos which at once appeals to the heart. The author is verily in his element here. In the second part of the book he follows the footsteps of Rabindranath and puts forth all his efforts in describing a lover's struggles. The two types of character to which we have been accustomed in the perusal of *Chokher Bali* and *Nouka Dubi* of Rabindranath—one a real angel of the household, suffering from illness, and another—enlightened and created in Society and Literature by English education, are to be found in this book also, and the struggles of the poor lover—our hero, remind us in many respects of those of Ramesh and Mahendra. The hero is, however, not a slavish one, and is always touched by the touches which are our author's own. In the last part of the book we come across a very interesting character—it is that of Dr. Chakaravarti, who with his free mannerisms in conversation and soft-tonguedness creates an unique interest in the minds of the readers. This character also, we are afraid, bears a strong affinity to a living gentleman who is well known in the enlightened circles of Calcutta, but the author is clever enough to bring into prominence the dissimilarity, which will save him from a charge of defamation.

The book is on the whole a singular one, though it is not as compact as "Urishyar Chandra". It is always as happy as its predecessor, its range is wide, and it possesses a more varied interest for the

DINESH CHANDRA SEN